This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

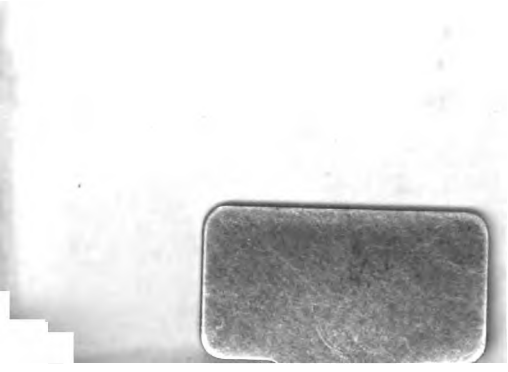
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

Ter. III. c. 30.
Nolt



Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER;

OR,

UNITARIAN

MAGAZINE AND REVIEW.

NEW SERIES, VOL. XVIII.

FROM JANUARY TO DECEMBER, 1862.

LONDON:

EDWARD T. WHITFIELD, 178, STRAND.

1862.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCV.] JANUARY, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

SOME ACCOUNT OF MR. RICHARD FRANKLAND, THE EMINENT NONCONFORMIST TUTOR.

The year on which we are entering brings round the anniversary of some legislative and other acts of two centuries ago, which, for evil or for good, have left their mark on the constitution and the history of England.

It was on the 22nd day of February, 1662, that the Parliament (then in the second year of its existence) assembled, which Lord Macaulay describes as "the most loyal that had ever met in England." Its "eighteen years of misgovernment" began with a cruel Act designed to extirpate Quakerism.* That was presently followed by the Act of Uniformity (14 Car. II. c. iv.); and as a proper pendant to these Acts, there followed one putting the licencer's screw on the press (14 Car. II. c. xxxiii.). The Quakers have long enjoyed unmolested the right of public worship. The press now has all the freedom that just men and good citizens desire. But the Act of Uniformity, one of political and religious vengeance, still does discredit to our statute-book. Two Thousand men of learning and character, on the day when it came into force, recorded by a highminded act of self-denial their solemn protest against it.

We propose in the present volume of the Christian Reformer to attempt to do justice to the courage and honesty of these confessors, in a series of biographical and historical sketches.

Mr. John D'Israeli, in an essay entitled, "Political Religionism," asserted, when speaking of the clergy ejected by the Act of Uniformity, "Their history is not glorious, and their heroes are obscure." A better acquaintance† with the subject would have taught the author of "Curiosities of Literature" that the history of Nonconformity is in a moral and religious point of view most honourable, and that "obscure" is the last epithet to be attached to such names as Baxter, Howe, Owen, Bates, Manton and Oliver Heywood. As we do not profess to take

* 14 Car. II. c. i. provided that for every act of public worship Quakers should be fined five pounds, and for the third offence they were to be transported.

† How slight was the elder D'Israeli's acquaintance with Nonconformist biography appears from his naming Samuel Chandler as one of the ejected clergy. That worthy divine was not born till after the Revolution. English writers sometimes strangely blunder when they venture an allusion to religious literature; thus, in his Life of Pitt, the Earl of Stanhope confounds George Fox the Quaker with John Fox, the author of "Acts and Monuments."

Digitized by Google

the subjects of our intended series according to any graduated intellectual or religious scale of our own, our selection of RICHARD FRANKLAND as the subject of the first essay need not be construed into a design to place him higher among the early Nonconformists of England than the facts now to be stated shall justify. No one acquainted with the history of this useful, conscientious and fearless man, will dispute his title to a respectable position amongst the worthies of the seventeenth century.

Richard Frankland was born in the year 1630, in Craven, a part of Yorkshire then and long after (according to Mrs. Cappe's description) insulated from the rest of England by steep hills and impassable roads. Now the traveller on the railroad which connects Leeds and Lancaster, passes within a mile or two of Rathmel (the place of Frankland's birth) as he approaches from the west the Settle station. It is a very small village in the parish of Giggleswick. Of his parentage nothing is known; but we may surmise from the family estate which in the course of time descended to him, that his father was one of the Craven *statesmen*, as the proprietors of freehold land then were called.

Giggleswick was fortunate in possessing a grammar-school, even then, according to Dr. Calamy, "famous," which had been founded and well endowed by Edward VI. with land which had belonged to the dissolved monastery of Nether Acaster. The constitution of the school is popular, being governed by the vicar and seven inhabitants elected by the freeholders. It was the school of William Paley, whose father was its master for nearly half a century. Connected with it are scholarships at Christ's College, Cambridge. Possibly one of these valuable aids to poor scholars may have been enjoyed by Richard Frankland, who, when seventeen years of age, proceeded to the University and was entered a student in that College.

Christ's College, founded by Margaret, Countess of Derby and mother of Henry VII., had from its foundation scholarships open to natives of nine counties, of which Yorkshire was one. The scholars were to be chosen from youths "virtuous, apt and distinguished, of tried talent and hopeful, not Bachelors of Arts nor in holy orders, who can speak the Latin tongue and understand it when spoken, who propose to themselves the study of the liberal sciences and theology, and who propose to seek the priesthood, *idoneique ad minus ad legendam sophistriam.*" In addition to the foundation scholars, there were scholarships founded by a clergyman of the name of Carr, open to natives of the parish of Giggleswick, selected by the trustees and master of the grammar-school and the churchwardens. That Richard Frankland * enjoyed

* At another College in the University of Cambridge, that of St. Catherine Hall, there is a *Frankland Fellowship*, founded by Samuel Frankland, a learned and ancient schoolmaster of Coventry. It is not, however, probable, that Richard Frankland was descended from the Coventry schoolmaster.

Digitized by Google

one of these scholarships, we suggest as probable, but have no evidence of the fact.

At Christ's Church Milton had studied, and graduated only fifteen years earlier. But the College was no longer under the rule of Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge (the *durus magister* of Milton's Latin elegy). He had been removed to make way for a master of a more Puritan stamp, Dr. Samuel Bolton, one of the twenty-seven students of Christ's Church who graduated M.A. together with Milton in 1632. This College was in the seventeenth century inferior only to Trinity and St. John's in the number of its resident students. It had been the College of Latimer, Leland, Harington, Sir Philip Sydney and Joseph Mede. During Richard Frankland's time, the great light of Christ's Church was the celebrated Platonist, Dr. Henry More. There entered in the same year as Frankland, John Howe, the eminent Nonconformist divine, who, during his two years' residence there, is supposed to have imbibed something of the spirit of those eminent Christian philosophers, Cudworth, More and John Smith. A student entered Trinity College the same year that Frankland entered Christ's Church, with whom he afterwards contracted a warm and enduring friendship, Oliver Heywood. There were some parallel facts in their lives. Both were born in the same year and in the same county, both entered the same University in the same year, both professed to owe their spiritual life to the same preacher, both were ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and both were regarded as among the brightest lights of Nonconformity in the north of England.

It is not easy for us, who enjoy the fruits of an advanced civilization, with its daily postal communication to every remote village in the land, with newspapers conveying to us once or twice a day the intelligence of the world, to realize the seclusion and quiet of a Craven village in the seventeenth century, where two or three clergymen and a few of the larger landed proprietors would constitute the available good society in the whole district. For news, the inhabitants of Giggleswick would have to trust to the occasional manuscript news-letter received by the nearest wealthy proprietor who could afford to indulge in that rare luxury, or to the little quaint quarto pamphlets and broadsides occasionally conveyed in the pack of some adventurous pedlar. Great must have been the change of life of which an intelligent Yorkshire lad must have been conscious, when, emerging from the intellectual twilight of a remote village, he found himself surrounded by the blaze of light afforded by an University. If in his walks along the reedy banks of the Cam, his eye grew wearied with the tame level of the scenery, unbroken by a distant hill, and he sighed for the romantic beauty of his native hills, he would feel the compensation of the varied and cultivated society to which he now belonged, and would listen with wondering ad-

Digitized by Google

miration to the discourses of the gifted men whom it was his privilege to hear in the hall of his College or the pulpit of the University.

Cambridge was visited by the plague during the very year that Frankland and Howe entered the University. Early in September, the gates of Jesus College were shut,* in consequence of the prevalence of the infection in the town. To students situated like Frankland at a distance of two hundred miles from home, in those days of impassable roads, the plague was a sore visitation.† It does not follow from the closing of the gates that the students even of Jesus College were all dispersed. Dr. Worthington's Diary records, amid deaths from the plague here and there, his own preaching in the College chapel and at St. Mary's.

Calamy tells us that Frankland made good proficiency at the University both in divine and human learning. The preacher who most attracted his regard was Mr. Samuel Hammond (afterwards ejected from a lectureship at St. Nicholas's, Newcastle), who was a Fellow of Magdalen College. Of him it is recorded by Calamy that "he began to preach in the neighbouring church of St. Giles with that pious zeal, pungency and Christian experience, that from all parts of the town, and from the most distant colleges, his useful ministry was attended on." Scores, nay hundreds, of persons, it is said, owed to him their deepest impressions of religion, and his reputation as a preacher equalled that which the noted Calvinistic divine, William Perkins, had previously won in the same place. Mr. Hammond's evangelical eloquence was the torch that lighted up the pure flame of religion in the heart of Oliver Heywood. As the latter speaks, in connection with the religious services he attended at St. Giles's, of "the ingenious and gracious scholars with whom he had intimate familiarity," and by whom his religious convictions were strengthened, we may well suppose that Frankland and Heywood were not only fellow-worshipers, but from an early period confidential friends.

While Howe, after taking his first degree at Cambridge, removed to Oxford, Frankland remained in the alma mater of his original choice, and, as he took his Master's degree, probably remained in Christ's Church the full academic period. Those who desire to read a minute account of Cambridge studies in the seventeenth century, may gratify their curiosity by turning to Mr. Masson's elaborate Life of Milton (Vol. I. pp. 87—274).

Howe gave himself zealously to the philosophical studies of the University, and there imbibed the "Platonic tincture" which pervades his published works. Oliver Heywood, on the other

* Mr. Rogers, in his excellent Life of Howe, does not notice this fact, but it is recorded in Dr. John Worthington's Diary, published by the Chetham Society.

† Milton and Newton also were troubled during their residence at Cambridge by the breaking out of the plague in the town.

Digitized by Google

hand, though too wise to despise philosophy, gave his mind to Perkins, Bolton and other Puritan authorities, rather than to Aristotle and Plato. It is probable from his subsequent career, and from the distinction which he acquired as a teacher, that Mr. Frankland, combining the tastes of both these eminent men, studied with great, if not equal, ardour both philosophy and practical divinity.

The after life of Mr. Frankland gives satisfactory proof that in youth he made a faithful use of his intellectual advantages. He then laid the firm foundations on which his after academic reputation was built, for he had afterwards but few opportunities of frequenting libraries or consorting with learned men. Of him, as of the village preacher of the poet, it might, with the exception of one or two brief periods, be truly said,

"Remote from towns he ran his godly race."

On leaving the University, he appears for a time to have led the unsettled and somewhat anxious life which often awaited the young levite; now helping some aged minister, now doing duty as a domestic chaplain. The date of his ordination, as given by Calamy, is Sept. 14, 1653, when he would be twenty-three years of age. But we learn from the same authority that he had previously preached by invitation at Hexham, in Northumberland, and also at two churches in the county of Durham, Lanchester and Houghton-le-Spring. The latter was the scene, in the previous century, of the Christian works and virtues of Bernard Gilpin, to whom the town owes its grammar-school. Under the Presbyterian discipline, it was not unusual for candidates for the ministry to exercise their gifts as preachers for some time before ordination. The episcopal form of church government was overthrown, and Richard Frankland received ordination, not at the hands of a bishop, but from several ministers who had in some northern part of the kingdom formed themselves into a presbytery, and supplied a rude and very imperfect ecclesiastical government, recognized to some extent by the law of the land, but not generally strengthened by popular support. Of the validity of his ordination he entertained no doubt, either then or at a later period when compelled in very altered circumstances anxiously to review his course. Recognizing in the Church no higher authority, under Christ its head, than that of a faithful and accepted minister, he did not hesitate to receive the orders which were conferred by a body of such men united together for general ecclesiastical purposes.

The changes and anxieties of our young levite did not end at his ordination. Finding his position at Lanchester discouraging, he undertook the office of private chaplain or tutor in the family of Alderman Brook, at Ellenthorp, in the diocese of York, where he was able to continue the public offices of the ministry, there being a Presbyterian foundation in that place, one of the very

Digitized by Google

few (probably not exceeding five) which trace back their origin to the Commonwealth times. His next change was to Stockton-ward, in the county of Durham, where he became the assistant or curate of Mr. Lupthern, rector of Sedgefield.

Among the principal gentlemen in the county was Sir Arthur Haslerigg, the noted republican, who was known among the loyal party by the *soubriquet* of the "Bishop of Durham," that title being given him in consequence of his large acquisition by purchase of Bishops' and Church lands. He was one of the five members whom Charles had so madly sought to arrest in Parliament itself; and though he sometimes vigorously opposed the Protector, and was for a short period one of the excluded, yet he regained Cromwell's confidence, and was included in the list of the Protector's Lords, but declined the doubtful honour. To this remarkable man Richard Frankland owed the only preferment which for a short time he enjoyed, namely, the living of St. Andrew's* Auckland. The village is situated on the river Gaunless. The church is a large Gothic building, and has a nave and side aisles, a transept and a chancel, over which, towards the west, a tower rises. The incumbents, though bearing no higher title than curates, are well provided for. There was much stirring in Richard Frankland's incumbency. His patron had received a grant of the Castle at Bishop Auckland, and he, little anticipating the coming changes which would hurl the fortunes of his family to the ground, raised out of the ruins of the Castle a magnificent mansion, to the hospitalities of which the godly incumbent of St. Andrew's was doubtless an invited guest. The mansion shared the fate of the fortunes of the house of Haslerigg. Bishop Cosins, on taking possession soon after the Restoration, denounced it as the "habitation of fanaticism;" and refusing its shelter, pulled it down and erected in its place the elegant chapel which continues to the present day.

St. Andrew's Auckland was distant but eleven miles from the city of Durham. Hither the eyes of Richard Frankland were turned with interest and hope, when the strong public opinion in favour of a northern seat of academic learning pointed the attention of the Protector to it as a desirable site for a college. The alienation from the episcopal Church of the Deanery and other cathedral houses at Durham, furnished the means of carrying the public wish into effect. In common with all the better men of his religious party, Cromwell was an earnest friend of education. As early as 1650, he had declared in favour of an University at Durham, alleging that it might, by God's blessing,

* The late Rev. Joseph Hunter has (Life of O. Heywood, p. 242) confounded this living with that of Bishop Auckland. St. Andrew's lies about a mile distant south of Bishop Auckland. In Ross and Mackenzie's County History, the name of Richard Frankland is given, with the ominous addition of "intruder," but the year of his "intrusion" is not specified.

Digitized by Google

conduce to promoting learning and piety in those poor, rude and ignorant parts, and that the place was pleasant and apt, the air healthful and provisions plentiful.

But six years elapsed before the plan was ripe for action; and finally, in 1657, the Protector issued a patent of endowment, appropriating certain Church lands, the Castle and some of the cathedral buildings, to the use of a College at Durham. Able professors were appointed, and visitors, gifted with large powers, were named from among the principal gentry in the interest of Parliament in the northern counties. Among the appointments we find the well-known Presbyterian names of Samuel Hammond, Edward Bowles, William Durant and Richard Gilpin. To Richard Frankland the office of Tutor was assigned.* The new University had its difficulties and its opponents. Oxford and Cambridge petitioned against their new sister, and protested against her being enabled to grant degrees. There were opponents of another class—men of enthusiastic notions like William Dell, William Erbury and George Fox—who, trusting exclusively to the operations of the Holy Spirit or the appeal to the inner light, distrusted all material arrangements and aids in making men ministers of Christ's gospel. Fox visited the College at Durham in 1657, and reasoned with one of the masters, whom he describes as "a man come from London to set up a College to make ministers of Christ, as they said." The good Quaker argued, "that to teach men Hebrew, Greek, Latin and the seven arts, which were all but the teachings of the natural man, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ. For the languages began at Babel; and to the Greeks, that spoke Greek as their mother tongue, the preaching of the cross of Christ was foolishness; and to the Jews, that spoke Hebrew as their mother tongue, Christ was a stumbling-block." With fanatical talk like this the leathern-girded Friend continued to assail University learning. He imagined in his simplicity that he had converted the Durham Professor. Possibly "the man from London" surmised that the worthy man who talked with him was a little out of his wits. At all events, he bore very patiently the Quaker's rebuffs, and, as the latter states, before the interview closed, "became very loving and tender." Such was not commonly the issue of the passages at arms which were at those days not uncommon in churches and chapels, and afterwards in prisons, between the Presbyterians and the disciples of Fox. We may, however, decline to accept Fox's statement that the Professor, in consideration of his arguments, "declined to set up his College."†

* In the documents connected with the establishment of the College at Durham, printed by Peck, Mr. Frankland's name is not mentioned; but in Samuel Wesley's "Reply" to "Palmer's Vindication," it is said that he was "Oliver's Vice-chancellor-elect at Durham" (p. 34).

† George Fox's Journal, II. 450 (5th ed., 8vo).

Digitized by Google

There were weightier hindrances than the idle puffs of the Quaker spirit.

The death of Cromwell, following so soon after the establishment of the College, was the blow which destroyed it. The feeble hands of Richard Cromwell, notwithstanding many flattering words from the Provost and Fellows of the new establishment, were not able to place it on a firm foundation. It had a feeble existence between life and death, till the Restoration came and brought changes not confined to the Cathedral close and Castle of Durham.*

Mr. Frankland probably owed his appointment to a Tutorship in the new University to the influence of his patron, whose name appears in connection with the scheme in the Commons' Journals, VI. 589.

Mr. Carlyle says that the College actually got to work, and "began giving lessons of human grammar, human geography, geometry and other divine knowledge, to the vacant human mind in those once sleepy edifices, dark heretofore or illuminated mainly by Dr. Cosins's papistical wax-lights or the like." (Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, II. 263.)

If Mr. Frankland had gone into Durham to reside (which is doubtful), he sought to forget his disappointment there by returning to his duties at St. Andrew's Auckland with renewed vigour. He was no listless and indifferent labourer in his Master's vineyard. In addition to the duties ordinarily performed by the clergy in those days, he gave his people each Sunday morning before the sermon an exposition of scripture, preached in the afternoon, catechized the young, and, not satisfied with any memoriter work on their part, endeavoured by familiar conversation to instil into their minds the principles and precepts of religion. His pastoral instruction was conveyed in an amiable and pleasing manner, and was enforced by the virtues of his daily life. His ministerial success was great; but it did not, when the tide in public affairs ebbed, save him from annoyance. Evil men, shrewdly prognosticating coming events, and feeling, even where they had professed it, no real regard for their zealous minister, hastened to assail him. An attorney named Bowster plotted with one Marthwaite, a clergyman of broken reputation, to do him wrong. The man of law publicly demanded from Mr. Frankland, even before the first persecuting Act was passed, whether he intended to conform. The minister so questioned quietly rebuked the impertinence by saying he hoped it was soon enough to answer that question when the King and Parliament had determined what conformity they would require. Then the man of law threatened him, if he refused to answer, that he should

* Our readers will find a sketch of the brief history of the Durham University in C. R., II. 290, 291, from the pen of Mr. James Yates. See also Carlyle's Letters of Cromwell.

Digitized by Google

be turned out of his place. Mr. Frankland replied that the King's proclamation for quiet possession would, he hoped, secure him from violence. Then the lawyer and his parson associate got possession of the keys of the church, and, setting Mr. Frankland at defiance, prevented his performing duty. The neighbouring magistrates were appealed to; they admitted the wrong, but declined to aid him to a legal remedy. He could do nothing less than prefer an indictment against his troublers for a riot and assault. A true bill was found, but the case was removed by the defendants to the assizes. Mr. Frankland was doomed to experience not only the delay but the uncertainty of the law; a slight flaw in the indictment saved the defendants. The pious divine was felt to be on the losing, as his rude assailants were on the winning side; his counsel did little for him, and so the matter ended.

When the Act of Uniformity passed, and it was necessary for the minister of St. Andrew's Auckland to determine on his future course, the new Bishop, Dr. Cosins, in a spirit very different from that of the violent men just named, pressed him to conform and receive episcopal ordination, assuring him, in that case, that, besides retaining his living there, he should receive further preferment. Mr. Frankland pleaded his reliance on the ordination he had received from presbyters, and the impossibility of his going through a new form of ordination. This objection was strongly felt by several of the Presbyterian clergy of 1662. His college friend, John Howe, when asked by Bishop Seth Ward to mention any one of his reasons against conformity, at once specified re-ordination. "Pray, Sir," said the Bishop, "what *hurt* is there in being twice ordained?" "*Hurt*, my Lord," rejoined Howe; "it *hurts* my understanding; the thought is shocking; it is an absurdity, since nothing can have two beginnings. I am sure I am a minister of Christ, and am ready to debate that matter with your Lordship if your Lordship pleases; but I cannot begin again to be a minister."*

The diocesan with whom Frankland had to argue his case tried to dissuade him from his scruple. Failing in this, he tempted him by offering to modify his conformity on the point of re-ordination by a private service, unknown to his people, and by giving a conditional character to the ceremony by the use of such words as these—"If thou hast not been ordained, I ordain thee!" Mr. Frankland knew the moral law too well to be persuaded to do that in private which he regarded as wrong if done publicly. His conviction was too clear and positive to justify his submitting to a hypothetical ordination. He was properly grateful to Bishop Cosins for his considerate kindness, and, taking a respectful leave, assured him that it was not temper but conscience that

* Rogers' Life of John Howe, p. 152.

Digitized by Google

forbad his conformity. The transaction was creditable to the good feeling of the Bishop, and in every way honourable to Mr. Frankland, illustrating the delicacy and strength of his moral sense, and the high estimation in which his ministerial abilities and personal character were regarded by others.

The moderation of Dr. John Cosins in his intercourse with Frankland is the more commendable, when it is remembered that he had been a considerable sufferer in the Commonwealth times, censured by Parliament, ejected from the Mastership of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and compelled for many years to reside in France. Neal speaks of him as "a zealous enemy of the Presbyterians." But we must remember the fact (also recorded by Neal) that his dying thoughts were those of charity and peace. "I take it to be my duty" (such is the sentiment recorded in his will), "and that of all the bishops and ministers of the Church, to do our utmost endeavour, that at last an end may be put to the differences of religion, or at least that they may be lessened."

The kindly feelings of the Bishop towards Mr. Frankland were afterwards disturbed by an incident which Calamy records. The Bishop preached a sermon from the words (1 Cor. xiv. last verse), "Let all things be done decently and in order." Mr. Frankland soon after, on the invitation of a brother minister, preached from the words in the context, "Let all things be done to edification." The Bishop resented the sermon as a designed affront; but a justice of the peace, who had been one of Mr. Frankland's hearers, acted as mediator, and assured the Bishop that the sermon was such as an orthodox divine should preach, and contained nothing hostile to the doctrine of the Church.

When the great crisis in his public life arrived, and Mr. Frankland found himself ejected from the Church in which he would willingly have continued to minister, could he have done so with a true and loyal conscience, he retired to Rathmel. In one respect his lot was less painful than that of most of the ejected clergy; poverty did not stare him in the face, as he had a small patrimonial estate. But to a man of active habits and decided character, the want of occupation is a severe trial. We do not know how the early years of his enforced silence were passed. At first the ejected minister of St. Andrew's might share the expectation of a speedy comprehension, and it was the policy of the Court from time to time to fan this delusive hope. He might also, as opportunity served, quietly minister among those of his neighbours in the Palatinate who hungered and thirsted for the religious instruction which the ejected had supplied to their hearts' content. We have, in the Letters of Dr. Granville, the Dean of Durham (just published by the Surtees Society), a curious picture of the ill condition of the diocese after the Restoration. The Church was opposed on the one side by the

Digitized by Google

Puritan, and on the other by the Popish party. In many parishes (we take the quotation from the Saturday Review), "masses were openly and publiquely said, and warning given to the people to come thereto." In other places, "*the churches were altogether unprovided of ministers,* and the fabrics altogether ruinous and in great decay. *There be neyther Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, surplisses, fonts, communion tables, nor anything that is necessarie for the service of God.*" Dr. Cosins did his best to supply the wants of his diocese; but generally speaking the hierarchy were more intent on driving out Nonconformists, than careful to supply the spiritual wants of those who conformed. The spiritual destitution of the Palatinate of Durham, between the Restoration and the Revolution, is the more remarkable as that county was, according to Calamy's account, less affected by Nonconformity than many others. The total number of those ejected between 1660 and 1662 was but thirty-two, and of these twelve subsequently conformed. Few men of note are mentioned besides Frankland and Pell. Calamy had, it is evident, not many sources of information relating to this distant part of the county, and it is probable that the names of some of the ejected in Durham, as in other counties, are altogether lost.

It was more than five years after his retirement from St. Andrew's Auckland before Mr. Frankland began anew his career as an instructor of youth and a theological tutor. In Dr. Calamy's narrative of his life, it is said that "he was persuaded to set up a private academy in his own house, and that Sir Thomas Liddal sent his son George to be educated under him."

The list of pupils at Rathmel is headed by "George Lyddell, March 8, 1669," who was the fifth and youngest son of Sir Thos. Liddell,* of Ravensworth Castle, in the county of Durham. It may occasion surprise that the head of the loyal house of Ravensworth should thus appear as the personal friend of a Nonconformist minister and the prompter of a Nonconformist academy. But Sir Thomas Liddell (the second baronet) had married Anne, daughter of Sir Harry Vane the elder, and the family history at this period has other tokens of a strong Nonconformist bias. Thus Robert, an elder brother of Mr. Frankland's first pupil, married into the family of William Kiffin, the eminent Nonconformist merchant of London, and, dying young, was buried in the Dissenters' ground at Bunhill Fields.

For nearly thirty years Mr. Frankland continued to perform the laborious but honourable duties of an instructor of youth. From the first he received and instructed young men for the ministry, and thus takes his place at the head of a long roll of names, among which the most conspicuous after his own are Samuel

* Thus we have three modes of spelling the same name, a warning against the dogmatism of those that suppose that there is one only right way of designating names in the seventeenth century.

Digitized by Google

Jones, Grove, Latham, Doddridge, Aikin, Priestley, Enfield, Belsham and Wellbeloved. Samuel Wesley speaks, but not with perfect accuracy, of the academy at Rathmel as being *the first* of the Nonconformist academies in England and the model of all the rest.

To the early Nonconformist tutors especial honour is due. They cast their seed on the waters under a threatening sky, not knowing but that the fruit of their toil would be at once destroyed by the storm of persecution. A Nonconformist with a Master's degree from one of the Universities was in those times taunted with a twofold crime,—first, that of interfering with the Royal prerogative, and next, with a violation of the oath by which Masters of Arts undertook not to perform their readings as in an University anywhere but at Oxford and Cambridge. This oath* had grown out of an attempt at an early period to draw off students to Stamford and Northampton. The oath was interpreted as relating only to those exercises which preceded the conferring degrees. It was, however, in some instances, a trouble to the sensitive conscience of the early Nonconformists. Mr. Frankland's neighbour, Mr. William Pell, the ejected minister of Great Stainton, when at Newcastle, declined compliance, on the ground of his University oath, with the solicitation of his friends to teach University learning.

Nonconformist tutors in the seventeenth century also entered on their work with the prospect of concentrating against their dwellings and persons the worst spite of every neighbouring parson whose hatred of schism was stronger than his goodnature:

> "Unasked their pains, ungrateful their advice,
> Starving their gain, and martyrdom their price."

Mr. Frankland was eminently successful as a tutor. The biographers of his pupils never mention his name save with honour. Dr. James Clegg, one of the later generation, and one of the last survivors of his pupils, thus describes both the tutor and the academic discipline at Rathmel in his account of Mr. John Ashe:

"The Rev. Mr. Frankland, M.A., had then under his conduct the most numerous and flourishing private academy in England, and he was indeed, by great learning, wisdom and an admirable temper, excellently qualified for that post and service. In the space of a few years he had to the number of 300 and upwards under his tuition,—some of them intended for the law, some for physic, but most of them for the ministry of the gospel; and I never knew a tutor so entirely beloved by them all, nor one that so well deserved it. His unaffected gravity, sweetened with candour, meekness and humility, procured him that esteem and veneration even from the most licentious, that made them ever afraid of grieving or offending him."

---

* The subject was largely discussed in the controversy (1704—1707) between Samuel Palmer and Samuel Wesley respecting Nonconformist academies, and the learning, loyalty and morals of Dissenters.

Digitized by Google

Of the discipline at the academy, Dr. Clegg gives this account:

"The whole family was called to prayer exactly at seven in the morning, summer and winter. About an hour after breakfast, the several classes, according to their seniority, were called into the lecture-room, and the tutor and his assistant continued reading lectures to them till noon. After dinner, the students that minded their business retired to their closets till six at night, and were then called to prayers. After supper, the most diligent and studious met eight or ten in a chamber, to confer about their reading, and any difficulties they had met with in it, and one of them prayed before they parted. On Thursdays, the students exhibited theses on such subjects as were given them, and disputed in public on such questions as the tutor appointed. On that night, after supper, they had often disputations in their chambers on such questions as they agreed to debate. On Saturdays, before the evening prayers, one read in public what was called an analysis or methodical and critical dissertation on some verses of a Psalm, or some chapter of the New Testament; but this was not expected from any in their first years. After supper, on that night, they met in their chambers to confer on some practical subject, and concluded with prayer, which each performed in his turn, but only one of a night."

This is probably the period at which to introduce a very remarkable incident in the life of Mr. Frankland, and which serves to set forth his moral courage and patriotism. We give the story as found in Thoresby's transcript of Dr. Henry Sampson's (also one of the ejected clergy, respecting whom we may have more to say hereafter) Day-book (additional MSS., British Museum, No. 4460, p. 28):

"*Mr. Frankland's the N. C. minister his going to King Charles II.*

"Himself told me that he had a violent impulse upon his mind to go to the King; that he could neither study nor do anything else for several days; that he took up a resolution that he would go to him. He acquainted some with it, who spent some time in prayer, as himself also did at other times. He wrote down what he intended to say to him, thinking it too adventurous to speak to a King extempore, or what presence of mind he might then have; so he goes to the old Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberleyne, who used him very friendly, and desired him that he would bring him to speak to the King. The Earl would fain have known what he would say to him, but he would not tell him. The Earl appoints him a place to stand at, which the King was to passe by to the Councell. When the King came out, 'That's the man,' said the Earle, 'would speak to your Majesty.' The King asked him, 'Would you speak with me?' 'Yes,' saith he, 'but in private.' So the King stept aside from the nobility that followed. Then said Mr. Frankland, 'The Eternall God, whose I am and whom I serve, commands you to reform your life, your family, your kingdom and the Church; if you do not, there are such judgments of God impending (at which words he grew pale and chang'd countenance) that wil destroy both you and the kingdome.' 'I wil,' saith the King, 'do what I can.' Mr. Fr. repeated this later part and added, 'I know the wrath of a King is as the roaring of a lyon; but for the sake of your soul I have taken up this speech, and leave it with you.' The King hasted away, saying,

Digitized by Google

'I thank you, Sir;' and twice looking back before he went into the counsel-chamber, said, 'I thank you, Sir,—I thank you.' But he said and did not."

The "old Earl of Manchester" who was the means of obtaining for Mr. Frankland the audience, was one of the more moderate of the Presbyterian party, who had a considerable hand in the Restoration, on account of which his former political transgressions were forgiven, and he received in 1660 the office of Lord Chamberlain. He performed the duties of that office (according to Clarendon) so well, that he retained it till his death, May 5, 1671. It was probably not long before this date that Frankland adventured to cross the lion's path, and, notwithstanding his boldness, retired unhurt. The anecdote helps us to understand of what kind of stuff the ejected ministers were made in respect to delicacy of conscience and strength of nerve. Charles too seldom in the precincts of his Court encountered either in man or woman fearless truth and honour; on this occasion he exhibited a momentary moral sense by thanking the blunt reprover of his vices.

It was just as the Rathmel Academy began to flourish that he was troubled by harassing law proceedings issuing from the spiritual courts. He was again and again cited and prosecuted, and at last excommunicated. These proceedings of necessity injured his worldly prospects, and occasioned him much expense in frequent removals, in order that he might put himself out of the reach of the local court in which the proceedings originated. His first removal was into the neighbouring county of Westmoreland, where he found, in the spring of 1674, a convenient place of retreat in the quiet village of Natland, about a mile from Kendal. Here the ancient chapel had fallen into ruin; and as there was no endowment, there was no resident clergyman,—a circumstance which perhaps secured him a longer period of quiet than he was permitted to enjoy elsewhere previous to the Revolution.

The letter which follows, written from Natland, has been kindly furnished from the MS. collections of Mr. Morehouse, the author of the "History of Lydgate Chapel," &c. It is addressed to one of his early pupils, Mr. Elston, then a tutor in a gentleman's family in Sussex, and afterwards minister to an Independent church at Topcliff, near Wakefield.

"My dear Friend,—I could not well be longer silent without telling you how we are and enquiering how you doe. We all here (through mercy) are in health, and, which is more, we are yet, through the wonderfull care and protection of our Heavenly Father, in peace. It seems strange to all that consider of it how it should be soe, but I desire wholly to look beyond second causes as to this. There be six of our family just now goeing for Scotland, in order to their becoming graduates in the spring, viz., Sam. Yates, John Heywood and his brother,

Digitized by Google

Thom. Cotton, Chr. Richardson and Gift Kirby. Their godly parents were very doubtfull what to resolve about their goeing, in respect of the times, and that dark cloud which still hangs over us. Yet at last they have concluded to let them goe, but have engaged me to goe along with them. John Issot stays with me. Severall (through mercy) of our late Dissenting Professors are now come in, and our number is considerably increased. Thers great hopes of the Gospells successe if our peace and liberty be continued. Dear Friend, let us hear how it is with you, and with that worthy family wherein God hath cast you. That relation you gave in your letter of soe worthy a son of the late eminent Dr. Ames was noe small comfort to me. I would willingly goe some miles to see him (should Providence cast me into your parts) for his father's sake, but whether ever that may be is very doubtfull.

"Pray, dear Friend, let me hear fully how it is with you in all respects, and impart what news you have. Time will not suffer me to enlarge; soe with mine and all our dear respects to you, leaveing in the armes of our gracious Father, I rest, your ever affectionately endeared friend,

"*Natl., Sept.* 25, 1676." "RI. FFRANCKLAND."

During his residence at Natland, he preached, in defiance of the persecuting laws, in his own house and elsewhere in that district, and thus attracted the notice of the degraded men who, as informers and prosecutors, wrought the purposes of intolerant Churchmen. But he lived at Natland from 1674 until the spring of 1683. Then the enforcement of the Five-Mile Act made it convenient to him to get to a greater distance from the borough-town of Kendal. He found a place of refuge for himself and pupils in Calton, an insignificant village on the banks of the Eure. Calton Hall, the family house of Major-General Lambert, was his dwelling here.* In less than a year he was compelled to make other changes, going to Dawsonfold, Hartborough, and Cartmell Sands, on Morecombe Bay. In 1686, he removed to the immediate neighbourhood of Sheffield, where the Nonconformist interest had been from the first considerable, and found for three or four years a home at Attercliffe. Wherever he went he was followed by legal troubles. Like the poor hunted hare, he returned at last to his original seat, re-establishing himself after the Revolution in his own house at Rathmel.

Postponing for the present some statements respecting the academy, we proceed to notice some of the sufferings of the Yorkshire confessors of Nonconformity.

The closing years of the reign of Charles II. were times of rigorous persecution to the Nonconformists. That period was, in the nervous words of good Oliver Heywood, "a day of rebuke

* Mr. Hunter (Life of Heywood, p. 290, note) has detected traces of Puritanism at an early date in the family of Lambert, of Calton. One member of the family, the wife of the General's son (by birth a Lister, of Arnoldsbiggen), was accustomed to attend Nonconformist worship. She induced Mr. Frankland to preach in Craven, at first against her husband's wishes, but he afterwards changed his feelings on the subject, though he continued to be a Churchman.

Digitized by Google

and blasphemy, a day of scattering and treading down in the valley of vision; ministers and their flocks rent asunder, solemn assemblies sorrowfully broken up, and silent sabbaths by some profaned; ignorance increasing, ... persecution revived, and thousands of precious souls wandering about as sheep that have no shepherd."

To the heart of Mr. Frankland the sorrows of that trying time came home through the sufferings of some who had stood to him in the relation of pupils, and who for exercising the ministry, for which he had so well prepared them, were visited with all the penalties of the Carolinian persecuting laws. The late Mr. Hunter tells the story with simple brevity in his invaluable Life of Oliver Heywood (p. 310):

"Two young ministers, who had been pupils in the academy of Frankland, and who were settled in the ministry at Leeds and Sheffield, *were marked for this persecution, as examples, it may seem, to deter the other pupils of that seminary*, viz. Thomas Whitaker and Timothy Jollie, the son of Thomas Jollie, of Altham. They were imprisoned for a long period in the Castle at York, and the death during that period of the young wife of Mr. Whitaker made his case the more grievous; but they both bore it with a fortitude such that the example operated to encourage, not to deter."

Presently another and most valued friend of Frankland was incarcerated in the same prison, his college companion, Oliver Heywood. The worthy tutor would naturally anticipate that his own time of imprisonment might not be far distant. But he did not allow the danger to interfere with the faithful performance of the sacred duties of friendship. He visited his imprisoned friends, and probably received from their account of themselves and the mode in which they passed their time in the house of bondage, more comfort than he affected to give them. Greatly would the talk which week by week spread over the hills and through the valleys of the north, and was repeated and prayed over by so many firesides, increase the affection of the Nonconformists for their ministers and confirm them in their principles. Not only love and pity for the sufferers, but a feeling of indignation against their persecutors would arise, when they heard how the innocent and godly prisoners bore their sufferings with gentle patience, reading together the word of God, and such books as Fox's Acts and Monuments, Baxter's Paraphrase and Poole's Annotations,—praying together twice or thrice a day,—preaching to the unhappy inmates of their abode as often as the jailor would permit them,—and knowing no other variation or alleviation of their days and weeks of monotonous sorrow, than the occasional visit of some brother in Nonconformity as fearless as the kind-hearted tutor of the northern academy.

(To be continued.)

Digitized by Google

DEPRIVATION OF THE REV. D. I. HEATH.*

ECCLESIASTICAL discipline is a chapter of chances in the Church of England. The cumbersomeness, expense and uncertainty of the law, and (partly as a consequence) the reluctance of ecclesiastical superiors to publish Church scandals needlessly, give large impunity alike to heresy, folly and vice. Strange that the same lay tribunals which decide upon immoralities as in the Stepney case, upon rubrical vagaries and riots like those of St. Barnabas's and St. George's-in-the-East, have to pronounce upon questions of orthodox doctrine also, as in the long-vexed and at last evaded question of baptismal regeneration.

Just now trials for heresy are in the ascendant, though the omissions to prosecute are yet more notorious than the prosecutions. Of the authors of those Essays and Reviews which were so summarily condemned by Convocation, only one is as yet cited to the Ecclesiastical Court, though the "unsound theology" of another has been a second time "discountenanced by bad morality" in congregation at Oxford. But while Dr. Rowland Williams, a man of profound scholarship and undoubted power, who has lately discomfited one Welsh Bishop on questions of learning and shewn himself fully equal to another as a master of fence, is waiting for the Bishop of Salisbury's legal arguments against his review of Bunsen, an interlude of lighter order comes off in the Court of Arches, which seems to confute the maxim (at least as applicable to the Ecclesiastical Courts), *De minimis non curat lex*. The prosecution of Mr. Heath by the Bishop of Winchester, issuing in the deprivation of the former (against which, however, he appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council), is, we take the liberty of thinking, a contemptible affair from the point of view furnished by general ecclesiastical practice and general episcopal apathy. It is not, however, on this account the less deserving of notice, nor the less truly illustrative of the need of reform both in the doctrinal constitution and the legal administration of the Church.

The Rev. Dunbar Isidore Heath, a clergyman in middle life, was educated at Cambridge, where he graduated and obtained a

* Sermons on Important Subjects, by the Rev. D. I. Heath, Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, and late Fellow of Trin. Col. Cam. Tallant and Co.

Heath *v.* Burder. Case on behalf of the Rev. Dunbar Isidore Heath, Clerk, the Appellant.

Joint Appendix to Case, &c.

Judgment of the Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council on the Appeal of the Rev. Dunbar Isidore Heath, Clerk, *versus* John Burder, from the Arches Court of Canterbury, delivered July 9, 1860.

Why am I prosecuted? By Rev. Dunbar Isidore Heath, late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and still Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight. 12mo. Pp. 8.

Will Mr. Heath lose his Living? 12mo. Pp. 11.

To the Dissenting Ministers of the Isle of Wight. A Letter, by Rev. D. I. Heath. 12mo. Pp. 16.

Digitized by Google

Fellowship in Trinity College. In 1846, he was presented by the Master, Fellows and Scholars of his College, with the vicarage of Brading, in the east-central portion of the Isle of Wight (a parish lying a little to the north of Sandown and its beautiful bay).

Of the secret genesis of the proceedings which have brought the Vicar of Brading so prominently into public notice, we have heard this account. There is a clerical club in the Isle of Wight, the members of which hold a monthly meeting for the reading and expounding of scripture and the consideration of theological subjects. Of this club Mr. Heath was a member, and, in common with others, exercised his right of giving his opinion and criticising the expressed opinions of others. The frequent divergence of his opinions on theology from those of his brethren, led to a motion that Mr. Heath should no longer be a member of the club. By the slenderest majority his ejection was effected. Regarding their act as a wilful shutting of clerical eyes against the light of truth, Mr. Heath expressed his purpose to go into the parishes of his brethren and teach the people that which he saw reason for thinking they would not have the opportunity of learning from their appointed spiritual pastors and teachers. Engaging a room at Ryde, Mr. Heath lectured, and with considerable success, to numerous audiences. In what other parishes he may have lectured we are not informed. The novel manifestation of the missionary spirit was warmly resented by the clergy of the island as a schismatical and dangerous precedent. They appealed to Dr. Sumner, the Bishop of Winchester, to suppress the itinerant lecturings of the Vicar of Brading. Their appeal brought the latter into correspondence with his diocesan, and the result was the prosecution for heresies against the doctrines of the Church of England and the Thirty-nine Articles, contained in the volume of Sermons published in March, 1858.

In the early proceedings in the suit, Mr. Heath succeeded (July 9, 1860) in forcing from the prosecutor a distinct specification of the charges brought against him, and of the unsound doctrine of which he was supposed to be guilty. In the documents and arguments adduced in this part of the case, Mr. Heath made large use of the proceedings against the Rev. Francis Stone in 1807, of which a full account may be found in the early volumes of the *Monthly Repository*.

Mr. Heath's heresies are all, we understand, contained in the volume of Sermons cited by us; and those for which he has been prosecuted are thus summed up in the little pamphlet of eight pages addressed to a friend:

"Dear Friend,—You ask me what I am being prosecuted for? Not an easy question to answer, I assure you. After more than a year's delay, and at the expense of several hundred pounds, his Lordship, the Bishop of Winchester, has at last told me that I am wrong on certain subjects; but he has not told me what he thinks is wrong.

Digitized by Google

"He says, You are wrong on Justification; you are wrong on Faith and Belief; you are wrong on Propitiation and Satisfaction; you are wrong on God's Wrath and Anger; you are wrong on Forgiveness of Sins; you are wrong on Repentance and Faith; you are wrong on Heaven; you are wrong on Penalty of Sin and Guilt of Sin; and lastly, you are wrong in saying that certain words and phrases are not scriptural.

"For your information, then, I can inform you that the Bishop thinks I am so wrong on all these points that I am not fit to be an incumbent of the Church of England; but if you ask me in what way the Bishop thinks me wrong, I have not a scrap of information to give you. Perhaps he thinks I am wrong in one way on these subjects, perhaps in another. I dare say there are twenty ways of being wrong on each of these subjects; so there may be 180 ways of being wrong altogether.

"I will now give you my real opinion on each of these nine points, where the Bishop thinks I am wrong. When I have done so, I think you will agree with me that I am not wrong on any one of them.

"First, then, on Justification. Just as Sanctification is the breathing in of a spirit of sanctity or holiness among men by the most Holy and Personal Spirit of Holiness, so it is clear that Justification is the breathing in of the most vital and essential spirit of Justice by the great and Personal Justifier, the Lord of Justice, Jesus Christ. This is exactly what our 13th Article says about it, and it is exactly my own opinion. The Article under the name of Justification talks of the breathing in or inspiration of a certain spirit, which of course can be none other than the spirit of Justice, or else it would not be called Justification. Justice, you are quite aware, is different from holiness. A holy man, notwithstanding his holiness, may place his neighbours in wrong places; but Justice places men in their just places, and that is why it is called Justice.

"As it seems, then, I am safe enough on this point under our own Articles, I go on to the question of Faith.

"Faith I consider to be Trust. Jesus Christ came to preach and introduce this spirit of faith, or trust, among men. He himself shewed us the example on the cross of trusting in the Father, and his Resurrection was a clear proof that that Trust was not misplaced. The more men trust God, the more they will be able to trust each other; and the more they trust each other, the more they will be able to trust God. Trust is a principle of action. When we trust to any one, we mean that we trust to him in something we are about to do; we lean on him—we lean forward—we are said to walk by faith; and when we walk across the room, we are always trusting to something future at each step; for whenever we raise our foot, we trust to the floor of the room to sustain us when we put it down again. This is my opinion on this point, and I am quite right in it according to our own Articles; for our 17th Article names the faith in eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, and of course this is a faith in something future.

"The next point is on Propitiation and Satisfaction, in which I am quite right.

"It is a shockingly wrong idea to suppose that the good God requires to be propitiated or bribed by the sufferings of His Son. You know a great deal better than this yourself. The Jewish priest used to make an atonement, or propitiation, or satisfaction, or whatever we like to call it. Yes, of course he did. So did Jesus Christ. Yes, of course he did.

Digitized by Google

The shocking thing is, that any Christian should be so ignorant as to suppose he did it for God. He did it for himself, and the altar, and the congregation, for whom it was much wanted. I am right on this point according to our 31st Article; for the Article says the offering of Christ was a redemption as well as a propitiation and satisfaction; and to suppose that Jesus Christ *redeemed* God, is so uncommonly absurd as to require no further notice; and yet I much fear the Bishop must think the Article says that Jesus Christ propitiated God.

"We now come to God's Anger and Wrath, in which I am quite right according to our own Prayer Book; for we teach in our Catechism that children are born naturally the children of wrath, and yet at the very same moment that we call them children of wrath, we say we are persuaded of God's goodwill towards them. This clearly shews that God's wrath must be something which does not prevent him from having goodwill at the same time, and in fact the wrath is the name for something in man not in God; it is like the mist in man's eye, which prevents him seeing the sun; not a mist in the sun, but in man's eyes or the earth's atmosphere.

"Forgiveness of Sins comes next, and three words will shew that Remission is not the same as Forgiveness in common English language. If any one were to talk about remission of sinners, or remitting sinners for their sins, he would talk nonsense. We say forgiveness of sinners, not remission of sinners; therefore forgiveness is not exactly the same as remission. Moreover, the Lords of the Privy Council, in their own judgment of July 9, 1860, said they would remit the case to the lower court, and it would have been nonsense to say they would forgive the case to the lower court.

"The next doctrine is about Heaven. I believe that the whole human race will be united into one grand kingdom, and that there will be eternal differences of degrees in that kingdom. The highest will have eternal glory, and the lowest will have eternal damnation. A grown-up man is in error if he still believes what his nurse, I suppose, taught him on this point. Nurses know no better. I have an affection for a good many people who have some rather bad faults, and I do not believe for one moment that in the next age God will prevent me enjoying the pleasure of their society.

"We next come to Penalty of Sin and Guilt of Sin; but here there is no doubt at all that I am altogether right according to the Articles; for the Articles talk sometimes of original sin, and sometimes of original guilt, meaning the same thing; so that guilt means just sin; and what I have said is, that the way to put away what is called guilt, is to put away the sin itself. I also say that sin is its own penalty.

"As to the last charge, that certain phrases are not in scripture, certainly they are not. If they are, it will be very easy to produce them. Shew me the chapter and verse which talks of our going to heaven, or of the immortality of our souls, and so on. The Scriptures talk of the kingdom of heaven and of the resurrection of the body.

"Thus I have answered your question, why I am being prosecuted. It seems very odd, very unnecessary, very expensive, very silly. I did all I could to prevent it."

Of Mr. Heath we know nothing personally; but his own ex-

Digitized by Google

planations above cited, like his sermons on which the accusation was based, shew him to be a most painstaking, scripture-loving and simple-minded man, only *too* literal in his mode of dealing with scripture, while very fanciful (yet orthodox enough there) in bringing passages together through the mere affinity of sound, and, we may say perhaps, crochety in some of his theories of scripture doctrine. In many of his expressions there is a truly healthy morality protesting against theological notions which are usually regarded as essential to orthodoxy, but which he does not scruple to call "detestable doctrines" (p. 91), "contemptible systems of modern theology" (p. 176), "regardless of the first principles of common sense and grammatical propriety" (p. 145). Such expressions as these have doubtless given great offence.

Mr. F. D. Maurice, in a letter in Macmillan's Magazine (Dec. 1861), says of Mr. Heath and his writings:

"His language is that of an ingenious, erudite, solitary, eccentric thinker. He has been annoyed by certain statements and phrases of his brethren which seem to him not irrational, but unscriptural [both irrational and unscriptural, we take Mr. Heath to say]. He has tried to correct them by philological crochets which half-a-dozen persons in England may understand, or may perceive to contain the hint of truths, which few or none will adopt..... He is a gentleman and a scholar; he is a faithful parish priest."

The editor of the French Protestant journal, *Le Lien* (whom nothing seems to escape in English theology and ecclesiastical affairs), has founded a corresponding estimate of Mr. Heath on his writings:

"He seems a man whose ideas are original and strange rather than profound, and who clings to words more than to things, to formularies of expression rather than to the realities of the inner spiritual life." (Nov. 16.)

This clinging to words more than things is seen in the opening passage of Sermon xii., on which what he calls "the last charge" was founded. It is a strange and unreasonable passage, but is literally correct in its assertions, and was not proved to be otherwise at the trial; but largely contributed, we believe, to his condemnation:

"The more I study the Bible for myself, the more astounding I find it how many of the most fundamental ideas and phrases of modern theology have been foisted in without sanction from that all-sufficing record of our religion. One after another, no less than about twenty ideas or phrases, such as guilt of sin, paying a penalty, going to heaven, going to hell, immortality of the soul, satisfaction, imputed righteousness, appropriating the work of Christ, necessary to salvation, and many others, have vanished from my system, because, as a minister of Christ, studying these matters professionally, I see them to be phrases and ideas, not only absent from scripture, but darkening and confusing the clearest of the otherwise most intelligible and comforting statements of Holy Writ. The stewards of the mysteries of Christ have much to answer for.

Digitized by Google

They are the causes of the infidelity against which they rail in such a cursing spirit."

Elsewhere (p. 198) he speaks of the word "merit" as unscriptural. He does not, however, include *Trinity, Deity of Christ, God the Son* or *God the Holy Ghost* (as he might have done), among the unscriptural phrases.

He cannot be contradicted as to the fact that his enumerated phrases are unscriptural. And in connection with the rejection of some of them he avows true and important moral distinctions. The guilt of sin, he says, is not to be put away, but the sin itself.

"Absurd nonsense! Can the guilt of lying be destroyed or buried or washed away, except by destroying or burying or washing away the lying itself? Is there less penalty for lying on the resurrection side of the pit, among those who know their Lord's will, than on the other side before the 'penalty' was (as the fools say) 'paid'?"—P. 116.

His objection to the phrases, "paying the penalty," "going to heaven and hell," &c., seems to arise out of the great conviction "that hell and the wrath of God is *our own selves revealed to us truly in the gospel*, and which Jesus came to deliver us from" (p. 77). The "immortality of the soul" he thinks a phrase of heathen philosophy (as perhaps it is, if not rather of human instinct); but he says, "I believe in eternal life and eternal death,"—to the latter of which phrases we might demur on his own ground of its being unscriptural. On *satisfaction, imputed righteousness, appropriating the work of Christ*, &c., he is nobly moral, whether orthodox or not, and (we must add) whether quite clear and intelligible or not:

"God will be satisfied and pleased or propitiated when men who have ten talents are enabled, by the success of Jesus in the world, to enjoy ten talents' worth of life, and when men who have one talent shall be able to enjoy that one talent's worth, and when the pitch dark theology of Law, which loves darkness rather than light, is able to move off into the outer darkness, away from the light which it hates. God's justice not yet satisfied; therefore God cannot be merciful! What a desolate, foul abomination! What a crooked notion of Deity! How utterly unscriptural; how utterly degrading! And God's justice satisfied by what? By the crucifixion! By the most glaring piece of injustice ever committed in the whole history of the world, by the greatest crime and most accursed deed ever committed! Woe to them that are with child and to them that give suck to such a system, that draw the grossest *injustice* up with cords of vanity and place it in the most holy place. If any of these men, brethren, who stand this abomination where it ought not, shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or Lo, He is there, believe him not. Study the simple theology of Grace which makes Jesus to be the agent of the Father, purchasing back the world to the Father, and sacrificing himself to sin in the attempt, for the sake of His inheritance; and Jesus, having bought the inheritance by His sin-offering to sin, will fill it full of love, and the fruits of love, and present it to the Father as a peace-offering, a sweet savour to God. This is the Gospel. This is Christianity."—P. 195.

Digitized by Google

This passage implies two or three more ideas belonging to Mr. Heath's "system" which we wish to specify a little more particularly; some of them do not seem to have been in the list of his cited heresies. The passage is also a specimen of that mixed wildness and literalism in the use of scripture phraseology for which Mr. Heath is remarkable. Surely he is right, morally right, in his mode of speaking of the crucifixion, and in reprobating the common orthodox ideas that cluster round it. Yet we do not find that he has grasped the scriptural idea (so natural to Jewish Christians) which saw in the death of Jesus an analogy to the old sin-offering of the Law, in its having justified both Jews and Gentiles, and placed them for ever within reach of the mercy-seat without further sacrifice. Another of Mr. Heath's special ideas transpires here, namely, that Jesus sacrificed himself *to sin*, and redeemed the world from sin. This is a great improvement upon the vulgar orthodox idea that he redeemed (bought) men from God, under whose curse they lay. It is not unlike the old middle-age notion that he redeemed men from the devil; but it is said (though we do not find proof in these Sermons) that Mr. Heath doubts the personal existence of Satan. He has not found out, apparently, that *redeemed* means delivered even without actual price, as the Israelites were redeemed from Pharaoh, who gained nothing but a loss as the price of letting his slaves go.

Mr. Heath's ideas of Justification are more English than theological or scriptural. To justify is to do justice, he says; to put everybody in his proper place. "Justified freely. Yes. This is what I have long seen. We shall, without any conditions at all on our part, be placed in our righteous or just places; and it will be through the grace and favour of God that this result will be obtained. The rogue, the hypocrite and the great Christian, will each, by the favour of God, find his level unconditionally" (p. 119). He anticipates the second coming of Christ as the means of completing these just arrangements (pp. 55, 62); and describes himself as one of a party in the Church who "see that the Spirit is an invisible comforter, who strives upon the face of the turbulent waters, until a *Man* shall come whom (who) God has ordained, shall establish rightness both among the quick and the dead. This party says, We shall never get right by going on as we are now. We must wait for Jesus. They think the hope of the Church is the coming again of the man Christ Jesus, to cast out all scandals and offences and to introduce the kingdom of Righteousness." Whether such a party has any recognized existence in the Church of England, or only in Mr. Heath's imagination, we cannot tell. He seems to anticipate "the reconciliation of the whole world and the obedience of the whole world" (pp. 100, 103). He has a striking but (in what should be its positive doctrine) obscure sermon, No. xi., intitled, *Ne-*

Digitized by Google

hushtan, the Dead Christ, from the text, "Is it Christ that died, yea, rather that is risen again?" in earnest deprecation of the views of "the great majority of the present generation," by whom "the *death* of Christ is far more looked to than his ***work while alive,*** whether before or after his resurrection" (p. 107). And there is another curious sermon, No. xvii., intitled, ***Circulating and Poured-out Blood,*** in which he pursues the same idea, somewhat mystically maintaining that in the efficacy ascribed in scripture to the blood of Christ, allusion is generally made not to "poured-out blood," but "circulating blood, which, while it remains and circulates within the warm body, is the principle of *life* and edification or growth." And in the ninth sermon, on ***Propitiation,*** there is this bold and finely moral passage:

"There are many savage nations still where blood for blood is the rule; propitiation by the shedding of blood is one of the oldest institutions of the world. Now I am afraid it is a very common idea that the glorious and great God and Father of mankind, all-holy and all-loving, was propitiated 1800 years ago by blood, and is propitiated now at this minute by our faith in this blood. I know not how to find words strong enough to express my abhorrence of this detestable doctrine. God is propitiated by Christ; but Christ's blood has long ago been poured out, not to propitiate his kind and benevolent Father, but to bring men up to his Father, out of the system of law which kept them away from the Father, and into the system of freedom and spirit and mercy and grace and faith which is pleasing to the Father. Christ is at this moment the propitiation, not for our sins only, but for the whole world."—P. 91.

If to these quotations we add that Mr. Heath insists upon translating those passages which seem to demand faith *in* Christ by "the faith *of* Christ," that is, "the same identical faith as His," we have brought out the most salient points of his "system," and perhaps disclosed more heresies than the nine charged against him. It is plain that he rejects as immoral all those conventional phrases and ideas of the common orthodoxy which morality requires to be explained away by those who profess them. But Mr. Heath appears quite unconscious of holding any doctrines contrary to the Church Articles, as he concludes his little letter to his friend by saying,—

"I have done no harm by casting out from the minds of my neighbours a great deal of metaphysical nonsense, which I am quite sure nobody understood, and I am perfectly certain that I have not attacked a single doctrine of the very liberal and sensible Church of England."

We do not venture to decide so difficult a question against him. The Judicial Committee of Privy Council may possibly reverse Dr. Lushington's judgment. But, whatever may be the ultimate decision, we have the same reflection to make, the same question to urge, What is the use, advantage or purpose of the Thirty-nine Articles? Mr. Heath has signed them, no doubt conscientiously, yet he is charged with nine heresies and con-

Digitized by Google

victed of four, while unconscious of having committed one. If his deprivation be confirmed, how hard upon him is it that those Articles should be so unintelligible! If it be reversed, what a snare they have been to the Bishop and clergy of Winchester! The heresy may prove perhaps to be on their part. And all this doubt and uncertainty in a Church founded expressly upon uniformity and orthodoxy! It is a practical satire upon such pretensions.

It is particularly worthy of notice that the Judge in an Ecclesiastical Court allows no reference to be made to scripture in defence of one accused of heresy. The Church in many of its Articles appeals to the authority of scripture, and in the twentieth seems to make its own authority quite subordinate: "It is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of scripture that it be repugnant to another." But when we come to the point of law, we find the Article is paramount and Scripture is put out of court. Dr. Lushington makes this quite clear, as in the nature of things it must be. He quoted the judgment of Lords Langdale, Campbell, Wensleydale, Kingsdown, with the two Archbishops and himself, in the Gorham case, as laying down this principle:

"This question must be decided by the Articles and the Liturgy, and we must apply to the construction of those books the same rules which have been long established, and are by law applicable to the construction of all written instruments."

In his own person he observed (shewing that *lax subscription* is not the lawyer's idea of clerical duty or privilege in signing):

"It was contrary to all probability, as well as irreconcilable with the ordinary rules of construction in so solemn a proceeding as the establishment of the Articles of Religion or Book of Common Prayer, to presume that anything was inserted *to be inoperative or rejected.*"

Again:

"It was no part of his province, and he distinctly disclaimed any attempt, to affix any meaning to this Article by any reference of his own to the Holy Scriptures."

And,

"He thought that every clergyman of the Established Church was bound to bear in mind the Articles of Religion in every sermon which he preached and published."

These are the necessary consequences of having theological Articles sanctioned by Act of Parliament and capable of being enforced like other parliamentary enactments. But did not the learned Judge confuse himself a little when he confuted Mr. Heath's assertion that the phrase "necessary to salvation" is unscriptural, *by finding it in the sixth Article?* We suggest this as a point for Mr. Heath in his appeal.

Digitized by Google

One of the tender mercies of the Ecclesiastical Court is to give the option of *retractation.* As Bishop Bonner gave opportunity to Protestants and Cranmer to Anabaptists when condemned to the stake to retract their belief and substitute a falsehood, the Court of Arches offered Mr. Heath the same alternative as the condition of retaining his preferment. But it seems not to have been very clear what or how he must have retracted if he had been disposed. What a reproach to the Court, to the Law and to the Church, was his quiet answer, "Well, my answer must be that I do not know what the law requires of me"! After retiring with his advocate, he still returned the same answer; and thereupon sentence of deprivation was pronounced. Here is the record of that solemn burlesque by which opinions are settled for the clergy in this Protestant country:

"The charge of heresy brought against the Rev. D. I. Heath by the Bishop of Winchester, came again before the Court of Arches on Saturday.—Dr. Lushington said the Court gave Mr. Heath a fortnight to consider whether he would retract according to the statute; and if he declared that day that he was ready to retract, the Court would give him further time to shape his retractation.—Dr. Phillimore said Mr. Heath found considerable difficulty in knowing exactly how to act in this matter; among other reasons, because he did not quite understand, with regard to the thirteen articles brought against him, whether the decision of the Court was that they were to be retracted separately from and independently of each other, or what shape the retractation was to assume. He thought it only fair, therefore, to ask that a form of retractation should be suggested either by the other side or by the Court. —Dr. Lushington said there were four articles proved which the Court thought contained erroneous doctrines. If Mr. Heath were prepared to retract the errors contained in those four articles, that was all the Court could desire; but it was for Mr. Heath to frame his retractation, and not for the Court or the opposite party to take any steps in the matter. —Dr. Phillimore then explained aloud to Mr. Heath, who is extremely deaf, that the Court required him at once to make up his mind whether or not he would retract the errors contained in the articles proved against him, the precise form of retractation being reserved.—Mr. Heath said it was impossible for him to retract the passages.—Dr. Phillimore: Well, as to the errors contained in them?—Mr. Heath: The errors as charged, or as laid down in the judgment? They are different.—Dr. Phillimore: The errors contained in the judgment.—Mr. Heath: Well, I really don't know what is wanted of me. (Turning to the Judge)—Perhaps if I had another fortnight I could make up my mind. To-day I really do not know what is wanted.—Dr. Phillimore: Of course, my Lord, the sentence is what Mr. Heath has to look to. The errors which he is required to retract must be the errors referred to in the sentence.—Dr. Lushington: I require an answer to this question—Is Mr. Heath prepared to retract according to law or not? If he is, I will give him further time to shape retractation; if he is not, I must proceed to pronounce sentence.—Dr. Phillimore having repeated to Mr. Heath the formal question just put from the Bench, Mr. Heath, after a pause, said: Well, my answer must be, that I don't know what the law requires of

Digitized by Google

me.—With the consent of the Court, Dr. Phillimore retired with his client for consultation. On their return, after the lapse of only two or three minutes, Dr. Phillimore said: Mr. Heath instructs me to say, my Lord, that he has no other answer to make than that which he has made. —Dr. Lushington: Then I am bound to pronounce against Mr. Heath the sentence of deprivation; and I do so accordingly, with costs. Notice of an appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was immediately after given on behalf of Mr. Heath."

We do not wonder that thoughtful men, both clerical and lay, should feel grieved at such proceedings. As we have already hinted, the Rev. F. D. Maurice has written a remarkable letter to the editor of Macmillan's Magazine on this subject. He says many of the newspapers, especially the High-Church ones, have expressed contempt for both the defendant and the Judge. "The *Spectator* (he adds) appears to think that neither the defendant nor the Judge is so much to blame as the Thirty-nine Articles. This trial adds one more proof, it intimates, to the mass of proofs that clergymen of this day who subscribe a document which was compiled in the sixteenth century, involve themselves in an ignominious slavery, and in probable, almost certain, falsehood." Agreeing, as we cannot avoid doing, with the *Spectator* in this opinion, we wish Mr. Maurice had addressed himself to its refutation, which does not seem to be attempted in any of the three divisions of his letter. First, he estimates Mr. Heath justly and kindly, and deprecates the legal procedure against him as a gross mistake, quoting the far worse "eccentricity" of a fashionable Evangelical preacher who was not brought into the Arches Court for it, and noticing, as one result of the sentence, that Plato's doctrine of immortality is decreed to be identical henceforth with the "divine and eternal life set forth in the gospel." "The Bishop of Winchester has set his seal to it." "Blessed effect of persecution! If experience ever could teach Churchmen, the splendid irony of this fact might do us some good."

Mr. Maurice then turns to the Judge and his judgment. He "cannot read Dr. L.'s decision without seeing in it traces of a tenderness, humility, desire to do justice, which he believes he should look for in vain in most learned divines." He felt, on reading it, "Oh that this excellent man had given full scope to his lay instincts! Oh that he had simply followed his common-law traditions! Then theology would have been safe in his hands," &c. He acknowledges that (as the *Spectator* hinted) he is "one of that large company which this sentence, according to its obvious construction, would separate from the ministry of the Church." It is Dr. Lushington's reading of the doctrine of Justification in the eleventh Article and Propitiation in the second, that would deprive Mr. Maurice as well as Mr. Heath. For Mr. M. declares "that we are accepted by God in Christ, the Head of all men; that our faith is grounded upon what He

Digitized by Google

is and what He has done, ***and is in no sense the cause of our acceptance;*** and that this faith is in a Redeemer, not in any tenet about particular redemption or general redemption. This doctrine may be condemned by Dr. L.'s reading of the eleventh Article. I fear it is. I cannot help that. I must preach this gospel or none." Mr. Maurice equally objects to the heathen notion of propitiation, "the Magee notion of propitiation," which Dr. L.'s judgment fastens upon the second Article; and thinks that all who feel as he does "ought to assist Mr. Heath in prosecuting his appeal."

Thus far we might have fancied Mr. Maurice was pretty much of the *Spectator's* mind. But no. These troubles, perplexities and inconsistencies do not point to the Articles as their cause. In the concluding paragraph of his letter, Mr. Maurice indignantly rejects the *Spectator's* implied suggestion: "And now I will venture to ask, why I am bound by the opinions I have expressed, or by any which I have not expressed in this letter, to wish myself free from the obligations of those terrible sixteenth century Articles?"

No reader of Mr. Maurice's writings will ever expect to find him bound by the opinions he expresses, to come to the conclusion to which the expression of those opinions would lead every one else. The subtlety of mind that can hug the Athanasian Creed as a manifesto of universal charity and a rebuke of unbelief in one's own private heart, can see in the evils of an ecclesiastical sentence based upon the Church Articles, the vindication of those Articles themselves! Mr. Maurice says, truly enough, that the nineteenth century spirit expressed in these prosecutions is very tyrannical and very mean. But he does not shew that it is not the very spirit of the Articles themselves. He finds the construction put upon the Articles in this nineteenth century "exceedingly hard and narrow," and he thinks (but this he does not shew) "inconsistent with the theology of the Fathers or of the Reformers, of the Creeds and of our Prayers." He finds "each nineteenth century sect and school ready to spring at the throat of every other." He finds "divines and prelates of the nineteenth century ready, or at least submitting, to accomplish the wishes of these sects, and of the journals that represent them." He says, "I fully believe that if these sects and journals, and their instruments, have their way, there will be an end of the ***documents which restrain their violence,*** to which they must appeal, and which, by fair means or foul, they would compel to speak their language." And he concludes with rebuking the age for mammon-worship. We can only wonder at such a conclusion from such premisses. The course of argument is this:

The Ecclesiastical Courts enforce the Articles;

They are used tyrannically and meanly for that purpose;

Digitized by Google

The sects within the Church are on each other's throats like fighting-dogs.

Therefore: Do not abolish the Articles which alone give the right to quarrel with one another.

Regard those Articles, by means of which Mr. Heath is oppressed, as the means of restraining the violence against him. The Articles which deprive him are his protection. Were he not amenable to Articles, he would be worse used.

So Mr. Maurice replies to the *Spectator*.

The *Saturday Review* (Nov. 23) clearly points out the danger to the Church which these prosecutions for heresy threaten, by deterring, as they inevitably will, all the better order of minds from entering its ministry, and dooming it to be represented by dunces in a literary and philosophical age. It is plain that the influence of the Church could not last long under such conditions. But the *Saturday Review* does not go to the root of the question. Instead of bantering the Bishops who now and then put the rusty machinery of persecution in motion, and are in fact the most consistent representatives of the Church of England as a doctrinal Church demanding strict unity of opinion, why does not the *Saturday Review*, and every other journal, both secular and religious, that looks contemptuously, sadly or disapprovingly upon the Heath prosecution, manfully point to the source of the evil in the continued pretence of a doctrinal unity, which is not possible at present, if ever it was? But the *Saturday Review* evades the real question, and virtually suggests the continued heartless, hollow policy of Broad-church laxity:

"The plan of securing absolute uniformity of religious thought among the clergy by legal process, has been handed down to us from an age which differed very widely from our own. It is not on that account necessarily a bad plan, but it is a plan with whose workings we are not familiar, and which may possibly, under altered circumstances, produce very different results from those for which we look. There is no question of its justice. If men are willing to mortgage their right of free speech, and bind themselves to teach only certain dogmas, they cannot complain if, when the bond is broken, the mortgagee forecloses. But the expediency of the plan is quite another question. We have a perfect right to pull this rusty old matchlock out of our armoury, but the consciousness of that right will be a very small consolation when we discover that its recoil is its most formidable effect. Some of the Bishops have of late years shewn signs of a strong attachment to this weapon, which may be partly accounted for by the fact that the possibility of levelling any legal machinery against themselves is remote enough. Has it ever occurred to them to inquire what will be the effect upon the clergy at large of being admonished by a few startling examples that deprivation will for the future be the penalty of all doctrinal aberrations? 'A stricter adhesion,' the Bishops would probably reply, 'to the standards of orthodoxy.' No doubt this will be the effect among the existing clergy—just as relentless punishments produced a prompt obedience

Digitized by Google

among our sailors in the revolutionary war. But do they not reflect that in the one case, as in the other, this martinet discipline may possibly beget a disinclination to enter the service? In the navy the evil was partially remedied by the press-gang; but the press-gang is not an ecclesiastical institution. The Bishops cannot make a descent upon the University graduates, and shut them up in theological Colleges whether they will or no. It is worthy of their serious consideration whether, for the sake of getting rid of a crocheteer or two, they are not driving away the best portion of their ordination candidates.

"There are two classes of men who take orders—the few who follow for the doctrine, and the many who follow for the loaves and fishes. As long as loaves and fishes last, the allegiance of these latter is secure. But it would not be safe to count on them to maintain the efficiency and the influence of the Church of England. If it be looked at in a purely pecuniary point of view, the Church is not an attractive profession to the best men. Its lower ranks are wretchedly paid, and it has no regular promotion. Its enormous prizes either depend upon family interest, or are bestowed in furtherance of some political object. But it has attractions of its own. It offers an easy entrance to the stupid, optional work to the idle, a brevet of gentility to those who feel their need of it. So far, therefore, as the Church acts by worldly motives to draw men to her service, she only attracts those who are unfit for any busier vocation, or those to whom a clergyman's position is a rise in life. We do not pretend to say that on these the terrors of Dr. Lushington will have any material effect. They are of the kind that, to a demand to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, would reply with Theodore Hook, 'Certainly, Sir, forty if you please.' But it is not to such as these the Church will owe her permanence or her success. A Church which depended on them alone would not hold its ground for two generations. The only true test of a Church's vital power, and the measure of her probable duration, is furnished by the number of those who have joined her service for the love of the work she sets them to do. It is among these that all her moral and intellectual strength is to be found; and her forces ebb in exact proportion as their numbers dwindle or their zeal degenerates. And men of this stamp are not the men to submit with patience to be dragooned into orthodoxy by those who have been made their superiors merely by favour of the Prime Minister's calculations or caprices. This is an age in which men bear every sort of rule impatiently; but the restraint at which they chafe the most is that which curbs free thought or speech. People may view the fact how they will—they may count it as praise or as blame to our generation—but fact it remains still, to be dealt with and not to be ignored."

The *Saturday Review* does not ignore the fact, but does not attempt to deal with it.

Another recent expression of lay opinion on Church matters is intitled to notice before we conclude. Mr. Disraeli, at a recent meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Societies at Aylesbury (at which the Bishop of Oxford presided), made a long and elaborate speech on Church matters, ending with a defence of church-rates, and a political appeal to Church sympathies and prejudices against the poor bugbear of the Anti-State-Church

Digitized by Google

Society. He described the condition of the Church truly enough as void of unity, and that want of unity he ascribed somewhat fancifully to three feelings influencing different bodies of Churchmen, namely, "a feeling of perplexity, a feeling of distrust and a feeling of discontent." The "feeling of perplexity" arises from "the state of party in the Church." Mr. Disraeli (whom we do not undertake to reconcile to himself throughout the different parts of his speech) says truly, that there always have been parties in the Church of England and in every Church. "But," he adds, "there is this peculiarity in the Church of England, that parties have always been permitted, nay, recognized and sanctioned,"—which might possibly have seemed true if we had never heard of prosecutions in the Ecclesiastical Courts. He concludes that "parties in the Church, instead of being signs of its weakness, are rather symbols of its strength,"—which we should conclude also in a Church *founded on diversity*, but must take to be a confession of weakness in one that is founded on minute Articles. But Mr. Disraeli shall refute himself in the next head of his speech, where, like the Bishop of Rochester and Dr. Lushington, he sustains the true Church principle of obedience to "engagements entered into," and reprobates the exercise of free inquiry by those who have no right to be free inquirers:

"I come now to the feeling of distrust; and I hesitate not to say that I attribute that feeling of distrust which prevails among some Churchmen to the recent publications—the recent speculations upon sacred things—that have been published by some clergymen of the Church of England. I deeply regret the publication of that volume, for the sake of the writers, and for no other reason. (Hear, hear.) I am myself in favour of free inquiry on all subjects, civil and religious, with only one condition—that the inquiry should be pursued with learning, with argument and with conscience. (Cheers.) But I think that we have a right to expect that free inquiry should be pursued by free inquirers (hear, hear), and, in my opinion, the principal authors of the work called 'Essays and Reviews,' being clergymen of the Church of England, had entered into engagements with society inconsistent with the results recommended in their publications. (Cheers.)"

"*Free inquiry should be pursued by free inquirers.*" So we think. The whole question of Church and Dissent lies here, and the whole question of orthodoxy and heterodoxy. It is but a truism after all, "that free inquiry should be pursued by free inquirers." But like many other truisms, it is practically neglected and violated. What right has Mr. Heath to be a free inquirer? What right has Mr. Maurice? What right have the Essayists and Reviewers? They have "entered into engagements with society" to the contrary. Those engagements are expressed by the Articles and Creeds. The Court of Arches is *Society's* mode of enforcing the engagements. And we are forced to be-

Digitized by Google

lieve that the best service that can be rendered to religion and free thought in this land, would be for the Evangelical Bishops (with whom our *Liberal* Ministries have well stocked the Bench) to multiply prosecutions in the Ecclesiastical Courts, till it was made to be felt by the nation how wrong it is for any but free inquirers to inquire freely; and so the nation should be forced at length to demand freedom of thought on behalf of her clergy. Even Mr. Maurice, who now hugs the chain as his defence against "sects and journals," might be glad to accept his liberty if offered. But a nearer issue apparently awaits him, pledged as he seems to be to leave the Church if the judgment against Mr. Heath be not reversed. And if it should be reversed, what a curious addition to the authorized theology of the Church of England will be made by the official sanction so given to Mr. Heath's eccentric doctrines and criticisms!

THE TIDE OF TENDENCY.

BY SIR JOHN BOWRING.

'Tis the same great, all-influencing cause,
The source of those inexorable laws
Which gives its motion to the mountain rill,
And by the self-same impulse guided ever,
Leads on the widening, deepening, gathering river,
The ocean's vast receptacle to fill.
And every wandering bee the flower that sips,
And every bending cowslip leaf that dips
Into the flowing rivulet, is held,
And in resistless vassalage compelled
Onward by that strong tide whose course sublime
Sinks into vast eternity from time.
'Tis the same power which from the womb of night
Calls up the dawn, and with his presence bright
Bids the sun waken into glorious birth,
And pour his spreading splendours o'er the earth
With ever-glowing, ever-growing strength,
Till reaching his meridian height at length.
It is the same mysterious, mighty power
That helps the cause of progress every hour,
And—part of Heaven's benign, transcendent plan!
Develops all that's great and good in man,
And makes him worthier in this world to be
The heir of heaven, the son of Deity.

Digitized by Google

JUSTICE TO PRIESTLEY—DR. SCHOLTEN ON MATERIALISM—"THE SOUL AND THE FUTURE LIFE."

PRIESTLEY appears to have been in all things a man before his age. He was pre-eminently a discoverer; and his intense love of truth, joined to his zeal in opening up new fields of investigation, enabled him to lay the bases of new knowledge in many a department, for the advantage of those who came after him. This is now generally admitted as regards his *purely scientific* career; due honour is accorded him as a pneumatic chemist and an electrician; but it seems to be either forgotten or wholly ignored, even by those whose theological views are mainly derived from his, that he was the modern founder of their religious opinions; and they are still more reticent, if aware, of the fact that he was the first in recent times to declare *the true nature of Man*, in relation to both his spiritual and his physical powers.

These remarks are drawn forth by the publication, in Dr. Beard's "Progress of Religious Thought," of an essay by Dr. Scholten, Professor of Theology in the University of Leyden, on "Modern Materialism and its Causes." Though there is nothing in this truly estimable as able essay to shew that its learned author has ever so much as heard of Priestley, we are indirectly indebted to him for the information that the leading doctrine of the "Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit," once so much impugned, though now "we never mention it," is not only "demonstrated" by Kant, in his Critique of Pure Reason, but has its truth allowed by "the best psychologians of the day, Canus, J. H. Fichte, Roorda, &c." What was that leading doctrine? That the human being, instead of being *dual*, composed of a body and a soul, each of an opposite nature to the other, is *a unity*,—in philosophical language, *one "homogeneous substance;"* and that, consequently, every notion of "spirit," as distinct and wholly differing from "matter," is a popular error, not capable of standing against philosophical research and scientific induction. Let us see how this dictum of Priestley's, which not one in a thousand perhaps in England is as yet capable of receiving, is supported by Dr. Scholten, in a contribution intended for the destruction of that very "Materialism" of which the dictum is the root.

"The ancient psychology," says the Doctor, "still occupying the ground on which it was left by Plato and Descartes, spoke of the soul as a separate substance, mechanically united to the body. It was thus admitted to be possible for the soul to exist independently of all bodily form; and this notion gave birth to a host of others more or less absurd,—to spectral appearances, to demoniacal possessions, to the transmigration of souls, to the pre-existence of souls, to a state intermediate between death and the resurrection, to the false idea of the resurrection which made it consist of an equally mechanical re-union of the soul

Digitized by Google

with its former body. On the same ground the question was raised whether the soul existed before its connection with a carnal organism, or whether God created a soul for every new organism. With such a conception of man, any intimate bond between the soul and the body was inconceivable; and it was in vain that the old psychologists devised hypotheses to explain the mutual action of the body on the soul and of the soul on the body, the *influxus physicus*, the divinely-regulated concomitance, of the Cartesians, the occasionalism of Geulinx. Leibnitz himself considered the soul as a monad which was united to the body—that is, to an aggregate of other monads—only by what he called 'the pre-established harmony.'"

Why, this reads almost exactly as if it were an extract from a chapter of the "Disquisitions." And not less consonant with Priestley is the following. Speaking of Materialism, Dr. Scholten says,

"Science could not continue to divide man into *two heterogeneous substances*, but saw in him, as in all other beings, *a unity developing itself organically*. If metaphysics stipulated for the *duality* of spirit and matter, mechanically joined together, one or other of these consequences ensued of necessity,—the tendency of the natural sciences could not fail to destroy one of the factors, either by denying matter, and so producing the idealism of Berkeley, or by affirming, *in accordance with truth*, that there are no forces separate from matter, and not the least trace of a substance united mechanically with an organism."

After these concessions to Materialism, how does Dr. Scholten conceive of man as a "unity," whether regarded on his physical or his spiritual side? By supposing the existence in the human being of an "essence," a "first principle," the "formative principle or over-ruling idea" of Liebig, which "realizes his organs in relation with his destiny," which "forms the matter of his body," which, "without being aware of what it does, spontaneously and surely directs the formation, the development, the harmonious concurrence of the higher organs which man needs for the realization of his destiny as a rational being." And to this utterly baseless hypothesis, the truth of which it must be naturally impossible to prove, we are to sacrifice all the conclusions which science has deduced from facts, uniting to testify that man *is* a material organism, *possessing*, by the constitution God has given him, the noble spiritual faculties which are his crown and glory! In common with all recent writers on the subject, Dr. Scholten most justly condemns that theory of a "vital principle" to which the last generation gave many supporters. How is it he does not see that this notion of a "formative principle," an "invisible essence," a "central life," as he also calls it, acting the part of an inner *maker* of all that properly makes man, is exposed to every objection that has been taken to the "vital principle"? For, this "pretended explanation," as was well said of the "vital principle," "is a reference, not to anything that we understand better than the object to be explained, but to some-

Digitized by Google

thing that we do not understand at all,—to something which cannot be received as a deduction of science, but must be accepted as an object of faith." Besides which, does not Dr. Scholten's hypothesis introduce a *new* duality, that of the body and its "formative principle"?

The leading aim of my work, published about three years since, on "The Soul and the Future Life," was to produce such a book, in substance if not in power, as I believed Priestley would have written had he been now living, and had acquainted himself, as he infallibly would have done, with all the additions to science, and especially to *physiological* science, which our age teems with. The reviews of my effort in the current periodicals all betrayed a tacit acceptance of the popular creed, and an utter indisposition to disturb it; not attempting to dispute one of my statements, or to confute one of my arguments. The "Inquirer" honoured me with an equally undemonstrative and non-applying, though, as I familiarly called it, a *slashing* attack; a friend designated it a "savage" one. The reviewer in the "Christian Reformer" was much more courteous, but did not touch the chief points of the question. Will somebody have the goodness to shew an humble follower of Priestley *where* he is wrong?

As regards "Materialism," if it be such to believe that we can have no knowledge beyond that of matter and its properties—the properties of man called his *mental faculties* included—I willingly profess myself a materialist. But then it is perfectly clear that Materialism does not necessarily, as Dr. Scholten seems to think it does, affirm that "everything in inorganic and organic nature is explainable by material combinations in connection with the physical effects of light, heat and electricity;" for I know nothing whatever of the continental chemico-physical theories which he takes so much pains to disprove, and must have acquired my materialism in ignorance of what he views as its basis. I need not add, I trust, that my materialism neither regards man as a non-accountable animal nor denies God. These extremes should be treated *as* extremes, for which the dualism of a body and a soul is properly responsible, just as modern orthodoxy is responsible for much of the infidelity to which it so often leads. *What* my materialism is, my work best shews. And, among other things, it shews, I would fain think, that the human hope of immortality is better founded on the so-called materialism of philosophy, than on the "thing-soul," as Dr. Scholten admits the propriety of calling it, of dualism, though I pretend to derive no "assurance" on this subject from anything but the revelation of Jesus Christ. Further, it shews, or I much mistake, that on the main topic of my book, the nature of the soul, I am not so materialistic as my opponents; for, while I speak of the soul as simply the *spiritual faculties* of a man, they, by making of the faculties a *thing*, or more properly a *being*, cannot but *materialize*, since

Digitized by Google

we can form no actual conception of *things* or *beings* without investing them, however dimly, however unconsciously, with material attributes. I hope there is no philosopher but knows this, however it may be with such as are incapable of philosophical introspection. Finally, had even the *philosophers* of England, in any marked or known number, arrived at that Priestleian doctrine of the soul which, so far at least as denying dualism, Dr. Scholten shews to be at length making its way on the continent, it is quite certain that my book would never have been written.

THOMAS CROMWELL.

THE NEW EDUCATION MINUTE.*

THE pages of the *Christian Reformer* have always earnestly advocated the cause of popular education and detailed its conspicuous points of progress. Recognizing the right, if not the duty, of the State to promote the elementary education of the poor, we have recorded the progressive steps of the Educational Committee of the Privy Council from its formation in 1839, with sympathy and hopefulness, which, we regret to say, have been continually disappointed in the result. Our advocacy, we feel, has too much resembled the defence of the Church of England by the more enlightened sort of Churchmen, who sustain it because it ought to be very different from what it is. Only our case seemed somewhat more practically hopeful in advocating the principle of State education when all the details had yet to be organized, than that of the Churchman whose advocacy of a great principle implies the laborious effort to undo all existing details.

We confess to continual mortification in tracing the history of the Council of Education. It has left undone so many things that it ought to have done (and which the State alone could do), and done so many things which it ought not to have done (and which the impartiality of the State should have refused), that we must confess on its behalf that there is little or no health in it.

The great argument for State interference is, that it can do what voluntary exertions cannot, especially by reaching the remote and destitute parts of the population in town and country. But how has the Council of Education sustained this claim, which we and many others have advanced on its behalf? By laying it

---

* Minute of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education establishing a Revised Code of Regulations. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of her Majesty. 1861.

Letter to Earl Granville, K.G., on the Revised Code, &c. By Sir James Kay Shuttleworth. 1861.

Digitized by Google

down as a fundamental rule, that its grants in aid shall be made in proportion to the funds raised in each locality! Thus it helps in proportion as the place can do for itself; the helpless and neglected places are helpless and neglected still, so far as the initiative depends upon the Education Committee of Council.

The great rule for a State aid to education in a free country surely should be to dispense it without regard to anything but educational needs or deserts. In a country of religious sects, the State should, in its capacity of educator, know nothing of religious distinctions. It was perfectly easy from the first to say, "Every school desiring help must open itself to our inspection. It may belong to any religious sect or to none; we do not inquire into any such matters. We observe a strict neutrality as to religious differences. But we must inspect its arrangements for secular instruction and notice their results; and we shall assist or refuse assistance according as these meet or fall short of our standard." It was widely believed that something like this would be the course pursued. At least the clergy of the Churches of England and Scotland made fierce demonstrations against the Government on the supposition that they meant not to take cognizance of the religious instruction given in schools. In an evil hour the Council succumbed; and they have ever since held the anomalous position of trying to provide or sanction religious education of all sorts to please all the sects in turn. And even thus they could not please those who insist upon the absolute necessity of combining sectarian theology with day-school instruction, and then invoke Dissenting principle to reject State education as a virtual religious endowment. The Council has appointed one set of inspectors to look after Church-of-England schools, whose duty it is to examine the religious as well as secular attainments of the children; another set who look after British and Dissenting and "Undenominational" schools, under strict injunction *not* to know anything about the religious instruction; another set, we believe, for the Scotch Presbyterian schools, and another for the Catholics. Another still was offered to the Wesleyans, but we believe they did not require it. The Council has at various times found some difficulty in steering its tortuous course amid its self-created religious difficulties. It propitiated the Wesleyans, in 1847, by a most disgraceful straining of its own minutes so as to exclude the Roman Catholics (whom it has since admitted); and even now it knows no such thing as an Independent, Congregational, Baptist or Unitarian or Jewish school, unless they choose to call themselves "British schools" or "Undenominational schools." To this day it refuses assistance to a *secular* school, however truly religious its spirit may be; and to this day it allows and encourages a mere formal recitation of a verse or two of the Bible as the qualification for receiving State help. A school may be helped if one verse of

Digitized by Google

the Bible is read every day by master or scholars; otherwise it may not.

Of red tape and blue books there has been no end. Regulations the most needless and complicated fetter the administration of the Parliamentary grant, and the system is almost in danger of falling to pieces by the force of gravitation; as may be judged from Sir J. K. Shuttleworth's sage plea in its defence, that "the work of the central office is infinitely less complicated and heavy than that of the Post-office, or of the Admiralty, or of the several War departments." We confess we had not, till we read this defence, realized the immensity of the abuse that had grown up in so new and comparatively simple a department as the Committee of Education.

This complexity has, we believe, been one great cause of the now attempted simplification of the code. The growing expense of the Education grant is another. The various abortive Education Bills which have made their appearance in the House of Commons during the last ten years (especially at the impulse of the Lancashire Public School Committee), do not seem to have had much influence in the revision. But in 1852, the Government, under considerable pressure from the freer-minded friends of education, promised shortly to take up the subject with a view to its settlement; and in 1856, Lord John Russell laid on the table of the House of Commons some resolutions which seemed to bespeak the intention of doing something, but which were lost on the debate following. On the 30th of June, 1858, however, the Queen issued "a commission to inquire into the present state of popular education in England;" which commission having duly reported, the Lords of the Committee of Privy Council on Education determined to revise the Code of Minutes and Regulations under which the Parliamentary grant is now distributed. This revision is the occasion of no little ferment. Vested interests claim to be protected. Schools once helped must never be less helped than hitherto. Masters whose salaries have been augmented out of the Parliamentary grant, kick at the idea of possible diminution through a different mode of distribution dependent upon "results."

The essence of the new proposal is, to make the amount of the public grant to a school depend, not merely upon the master being certificated and a certain number of scholars being in attendance, but also upon the results as shewn by the attainments of the pupils in "the three *RR*, reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic." At present a certificated master is intitled to a certain augmentation of salary, and also to a fixed payment for teaching his pupil teachers. These and the apprentices are also paid certain small salaries by the Government. And there is also a capitation fee to the master,—so much per head for all scholars who have attended a certain number of times in the year. The Council

Digitized by Google

now require, by the revised Code, that this *capitation pay* should be contingent upon certain results being shewn and certified by the inspector. Here lies the whole question; and it would seem that nothing could be more reasonable than what is required. There can be no vested rights in a pay which depends upon an annual grant of Parliament. But the Council reserves with due care the conditions of the apprenticeships already begun, and takes upon itself their completion unless released from it by the managers of the individual schools. The annual augmentation of salary can never be a vested right, nor can any teacher fairly or wisely complain of its being rendered contingent upon *results*, as seen in the progress of the pupils. The only fair question is, whether the results required are of *too high a mark;* and if they are so, the remedy is to lower them and not to object to this kind of test. Into this question we do not enter here; but may state, by way of shewing the rate of attainments required, that the children are divided into four groups and tested as follows:

GROUP 1—Three to seven years of age:

Reading: Narrative in monosyllables.

Writing: Form on black board or slate, from dictation, letters, capital and small, manuscript.

Arithmetic: Form on black board or slate, from dictation, figures up to 20; name at sight figures up to 20; add or subtract figures up to 10, orally, from examples on black board.

GROUP 2—Seven to nine years of age:

Reading: A short paragraph from an elementary reading-book used in the school.

Writing: A sentence from the same paragraph, slowly read once, and then dictated by single words.

Arithmetic: A sum in any simple rule as far as short division (inclusive).

GROUP 3—Nine to eleven years of age:

Reading: A short paragraph from a more advanced reading-book used in the school.

Writing: A sentence slowly dictated once by a few words at a time, from the same book, but not from the paragraph read.

Arithmetic: A sum in compound rules (money and common weights and measures).

GROUP 4—Eleven and upwards:

Reading: A short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative.

Writing: Another short ordinary paragraph in a newspaper or other modern narrative, slowly dictated once by a few words at a time.

Arithmetic: A sum in practice or simple proportion.

This last is the standard for the *highest form;* for children of eleven and upwards.

We know it to be far, very far, below the standard of many

Digitized by Google

Lancasterian or British schools. And it seems strange to let the highest classification include all from eleven upwards. It may be true that in multitudes of schools, both in the manufacturing and agricultural districts, the temptation of earning wages takes the chief part of the boys away at twelve and thirteen; but in every good school of average size, there is a class of children (small in numbers perhaps) that can do very much more than is here prescribed. Sir J. K. Shuttleworth (under whom the present system grew) objects, on behalf of the teachers, even to this low standard, by citing the condition of the most unfavourable districts; and we freely grant there is a difficulty in making one standard for all schools. But let a better guage be suggested; do not let the teachers and managers of schools claim to be exempt from the necessity of shewing what has been done.

Our own dissatisfaction with the Revised Code is of a different kind. It leaves all the life-long sins of the Council unacknowledged and unreformed; those which were again and again shewn in Parliament and out during the earnest discussions which occupied men's minds before the Crimean War, and which have never since been allowed the same prominence. The Revised Code (which we do not think Parliament will interfere to prevent being brought into action) will either economize the lately enormous growth of the Education grant, or will bring up the *results* to a higher mark than hitherto. It will also economize red tape to a wonderful extent, and will in the same degree put the details of administration into the hands of the local managers of each school, by voting the whole sum in one amount, instead of persevering in the idle boast of putting every pupil teacher into immediate connection with Her Majesty's Privy Council in the payment of his or her little salary.

But it will do nothing still for the districts that are uncared for by voluntary societies. It will leave the religious difficulty just what the Council itself has needlessly made it. It will work, as hitherto, with immensely preponderating influence in favour of the Church and against the Dissenters and general population. It will repeat the cowardly injustice of refusing help to secular schools, the sham of making schools religious by requiring a verse of the Bible to be read, and the anti-national, invidious ascendancy of the Church Catechism in country districts, where a single school is all that is wanted, and the Government cares not to stipulate that it must be really *national* as the condition of receiving national aid.

We have confined our remarks to the operation of the new Minute upon elementary schools. Its details also apply to normal schools as regulated and helped by the Council of Education.

Digitized by Google

INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE UNITARIANS OF TRANSYLVANIA AND GREAT BRITAIN.

It is with much pleasure we publish, in compliance with the wishes of the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, the following letter, recently received by that body from the Bishop and Clergy of the Unitarian church in Transylvania, and also a copy of a letter just transmitted to the same persons, signed by some of the leading Unitarians of England and Scotland, both ministers and laymen, on an important subject intimately connected with religious liberty.

To the Committee of the English and Foreign Unitarian Association, from the Council of the Synod held by the Unitarians of Transylvania in Thorda, in June, 1861.

Our dear Brethren in Christ,

The Council of this year's Synod has received with great pleasure an account of the various measures taken since our last meeting to increase the mutual good feeling between the Unitarians of England and Transylvania. They have been more especially touched with the zeal with which you have adopted and carried into execution the plan for assisting one of our students every year in completing his theological education at the Manchester College, London. To keep up this friendly relation is a great source of rejoicing to us, and no effort shall be wanting on our part to maintain it for the future. The Consistory has expressed itself ready to do its part towards this object, and we are desired to express its thanks, as well as those of the Synod, for your sympathy and interest in our affairs. The Council of the Synod has also desired us to make you acquainted with the result of the deliberations of the late assembly.

According to our ancient custom, the Council of the Synod was usually held every year in turn in one of our eight ecclesiastical districts, to settle the business of the church and to encourage mutual intercourse and goodwill among its members. This year, on June the 30th and two following days, the Synod met at Thorda, one of our most populous parishes. Most of the members arrived the day before, and hastened to pay their respects to the President, when the clergyman of Thorda, Mr. John Albert, offered up a prayer of thanksgiving for the occasion. The solemn opening of the Synod took place next day, commencing, as is our custom, with a religious service. Professor Mr. Joseph Ferencz, second clergyman of the church of Klausenburg, conducted the service, and preached from xviii. chap. of St. Luke, 20 and 21 verses, a sermon, since published, adapted to the occasion. Mr. Mozes Székely, the general notary, then addressed the meeting, and declared the Synod opened, and the ceremony was concluded by the administration of the Communion by Mr. István Kelemen, the clergyman of Izabéd and notary of Maros district. The feeling of satisfaction that we had been again allowed to

Digitized by Google

meet together was universal, and we congratulated ourselves on the numbers who had attended to shew their interest in the cause of the Unitarian church.

The chief business of the present Synod was the election of a Bishop. Our late Bishop of blessed memory, Mr. Sánolor Székely, died in 1852, and, in spite of the reiterated demands of the Synodal Council, the Austrian Government has up to the present time refused to permit the election of a new Bishop, although this right has been enjoyed by the Unitarians many centuries. At last, through the mediation of the restored Chancery of Transylvania, the consent of the Emperor has been obtained to the exercise of this most undoubted right. The election is made on the most constitutional principles by means of the ballot and by an absolute majority,—the right of choice residing in the lay and clerical members of the Synodal Council, who can elect whom they please, without any other restriction than that the Bishop must be a consecrated clergyman of the Unitarian church. The choice fell on the Rev. John Kriza, first clergyman of Klausenburg, Professor of Theology in the College of Klausenburg, Dean of the district of Kolos-Doboka, and corresponding member of the Hungarian Academy. After addressing the Synod, Mr. Kriza was at once consecrated and sworn into his new office, and immediately entered on his duties, his name being subsequently sent up to his Majesty for confirmation.

The second great object of the Synodal meeting was the consecration of young clergymen, which it is the custom only to perform on these occasions. Professor Mr. Lajos Nagy, second clergyman, conducted the religious service, preaching from the 1 Ep. of Paul to the Thessalonians, chap. v., verses 18 to 21. The new Bishop, Mr. Kriza, then addressed the candidates on the duties of the office they were about to undertake, after which the consecration took place, the Deans laid their hands on the heads of the new pastors, and the Bishop bestowed his blessing and gave them their diplomas authorizing them to exercise their clerical functions. The Dean of Udvarhely, Mr. Joseph Inezefi, concluded the proceedings with a prayer. The prayers and sermons delivered on this occasion were ordered to be printed and copies to be sent to you.

Besides the business we have just related, the chief Synodal Council has to fill up vacancies in the Unitarian church, to elect new members of the Consistory, to revise the accounts, and transact other business connected with the general welfare of the Unitarian community. An interesting part of the business of the meeting was the reading of the correspondences which had taken place with our English brethren, as well that conducted by ourselves as through Mr. Paget. Mr. Tayler's letter to Mr. Mozes Székely and his answer, as well as the appeal from your Committee to the English Unitarians, as inserted in the Inquirer,

Digitized by Google

was also laid before the meeting, and a vote of thanks passed for the assistance hitherto afforded, and for the intention expressed of rendering permanent the present aid afforded to Mr. Simén to enable a student to pursue his studies at the theological seminary in London. The Synodal Council decides unanimously to grant to Mr. Simén for the present university year the sum of 500 florins Austrian; and that for the future a similar sum should be given annually from the church funds to enable, with the assistance given by you, at least one student always to pursue his studies in London after he has finished them here. After one has resided two years in England, he will return, and another will be sent to take his place. In case at any time, through unforeseen circumstances, our finances should not allow us to carry out this plan for a time, it will be resumed as soon as possible. The Synod has entrusted the Consistory to take the necessary steps for carrying this plan into execution.

You will be pleased to hear that we have established a Professorship of English in the College of Klausenburg. Mr. Aron Buzogány has been appointed Professor, and begins to teach in the present year; and we have great hopes that our students, especially the theological, many of whom have studied English even without assistance, will avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded, and enrich their minds by the study of English literature.

The Synod took into consideration the changes to be introduced into the general system of education, as, in consequence of the arbitrary arrangement of the late Government, made without a knowledge of our local wants and national habits, it was impossible to go on with our schools as at present constituted. As one example, we need only mention that the history of our own country was a forbidden subject of study. As the right of managing our own affairs in our own way has at last been restored to us, the system of study became one of the first objects of our consideration, and it was determined that a committee should draw up a plan and send it to each parish, that the opinions of the whole body should be taken on it before it was finally laid before the Synod for decision.

An annual publication, the "Keresztény Magveto," "the Christian Sower," containing sermons and essays by Unitarian writers, as well as the lives of eminent Unitarians, has been commenced, and the first vol. has been sent to you by our notary, Mr. Mozes Székely. A zealous member of our Council has offered a prize of ten ducats for the best sermon, which is to be published in the second vol.

The three days during which the Synod was assembled were fully occupied by the great accumulation of business, so that we were generally engaged till late in the night. Happily, the greatest unity prevailed. The Synod was much gratified by

Digitized by Google

several donations and legacies for the support of churches and schools from zealous members of the Unitarian church. Mr. Andreas Jobbágy, an unmarried man, left the whole of his estate, of the value of 15,000 florins, to the College of Thorda, and thus relieved us in one of our most pressing needs. The state of the College buildings, which so painfully impressed the late Mr. Tagart, have long been a subject of regret, but, thanks to this legacy, we shall be enabled to enlarge and rebuild them very shortly.

We may say without indiscretion that in our prayers you were never forgotten, and in our social meetings, when toasts were drunk and speeches made after the manner of our ancestors, the health and prosperity of the Unitarian church and the welfare of England in general was always received with the greatest enthusiasm.

And now, in conclusion, we ask the blessing of the Almighty on you for the sympathy you have shewed towards the Unitarian cause, and pray that, by working together, each employing the talent given him, we may promote the glory of God and our own immortal happiness.

We remain, with respect, your brethren in faith,

JOANNES KRIZA,
Episcopus Ecclesiarum Unitariarum in Transylvania.
ALEXIUS NAGY DE KAL,
Supremus Curator et a parte seculari Præses.
MOSES PAP,
Notarius S. Consistorii.

To the Very Reverend John Kriza, Bishop of the Unitarians of Transylvania, and the Reverend the Clergy of his Episcopate.

VERY REVEREND SIR AND DEAR BRETHREN,

WE whose names are appended to this letter, Unitarians of Great Britain and Ireland, desire respectfully and affectionately to address you on a subject interesting to us as Christians and as lovers of religious liberty.

It is reported to us by some of our neighbours of the Hebrew race, that in your country and in Hungary their brethren are on account of their faith exposed to civil disabilities, and denied their full share of those privileges which all who obey the laws of a country and share its burthens are entitled to enjoy. We know by experience in our own country how inveterate is popular and religious antipathy to the Jewish race, and how earnest and long-continued the efforts of the friends of civil and religious liberty must be to win for them an equality of civil privilege. In England, Unitarian Christians have felt it a sacred duty to promote the emancipation of their Hebrew fellow-countrymen.

In calling your attention to the condition of the Jews in Transylvania, and in earnestly imploring your help in obtaining

Digitized by Google

for them equal civil rights with yourselves, we are happy in the belief that you are wholly uninfluenced by the popular antipathy, and that you recognize the inalienable rights of conscience, and are prepared to extend them without distinction to Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Christian. We feel assured that you are worthy descendants of those early Transylvanian Unitarians who nearly three centuries ago were careful to assert and defend religious liberty as well as pure Christianity. Should it now be your happy privilege to assist in the extinction of religious antipathy, and in conferring on the Jews of Transylvania the rights now withheld from them, you will give good proof, alike to Christians and Jews, of your undoubting faith in the religion of the Messiah, and of your being animated by the pure and loving spirit of your Great Master, whose help and prayer were equally ready to bless Gentile and Jew. By justice and generosity you may win the confidence and love of your neighbours of the house of Israel; by such proofs of the spirit and fruits of the religion of Jesus, you may in time lead them to respect and study, and perhaps in the end to accept, the better way of faith in which you and your fathers have walked. There are already signs of movement and a coming change in the Hebrew race. If they are to be led to Christ, it will not be by an abandonment of the worship of the One True God, which Abraham and Moses and Christ equally practised and taught. You and we, representatives and assertors of the central truth common to the Hebrew and Christian faith, may, if faithful and consistent, be the instruments under Providence of conducting some of the race of Israel into the Christian fold.

Very Reverend Sir and dear Brethren, we rejoice in the Christian friendship and intercourse which bind our hearts to yours. Addressing you as we now do under the constraining influence of zeal for religious liberty, and in the spirit of love, we feel assured that you will accept and reply to this letter with fraternal kindness.

We desire, in conclusion, to commend you to the blessing of the One True God, and to a participation in all the best influences and hopes of the religion of Jesus Christ, his beloved Son.

FORCED RELIGION.

You may drag men into church by main force, and prosecute them for buying a pot of beer, and cut them off from the enjoyment of a leg of mutton; and you may do all this till you make the common people hate Sunday, and the clergy, and religion, and everything which relates to such subjects.—Sydney Smith.

Digitized by Google

THE ATHANASIAN CREED *

A BOOK sufficiently amusing might be written, wholly apart from controversial purposes, on the literary and ecclesiastical history of this famous symbol of faith.

As a daring and successful literary fraud, bearing the name of an author to which it has no probable claim, and for twelve centuries inducing the great mass of Christian believers to repeat it under its fabulous style, it is a subject that will reward the investigations of the curious. Dr. A. Penrhyn Stanley thus sums up the opinions of the learned respecting the authorship of "the ancient Hymn, 'Quicunque Vult,' which throughout the middle ages and by our own Reformers was believed to be the Creed of St. Athanasius:"

"The learned world is now fully aware that it is of French or Spanish origin. It not only contains words and phrases which to Athanasius were unknown, but it distinctly and from the first asserted the doctrine of the double Procession of the Spirit, which never occurs in the writings of Athanasius, and which in all probability he would have repudiated with his Oriental brethren of later times. But its partial resemblance to his style and the assumption of his name have given it an immense support."—*Stanley's Eastern Church*, pp. 290, 291.

It is an illustration of the perplexity of mind which this Creed commonly occasions, that another modern theological writer of not less learning and fairness than the Canon of Christ Church, Dr. Milman, has given a very different account of its conformity to the doctrines of Athanasius. His words are,

"At the close of the controversy (on the Trinity) between the partizans of Arius and Athanasius, *a Latin Creed embodied the doctrines of Athanasius* and of the Anti-Nestorian writers; but even this was not so much a work of controversy, as a final summary of Latin Christianity, as to the ultimate result of the whole. It is the Creed commonly called that of St. Athanasius."—*Latin Christianity*, I. 61, note.

The different reception given to this "ancient Hymn" by different Churches and by members of the same Church, is another curious subject.

Enthusiastically received by the Latin Church, which was first the scholar and then the partizan of Athanasius, it was adopted without hesitation by the Anglican Church. On the other hand, the Eastern Church never chose to recognize it. The Episcopal Church of America has deliberately expunged it from the Prayer Book.

Another curious point in the history of the Creed, and as illustrating, like an Irish quarrel, its power of putting everybody that meddles with it in the wrong, is the fact that, though originally composed in Latin (whether by Hilary, Bishop of Arles,

* The Athanasian Creed. By LL.D. 8vo. Pp. 58. London—Whitfield.

Digitized by Google

as some conjecture, or in Spain by some later and unknown ecclesiastic, is unimportant), the translation of it in the Anglican Prayer Book is two degrees removed from the original, being not a version direct from the Latin, but by a strange blunder one from a Greek translation of it.

Even in those Churches that have accepted and used this Creed, very different degrees of attachment to it have at various periods been manifested towards it. In the ancient Roman Breviary, it was ordered to be used only on Sundays. But in the Sarum Breviary, it is ordered to be sung daily at the matin service called "Prime." The order of daily prayer in the Anglican Church is taken from the corresponding offices of the Sarum Breviary. When the Reformation came in, a wholesome change was made, the Apostles' Creed being ordinarily substituted for the Athanasian Creed; but the latter was reserved for use, as a kind of highly-spiced theological luxury, on the six great festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost and Trinity. Whether or not the Reformers of 1552, alarmed by the sound of Arian heresy, thought to silence it by a more frequent repetition of the "ancient Hymn," we know not; but certain it is they ordered the Creed to be used in addition at seven of the Saints'-days of the ecclesiastical calendar, so that it should be sung or said at intervals of about a month throughout the year.

When the Commission of 1689 sat on the Prayer Book, one of the subjects discussed by the ten Bishops and twenty Divines who composed it (or as many of them as actually sat), was the continued use and mode of using the Athanasian Creed. As to what took place on this subject, different accounts have come down to us. Nicholls, in his "Apparatus," &c., says that the Commission decided that it should be left to the judgment of the minister to exchange the Athanasian for the Apostles' Creed. But here Bishop Short declares Nicholls to be wrong, and the evidence now in our hands seems to favour the Bishop's statement. Calamy tells us that, lest the rejection of the Creed should be imputed to the Commissioners as an act favouring Socinianism, it was resolved to keep the Creed, but to make a rubric on it declaring the curses denounced therein not to be restrained to every particular article, but intended against those that denied the substance of the Christian religion in general.

But on this subject we now have more certain information. By the well-timed and successful motion of Mr. James Heywood in Parliament (March 14, 1854), an address to the Crown was resolved upon, praying for a copy of the alterations in the Book of Common Prayer prepared by the Commissioners of 1689. The Archbishop of Canterbury very properly gave access to the papers at Lambeth, and a transcript was made by Rev. W. H. Black, which was without delay made public through the press.

Of this document a most convenient edition, edited by Mr.

Digitized by Google

John Taylor, was published in 1855 by Bagster and Sons. From the editor's Introduction we quote a passage or two which well deserve attention:

"The Commissioners of 1689 reduced the reading of the Athanasian Creed to the same number of days in the year (six), though not the same days, as those which were appointed for it in the First Book of Common Prayer, 1549. They endeavoured also to remove the Objections which are commonly entertained against the *Condemning Clauses*, by representing that they 'are to be understood as relating only to those who obstinately deny the Substance of the Christian Faith.' Had they been aware that the Passage in Mark (xvi. 16), from which these Clauses receive their support and authority, is not found in the earliest known MS. of the New Testament in Greek,—the celebrated Vatican MS. No. 1209,—they would perhaps have doubted whether it ought to be read even on those days. Few persons, who think much upon the subject, are quite satisfied with repeating the whole of the Creed; yet a Creed should be that in which the whole Congregation may join. If this unity is not possible, the next best course that can be taken is, to omit the public reading of a Creed which gives rise to so much difference of opinion.

"The Vatican MS. omits all the verses in the 16th of Mark, after verse 8. The Canons of Eusebius omit the same verses; for which reason Cardinal Cajetan, quoted by Wetstein, judiciously observed: 'Whatever may be the truth in this matter, the effect of these suspicions is, that this paragraph is not of solid authority for confirming Faith, as all the other parts of St. Mark, which are indubitable.' When Archbishop Secker said, in Vindication of these condemning Clauses, 'our Condemnation is no more hard and uncharitable than our Saviour's is at Mark xvi. 16,' he did not know that he relied on a passage of Scripture which is of such very questionable Authority. It was not till near the end of the last Century that the Christian World was generally apprized of the doubts thrown on the authenticity of these concluding Verses of St. Mark's Gospel, by their omission from the most ancient Greek Text extant."

Lord Macaulay has informed the public that Burnet, Fowler and Tillotson, desired to strike the Athanasian Creed out of the Liturgy altogether; and some excellent clergymen have since echoed the wish. But the Creed has been—it is still—tenaciously retained and cherished in the Church, although on very different grounds. Some accept both the statement of doctrine and the damnatory clauses literally and unhesitatingly. They assert that it is true, accordant with scripture and necessary to put down heresy. They care nothing for its unreasonableness or its harshness. With some of them, the unquestioning acceptance of manifestly unreasonable propositions is an exercise of loyal and submissive faith. Like Lord Eldon, they do not complain of there being some things hard to believe; they wish there were more, that their docile faith might be still more manifest. Such are exceptional men, but they are to be found. Others take the Creed with modifications and regrets,—think something of the kind necessary to repress the daring innovations of heresy,—but

Digitized by Google

confess themselves perplexed and unable to reconcile the doctrine with reason, and some of the propositions of the Creed with scripture. Thus Bishop Mant, in his well-known Notes to the Book of Common Prayer, though courageously enough defending the Creed, admits that there are several things in it beyond our comprehension, and that there are expressions which may seem liable to exception; and further declares that it is not the province of men to judge their brethren or decide their condition in the next world, if through want of information, weakness of apprehension or other causes, they fail to believe Christianity or Christian doctrine. The Bishop of Llandaff (Charge, 1833) probably glanced in part at the Athanasian Creed when he said, in reference to the Prayer Book, "Lapse of time has rendered some phrases obsolete or strange or improper; condemnation of heretical opinions may have been expressed in stronger terms than is necessary or convenient." But no opinion can be found among Churchmen on the subject of this Creed more weighty than that of Bishop Jeremy Taylor. In his fine discourse on the "Liberty of Prophesying," that great man, while pleading for the expediency of articles and symbols of faith, confesses that if questioned concerning the Creed of Athanasius, he cannot see that moderate sentence and gentleness of charity in his preface and conclusion that appeared in the Nicene Creed.

"*Nothing there but damnation and perishing everlastingly, unless the Article of the Trinity be believed as it is there with curiosity and minute particularities explained.*" * * * "For the Articles themselves, I am most heartily persuaded of the truth of them, and yet I dare not say all that are not so are irrevocably damned."

Then the good Bishop hints that belief in the Apostles' Creed is sufficient for baptism, and sufficient therefore for salvation. As to the Creed of Athanasius, "*how many people understand it not, how contrary to natural reason it seems, how little the Scripture says of those curiosities of explication, and how tradition was not clear on his side for the Article itself, much less for those forms and minutes.*" Supposing such sentences were published now-a-days by some Anglican Bishop, and he were cited before the Court of Arches and Dr. Lushington were the Judge, we know not, however distasteful the duty, that he could refrain from decreeing the Bishop of Connor and Down guilty of publishing doctrine at variance with the Book of Common Prayer, and especially of depraving the Creed commonly called that of St. Athanasius.

But we cannot part with the Bishop without further adducing his authority as to the mischief to the Church done by this unsparing symbol:

"All the world in factions, all damning one another, each party damned by all the rest; and there is no disagreeing in opinion from any

Digitized by Google

man that is in love with his own opinion, but damnation presently to all that disagree. * * * Nothing more furious than a mistaken zeal, and the actions of a scrupulous and abused conscience. When men think everything to be their faith and their religion, commonly they are so busy in trifles and such impertinences in which the scene of their mistake lies, that they neglect the greater things of the law, charity and compliances, and the gentleness of Christian communion; for this is the great principle of mischief, and yet is not more pernicious than unreasonable."

One other authority on the subject of this Creed is an Irish Bishop, a century nearer to us than Bishop Taylor, Dr. Robert Clayton, Bishop of Clogher. The passage we are about to quote is from his noted speech on Subscription to Articles and Creeds, spoken Feb. 2, 1756, in the Irish House of Lords. After speaking of the symbol as a probable forgery, he proceeds to remark that, even if its authenticity could be proved,

"There are still more objections against it than are to be urged against the Nicene Creed. For as it searches and mines further into that which is not revealed than even the Nicene Creed does, it is so much the more faulty as a Creed, which ought to contain nothing that is not plainly and clearly revealed in the Scriptures. * * * It contains a doctrine of so nice, so disputable and metaphysical a nature, as is hardly fit to be treated on in the schools; but is, I am certain, by no means sufficiently revealed to be made the subject of a Creed, which is commanded by public authority to be read by the minister and repeated by the people in the public service of the Church, where the low as well as the high are ordered to assemble themselves, and which should be, according to St. Paul, not to doubtful disputations, but that they may with one mind and one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ."

Supposing the doctrine of the Creed to be true, the Bishop goes on to say:

"Can any one, nevertheless, justify these damnatory clauses, which in a point of so disputable a nature and of so difficult a determination, so positively assert that 'every one who does not keep this faith whole and undefiled shall without doubt perish everlastingly.' * * * Hard words, and seemingly unfit for the mouth of a Christian and a Protestant."

Then naming the contrary supposition that the doctrine is false, the Bishop proceeds:

"Let us consider what would be the consequence. I dread to name it, as it would be no less than blasphemy; for if the Father and the Son have not from all eternity been consubstantial and co-equal, the assertion of that proposition would be blasphemy. * * * It is the dread and terror of a wrong determination, in a point of so delicate a nature, that makes me solicitous for having this Creed removed out of our Liturgy. And in a matter of such great consequence, and where the honour of God the Father is so nearly concerned, I own that I am fearful how I put any other being or person upon a level with him."

These were sensible words, but somewhat bold on the lips of

Digitized by Google

a Bishop. They, together with some similar speculations, cost their author his peace of mind, if not his life. There were in that day some who thought that free inquiry should be carried on by free inquirers, and as they did not class with them an Anglican Bishop, they resolved to issue a process against Bishop Clayton. The day was fixed for the trial, but ere it arrived the defendant, exhausted by excitement and mortification at the defamation to which he was exposed, had ceased to breathe.

It might not be without its use were we to adduce further varieties of opinion respecting this celebrated Creed on the part of those who subscribe and use it, from Waterland down to Mr. Maurice. Already, however, sufficient diversities have been manifested to prove the deceptiveness and the worthlessness of the plea sometimes put forth in behalf of articles and creeds, that they create and secure *uniformity of faith.*

It must in candour be admitted that, if the subscribers of the Creed have differed in their interpretation and estimate of this symbol of faith, its opponents have not been always agreed in their views respecting it.

Some, little versed in ecclesiastical history, and thus disqualified from putting a natural interpretation on ecclesiastical documents, have imagined that the author of the Athanasian Creed was a wily heretic, whose object in drawing it up was to expose the unreasonableness of the doctrine it embodies and the absurdity of the orthodox theory respecting three Persons in one God. Others, not receiving it as the work of a conscious enemy of the orthodox faith, have supposed the author designed to express in the strongest way he could the divorce of reason from faith, and that therefore he put orthodoxy into a series of propositions which, logically regarded, are so many contradictions in terms, at which, if faith do not falter, reason stands aghast.

Others, willing to give the author of the Creed credit for good faith, have supposed that, finding himself unwillingly swept away by the irresistible current of Trinitarian dogmas towards Tritheism, he made a desperate effort to get back to Monotheism. They further suppose that, having been used to the daring habits of a Church which never professed to regard the reasonableness of its doctrines as an argument for their acceptance, the author of the Athanasian Creed did not allow his mind to be troubled by the fact, that while his premisses manifestly led to a particular result, the conclusions drawn by himself were directly the opposite.

According to this theory, never were more dangerous polemics practised. Even with the docile submission of the Latin Church, the danger was not inconsiderable; but when the Creed was introduced into the Liturgy of a Church which professed to recognize and respect the rights of private judgment, the danger to faith was increased a hundredfold.

Digitized by Google

Whether the so-called Creed of St. Athanasius has been the means of keeping any considerable number of persons in the pale of orthodoxy, is more than we know; but, on the other hand, we know there have been cases in which its defiant dogmas have set men a-thinking, and the result of their inquiries has been a total abandonment of the doctrine of the Trinity, as inconsistent in all its various forms with the Unity of God.

We have left ourselves far less space than we designed to the latest writer on this Creed, who designates himself by the suggestive letters "LL.D." Although we have a shrewd suspicion respecting the real author, and believe that his name would, if published, greatly enhance the interest of the work, we shall respect the anonymous character he has assumed, and content ourselves with recommending the treatise on the ground of its actual, essential characteristics. These are, if we have read it aright, vigorous sense, a firm retention of the great doctrines of scripture, and gigantic strength in cleaving in twain unscriptural proofs and sophistical arguments. The style is brilliant, though profuse; the phraseology is sometimes highly poetical, but the ideas are nervous to the last degree. The framework is hung with garlands and decked with jewels, but the painting itself shews the simple power of a master's hand. We are persuaded that no Trinitarian of intellectual habits could sit down to this work without having his mind for a time entirely possessed by it. Should he wish to reply to its reasonings, we do not envy him his task.

A brief description of the plan of this treatise, and one or two quotations to illustrate the author's manner and argument, are all that we can further attempt in this article.

He begins by telling us that he had just been listening to this "orthodox malediction." The fact that it "is made the Church coronal of the holiest days" of the ecclesiastical year, while rousing amazement and displeasure, has also supplied him with weapons wherewith to open the attack on the Creed. He specifies the Festivals and Saints'-days on which the rubric directs the Creed to be said or sung, and detects in its clauses or spirit a palpable and harsh discord, spoiling the sweet and mutual harmony of scripture and apostles and saints.

Two of the days, he admits, are not inappropriate to the Creed. We go with him in respect to Trinity Sunday. The Creed is worthy of the day, "a Sabbath certainly not instituted by Moses or the prophets, or Jesus or his apostles." Bartholomew, however, is not responsible for the crimes and persecutions, the ejections and the massacres, which cruel or wicked men have perpetrated on the day marked in the Church calendar by his name. With fervid and indignant eloquence, our author denounces the association of a fierce Creed with Christmas, a day ushered in by angels' smiles, a day of grace and truth, a day whose history tells

Digitized by Google

us of a mother and a babe, of the feebleness and suffering of humanity, not of the passionless immutability of Omnipotence.

"Next comes the Epiphany, the manifestation of Christ to unbelievers." Christ came to reveal God's forgiveness. The Creed reveals a fierce and unforgiving God. Why next was St. Matthias chosen? Matthias in the Acts is chosen to bear witness to the resurrection. In the Creed there are 699 words; of these, only eight touch on the resurrection. Easter and Ascension were days that proclaimed life and heaven; the Athanasian Creed teaches the doctrine of death, everlasting death, and hell.

Whitsunday. Why read this bad Creed on that bright cosmopolitan festival? The cloven tongues breathed out no maledictions. They did not like the angry passions which dictated the Creed, scorch and destroy the heads on which they lighted. And why, our author asks, is St. John the Baptist involved in the dogmas of the Creed? His doctrine was redemption, remission of sins, and the tender mercies of God.

On the day of St. James, too, the Creed is to be read. The James of the New Testament said men should be slow to wrath, and his doctrine was that *faith* could not without works save. This is not the doctrine of the Creed. The Athanasian Creed points out a royal road to heaven, but it runs not parallel with such a royal law as James proclaimed.

St. Matthew is the only evangelist on whose day the Creed is to be used. Does that evangelist countenance the doctrine of the Creed? Did he divide the world into believers and non-believers of the mystery of the Trinity? Matthew did not describe the makers and the repeaters of this Creed as those blessed of the Father. No reason can be given why St. Simon, St. Jude and St. Andrew should be specially identified with a Creed of which, as to its letter and spirit, they were wholly guileless.

In the next place, our author analyzes the rubric which heads this Creed in the Prayer Book, and pungently comments on the words ordering the substitution of this for the Apostles' Creed. Then follow thirty pages of analysis of the Creed itself, pages full of glowing eloquence, contrasting the mysterious doctrine of the Creed with the simple, soul-strengthening teachings of Christ and his apostles,—its hard and cruel spirit with their gentle tones of peace, breathing blessings all around.

As a specimen of the criticisms on the dogmas of the Athanasian Creed, take the passage on the co-eternity and co-equality of the three Persons of the Trinity:

"The three Persons are co-eternal together and co-equal. In all the representations of the Trinity which I have ever seen or heard, no such equality is ever preserved. No! the Father towers supreme. The idea of equality never has, never can penetrate the mind. It is repelled, it is rejected, at the first moment of its presentation. The word *co-equal* may be repeated ten thousand times; the idea of equality never *will*

Digitized by Google

obtain possession of the heart or the understanding. Jesus will be the express Image of his Father's person, but not *the person;* the brightness of his Father's glory, but not *the glory;* the instrument by which the earth and heavens were created, but not *the creator;* the future Judge of all men, but *appointed* thereto by his Father; the Saviour, but *the sent* to save; the Comforter, but the appointed to comfort. All is subjection, all is subordination. But as regards the third entity in the Trinity, 'co-eternal and co-equal,' wearisome indeed would be the search for any separate mission confided to this portion or person of the Trinity."—P. 47.

Here is our author's criticism on the mystery of the Incarnation:

"God! the Cause of all causes, the Creator of all creatures, the Light of all lights, the Filler of all space, the Depository of all knowledge, the Consolidation of all power, all love, all beauty,—invisible, yet everywhere present,—seeing all, directing all, pervading all,—an omnipresent Now midst ages gone and ages dawning and decaying,—the fluttering of an insect's wing or the rolling of ten thousand worlds alike directed by the infinite Omniscience,—all, and in all and over all,—in whose presence millions of suns are but as the dust at our feet,—whose attributes are as much beyond our conception as is the motion of the earth to the mole beneath his mound:—this is the God who, according to the Athanasian Creed, was transformed into a man 'born in the world,' among horses in a stable's manger,—a crying child, nursed at a woman's breast, playing with carpenter's tools, disputing with rabbis in the temple, suffering with the suffering, mourning over the dead, supplicating for aid, condemned for sedition, dying on a cross, buried in a tomb, and ascending *bodily* to heaven."—P. 49.

One other passage describes the spirit of the Creed:

"This Creed is utterly pitiless. For human infirmity it has no indulgence,—for weakness of intellect, for incapacity to weigh evidence, for the effects of education, habit, prejudice; it is inexorable; its *shall* and *will* are autocratically despotic; 'before all things it is necessary to hold' the doctrines of this tyrannical Creed; without doubt, if he do not, he shall 'perish everlastingly.' If he will be saved, he must—O absolute and irresistible *must!*—he must thus—exactly *thus*—think of the Trinity. But was there ever a more melancholy exhibition of the darkest ignorance of the construction and philosophy of the human mind? Does not every man, who has passed the threshold of the earliest elements of thought—does he not know that there are shades of belief and shades of doubt, and that men do not think or believe exactly alike on the commonest subjects, even on those in which they have the evidence of their senses, where they can see and hear and touch and taste and smell? Do they agree with respect to matters most present and most palpable? But as regards the most difficult, the most distant, the most profound, the most exalted, they are called upon—called upon under the pain and penalty of eternal punishment, the menace of never-ending agonies—not only to believe, or say they believe, but to hurl maledictions at all who doubt or disbelieve.

"Doubt!—is there not often something *sacred*, something religious, in doubt—in honest, fearful, trembling doubt? Is doubt the visitor of the thoughtful, of the pure, of the pious? Are those who most loudly pro-

Digitized by Google

claim their own orthodoxy, and most violently censure and condemn the want of orthodoxy in others—are they the most distinguished for the exercise of the Christian virtues? Is not forbearance one of them? Is not forgiveness another? Is not charity of the number? How forbearing, how forgiving, how charitable is this Creed! It is a cup of the bitterest bitters; it is a night of the thickest darkness; it is a code of laws compared to whose brutality nothing is found recorded in the history of ignorance, presumption and folly."—Pp. 28, 29.

Agreeing with our author in all he has said in derogation of this harsh symbol, the blot of the English Liturgy, the one stigma of the national Church of England, we are ready to say with him, "Happy will be the day for the Church itself when this Creed is torn out from the Book of Common Prayer, and condemned as he is condemned who calleth his brother, Raca!"

When will that day come? The signs of the times do not encourage the hope of its speedy advent. Our own desire on the subject is free from every taint of fear. The "curse causeless" lights not on our head. But as Englishmen, desiring from a pure love of our country its welfare and dignity, we cannot but desire that a Creed discreditable to any national Church should be abolished. As Christians, earnestly desirous for the diffusion of religion pure and undefiled, we may surely wish that a Creed so impure in its doctrine and so defiled by presumption and uncharitableness, may be as quickly as possible forgotten.

THE LATE ELHANAN BICKNELL—IN MEMORIAM.

The year 1861, now closed, is one which will not be soon forgotten. Its annals will be associated with some irretrievable losses, and with sorrows of which the scars will in some hearts be obliterated only with the cessation of life.

The Unitarian church has had its portion of the general loss and sorrow. Of the ministers of our religious faith who have passed away, our pages have contained or will hereafter give a sufficiently full record. Of their laymen, Unitarians may well be proud. Some that have lately passed to their reward well deserve our reverential sorrow. It is always matter of regret when their recorded wishes, prompted by a too sensitive humility, put a restraint on the public expression of regard and forbid all biographical details.

The Unitarian body have not often lost a more ardent friend or a more liberal helper than the late John Watson. A kinder and warmer heart than that of the late George Kirkpatrick does not beat in many living men. Much more that we fain would say is repressed. But it is well for society that the tongue or the pen of surviving friendship is sometimes allowed free scope in relation to the departed good. Of William Fisher, the enlightened friend of civil and religious liberty, our obituary columns contain a record.

Elhanan Bicknell's recent death makes a serious and long-to-be-

Digitized by Google

regretted void in the Unitarian church. He was a man of genial temper, of high and noble principles, one that sought and loved truth with his whole soul, and who thought no sacrifices too great in its behalf. His tastes were highly cultivated and always pure. His religious opinions were clear and decided, and affected the whole tenor of his thoughts and life. His zeal never flagged and never degenerated into bigotry. With the bad feeling which that word embodies, it was not possible that his kind heart could be tainted. His character, in short, was an instructive and pleasing comment on the religion, pure and undefiled, intelligent and catholic, which he had by individual thought gained from the study of the Bible.

His personal history, though it does not contain many striking incidents or affecting vicissitudes, will be perused not without satisfaction by all who knew the sterling worth of the man. He was one of that numerous class in England who by their industry and integrity win the way to large wealth. His father having given him a name untainted by reproach, set him an example worthy of imitation, and by his conduct as well as his precepts made him understand the value of religion and scripture truth.

William, the father of Elhanan Bicknell, was a schoolmaster of good repute, successively in Southwark, Ponder's End, Middlesex, and at Tooting, in Surrey. One of his pupils, and a schoolfellow of his son, was Thomas Wilde, first an attorney, then a distinguished barrister on the Western circuit, and ultimately, with the title of Lord Truro, Lord Chancellor. William Bicknell's closest personal friend was Elhanan Winchester, the distinguished advocate of the doctrine of Universal Restoration, the writer, indeed, who first in any degree popularized that doctrine in England. When Mr. Winchester published his book on Universal Restoration, Mr. Bicknell took the risk of the work, and his name was entered as its owner at Stationers' Hall. He disposed of portions of the venture to other friends of the author; but before the work reached its second edition, he and they gave up the property to Mr. Winchester, that he might receive a full reward for his labour and talent. The following letter, written about November, 1789, shews the writer's high estimation of Mr. Winchester and his books:

"Dear Sir,—With pleasure I resign for your benefit a work which has afforded me more comfort and satisfaction than any yet published, only excepting that *mine* from whence it originated. I never expect to see it surpassed, except by the Lectures, in our language. And I think it will stand, with the Lectures, as a record to succeeding ages of the additional light that it has pleased our gracious Benefactor to bestow in these days through your instrumentality.

"Farewell, and enjoy the fruit of your labours. And may God of his infinite mercy so water the good seed that has been sown in this land by your means, that it may bring forth a plentiful harvest in our lives and practice, is the daily prayer of your friend in the real gospel, W. BICKNELL."

Another valued friend of Mr. Bicknell was Rev. William Vidler, afterwards the popular minister at Parliament-Court chapel, London. To him there is an allusion in a letter addressed by Winchester to William Bicknell:

"September, 1793.

"Mr. Vidler, of Battle, supplied my place two Sundays during my absence, and gave universal satisfaction. He and his church have lately been cast out

Digitized by Google

of their connection for holding the doctrine of the Universal Restoration, of which he is a most able defender.

"I have just reprinted 'The Outcasts Comforted,' chiefly on his account, and have dedicated this third edition to him and to his people."

William Bicknell's son was born at Ponder's End, Dec. 21, 1788, and received the name of ELHANAN as a mark of his father's respect for Elhanan Winchester. His father gave him a sound education, and then he was sent into a distant part of the country, with a view of acquiring a practical knowledge of agriculture, to which it was intended that he should devote himself. It was amid the pleasing scenery of the county of Salop, and especially in the neighbourhood of the county town, the market of which at this period he was accustomed to attend, that he derived the taste for the picturesque, and particularly for the quiet beauty of rustic subjects, which remained a portion of his being to the end of life.

He did not carry into effect his purpose of farming, but when about twenty years of age returned to London. Here he engaged in business, forming a partnership with Mr. Langton as an oil merchant and a refiner of spermaceti. The latter branch of their business originated with Mr. Langton's father, to whom the credit is due of inventing a process which, figuratively speaking, turned into gold what had previously been regarded as mere waste and a nuisance. The sediment of sperm oil was till then supposed to be useless, and was at some expense carted away, and was, together with other substances of which imperfect science had failed to detect the use and value, thrown a noxious sediment into the Thames, the great sewer of London.

The business at Newington Butts, where Mr. Bicknell conducted it for fifty years, was rewarded by success equal to all his wants, and which enabled him to gratify the impulses of his generous heart.

Mr. Bicknell was not content to be the man of business only, however great the success which in its conduct he achieved. He was from early life a reader and a thinker, and no subjects more engrossed his attention than the meaning of scripture and the scope of divine revelation. Advancing, and in early life, considerably beyond the opinions of his father, he embraced the doctrines of Unitarian Christianity, and held them to the last hour of consciousness with a firm grasp, and experienced from them all the holiest and most consolatory influences of religion. He was not one of those selfish religionists who think truth a good thing for themselves, but care not whether other men participate in its benefit. He loved to converse and to correspond with friends of different sects on the truths he valued. His well-informed mind and firmly-settled faith enabled him to enter the lists in these theological tournaments even with knights of the orthodox pulpit of high repute. It need, however, not surprise any one that the combatants generally ended as they began. He had, indeed, the singular satisfaction of bringing his worthy father before the close of life to the adoption of the Unitarian faith. To one who had renounced Calvinism for Universalism, the advance was not difficult.

The extent of Mr. Bicknell's generosity to religious objects is well known; how frequent and valuable his gifts in other directions were, few, if any, fully know.

He was one of those who offered the liberal guarantee which in the

Digitized by Google

year 1817 induced Mr. W. J. Fox, on leaving Chichester, to settle with the congregation then worshiping at Parliament Court. He afterwards contributed liberally to the new chapel at South Place, and at a later period, in conjunction with the late Mr. John Travers and others, he united in building the chapel at Brixton. His recent munificent gifts and subscriptions to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association will be in the recollection of all our readers. Mr. Bicknell, notwithstanding his heartfelt interest in Unitarianism, shrunk from all unnecessary publicity, and declined those offices of honour which are generally not unacceptable to the wealthy and the prosperous.

Mr. Bicknell greatly loved country scenes; and although he resided at so short a distance from the metropolis, possessed grounds of considerable extent, admirably laid out, and adorned with the choicest flowers, plants and trees. His skill in landscape gardening was considerable; and as he possessed and lived on his estate at Herne Hill about forty years, it grew, with its conservatories and other appliances, to be noted for its beauty. In the period of his declining strength, he found great solace in his grounds; and when no longer able to walk, was wheeled about, and superintended the alterations and improvements which his taste suggested. Another characteristic of Mr. Bicknell was his pure love of art. His house was a picture-gallery and a museum of sculpture. Here the great works of the modern masters, chosen with the nicest art, were collected and skilfully arranged. Of the works of Turner, his collection was admirable. Not merely artists and students, but persons of cultivated taste generally, were liberally admitted to inspect his treasures. In selecting pictures, he generally chose representations of nature—sweet rural scenes—rather than historical subjects and works of high art. To the very close of life he found in the pictures and other works which he had gathered around him the purest pleasure. In his domestic life, Mr. Bicknell was the centre of habitual peace and happiness. He was married more than once. The mother of Mr. Henry S. Bicknell, who inherits many of his father's tastes and habits, was a daughter of the late Mr. Benjamin Scott Jones, who was during life a liberal supporter of all Unitarian institutions.

During the greater part of the last year, Mr. Bicknell's health declined. At Midsummer he released himself from the cares of business, and made those final arrangements which justice and prudence demand from the head of a family. His ailments grew in number and urgency, but they ever found him patient and prepared. A week or two before his death, he expressed to the son already named his conviction that he had entered on his last sickness, and that it would not be of long continuance, and he avowed his determination to complete at once the arrangements he intended to make. His weakness perceptibly increased, and a few days before his release a slight fall compelled him to keep his bed. He did not rise again, but, with peaceful composure and a mind self-possessed, awaited his dismission. It came on the 27th of November, and was as calm and hopeful as the latter end of a Christian should be. His earthly remains were interred in the cemetery at Norwood, and the last words of affection and sorrow were spoken over his grave by a friend whom he always honoured, the Rev. Thomas Madge. We need not add that they were such as became the Christian pastor mourning a worthy friend, or that they were uttered with his accustomed grace and feeling.

Digitized by Google

The sorrow of his family has been alleviated by more than the ordinary amount of sympathy. A gentleman well known in commerce and Parliament thus wrote on hearing of Mr. Bicknell's death:

"Your dear father has left behind him the well-earned reputation of having been for nearly half a century a most truthful and honourable British merchant. There are few men so qualified by time and experience to speak of him as myself. For more than thirty years I have had the pleasure of his acquaintance and friendship, and during that long period I have seen him placed in positions of great trial, where men of less principle would have succumbed to temptation; but rising above all worldly considerations, he has never deviated from the path of integrity and honour. * * * There is no greater test of vital religion than those duties which devolve upon us in our daily occupation. This test, severe as it sometimes is, never proved too severe for him."

This and similar tributes of respect have been spontaneously offered by friends who had no sympathy with Mr. Bicknell's religious opinions. The fact shews what a good man may do in overcoming the prejudice that may prevail against his creed.

HYMN.

BY SIR JOHN BOWRING.

On light beams flowing from above,
Man's course of mortal being runs;
And with the loadstone of his love
The Eternal Sire attracts his sons.

What an entrancing sight for him
The enraptured prophet, when his eye
Saw Cherubim and Seraphim
Descending from their native sky!

Ten thousand indications given
Console us in our life's career;
They link us more and more with heaven,
And will at last conduct us there.

The working of celestial love,
In this bright consummation lies,—
It brings down angels from above,
It raises mortals to the skies.

Howe'er on earth we rove or roam,
From heaven we came, to heaven we tend;
Heaven is our final happy home,
Where joys begin and sorrows end.

Digitized by Google

OBITUARY.

Dec. 14, at Windsor Castle, in the 43rd year of his age, H.R.H. ALBERT, Duke of Saxony, Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Knight of the Order of the Garter, and the beloved Consort of Victoria, Queen of England. The illness of the Prince was short, and was only made public within a few days of its fatal termination. The shock of grief which this unlooked-for event occasioned, seemed for a time to paralyze the heart of the nation. Sorrow more spontaneous, sincere and universal, was probably never witnessed. The sound of lamentation has been heard alike from the press and the pulpit, in the mansions of the noble and in the cottages of the poor. Many motives have inspired and prolonged the national emotion. The talents, accomplishments and virtues of the Prince, the relation in which he stood to our beloved Queen and to the Royal Princes and their sisters, and the long series of public services which he has rendered, would under any circumstances have made his death the occasion of national sorrow. But to these sources of grief must be added (as has been truthfully told by the press) the nation's consciousness of not having done justice to the Prince during his life. It is one of the results of an insular position that we look at foreigners with a doubtful and somewhat jealous eye. The characters of Princes have not generally conciliated to them much personal regard. From these causes it came to pass that the Prince, when he assumed the distinguished place assigned him by the pure affection and wise choice of the Queen of England, met with but a cold reception from the nation. The income accorded to him by Parliament was cut down from the original estimate proposed by the responsible advisers of the Crown, to one sufficient (as the result has proved) for his actual wants, but scarcely such as, all circumstances considered, it became a great nation to offer. But to the honour of Prince Albert, he lived within his income, and by a prudent use of his means was enabled both to sustain in a suitable manner his august office as Prince Consort, and to give a large, though never profuse, patronage to literature and art, and to take his right place in public institutions and private charities. Had the Prince, after a few years' residence among us, appealed to the nation to pay his debts, the result would probably have been a large addition to his income. What respect is due to his memory, that for more than twenty years he set to the Royal Family and to the nation a becoming example of just frugality and wise liberality! The whole life of the Prince Consort has been as if there were no special difficulties and temptations in the path of Royalty. To the Queen, his respect and affection have been rendered with unfaltering loyalty. To the younger members of the Royal Family, he has been a wise, accomplished and loving Father. His public duties have been performed with singular exactitude and ability. He never appeared before the public without doing the work which called him personally into their view with delicate tact and invariable success. Whether he undertook to promote some work of charity or some great scheme of social economy, or to take his place among the friends and students of science, his words and acts never fell below the occasion. The wisdom of the Prince appeared as much in what he declined as in what he undertook. He never gave occasion to constitutional or personal distrust, by interfering in business that lay out of his province, or by assuming authority not conceded to him. It was right and proper that he should be, as the Queen's closest friend, next to her Ministers her habitual counsellor. And what honour is reflected on the judgment and loyalty of the Prince by the policy of the Government during the last twenty years! To Queen Victoria, the people of these islands gratefully say,

"Thy name has chronicled a long bright page
Of England's story."

How much of that glory has been owing to the wisdom and loyalty of the Prince Consort, a future age may know, but we can only surmise.

Digitized by Google

The sorrow of the people at the Prince's death has not been selfishly confined to the consideration of their own public loss. A tender sympathy for the Queen and the Royal children has mingled with the feelings of all. The life of the Queen and the late Prince Consort was so beautiful a picture of love and duty, that we have habitually regarded her as a Wife and a Mother quite as much as a Queen. Therefore it is that her subjects think and feel in relation to her bereavement as they would towards a personal friend visited with some great sorrow. To her we may apply, with a slight alteration, the lines of Mrs. Barbauld addressed to her Royal Grandfather under a sorrowful visitation of a different kind:

"Thou hast human feelings; * * *
* * * And kindly charities,
Even such as warm the cottage hearth, are thine;
And therefore falls the tear from eyes not used
To gaze on kings with admiration fond.
And thou hast knelt at meek Religion's shrine
With no mock homage, and hast owned her rights
Sacred in every breast; and therefore rise
Affectionate, for thee, the orisons
And mingled prayers alike from vaulted domes
Whence the loud organ peals, and raftered roofs
Of humbler worship. Still remembering this,
A nation's pity and a nation's love
Linger beside thy couch, in this the day
Of thy sad visitation."

The relation in which the deceased Prince stood to the Heir Apparent, makes his death at this time a great calamity to the nation. It was the natural expectation and hope of the people that his paternal influence and large experience would safely guide the Prince of Wales at the most critical period of his life through the snares and dangers to which he is exposed. This hope is by an inscrutable decree of Providence disappointed. May the young Prince, in sympathy with his widowed Mother and her sorrowing people, relieve every apprehension and confirm every hope by walking in the steps of his honoured and lamented Father!

THE LATE WILLIAM FISHER, ESQ., OF SHEFFIELD.

Many of our readers will have seen with regret the announcement of the death of this gentleman, whose stately and genial presence will long be remembered by those who have visited the Sheffield congregation, and whose name was still more widely known as an earnest and liberal contributor to various objects connected with our churches, and as one of the veteran race of reformers who are fast disappearing from among us.

From the time of Charles I., the name of Fisher has been one of the old Sheffield names. In the same quiet, old-fashioned court—once, as its name, "Orchard Place," denotes, a green and pleasant nook—off one of the narrower streets in the centre of the town, Mr. Fisher's family have for 200 years carried on the business, which they still pursue there, of scale-pressers and ivory merchants. Mr. Fisher retired from active business some few years ago, but to the day of his death he used to go down to the old spot, and put on his apron—he was proud of his apron, which he said the young men of the present day were getting too fine to wear—and talk to the workmen and see all that was going on. He was there the day before he died, and one of his last acts was to send a "fairing" to the children of one of his old servants, many of whom had been about the place for forty or fifty years. In the first half of last century, James and Dorothy Fisher were living there, the grand-parents of the late William Fisher. The grandfather was a stanch Churchman, but in later life Dorothy joined the Upper chapel, which at that time was the only place of Dissenting worship. Some of the family remained with their mother, attached to the chapel through the ministry of old Mr. Wadsworth; but the eldest son, John, kept to the parish church; and

Digitized by Google

William Fisher, his son, the subject of the present sketch, who was born in 1780, was also brought up to Church. When he was a young man, his elder sister, to whom he was much attached, married one of the Favels, a surgeon in the town, a stanch Presbyterian and a vehement Whig, two things which in those days generally went together. An uncle also, with whom he was thrown into close companionship during his apprenticeship, was a firm member of the Upper chapel; and so it came to pass that William Fisher, growing up at the time when the high-handed tyranny of the "Church and King" party disgusted all liberal minds, gradually left the Church and joined the Upper chapel. The minister of the Upper chapel at this time was Mr. Evans, an old man who had occupied the pulpit nearly forty years, with young Mr. Naylor, lately settled as colleague, who presently left and went to Manchester.

From that time, about 1801, to the present day, Mr. Fisher has been one of the most zealous members of the Upper chapel, and an active and leading man in all the affairs of the town, as well as prominent in every struggle for Reform, Education, Free Trade or Religious Liberty.

They were stormy times in which Mr. Fisher's public life began. It is only some ten years since an old man died in the Shrewsbury hospital in Sheffield, who at the beginning of the century was taken up, with many others, on suspicion of manufacturing pikes, and transported for twenty-five years. He lived through his long term of punishment, and when he returned to Sheffield, the influence of Mr. Fisher and others of the old reformers procured him the comfortable almshouse where he ended his days, and where he often used to tell of the "Peep-o'day boys" who drilled at midnight on a common outside the town, and of the panic in Sheffield when almost all the tradesmen in one of the principal streets were taken up on suspicion of Jacobinism. Every reformer in those days was branded as a Jacobin, and became a marked and suspected man; but William Fisher braved suspicion, and even when he was only twenty-one, attended the reform meetings which were held in Paradise Square, for a century past the great place for popular demonstrations. Throughout the thirty years during which the fitful struggle lasted, the people of Sheffield looked on him as one of their ablest leaders. At every great crisis—when the massacre at Peterloo took place, when the French Revolution of 1830 broke out—the crier would be sent round, and in a couple of hours Paradise Square would be crowded to hear what the leading reformers would say. Many remember the consternation which spread like wild-fire through the town when news came in '31 that the Lords had thrown out the Reform Bill, how the church bells rung a dumb peal, and in a little time 25,000 people were wedged into the Square to listen to William Fisher, Samuel Bailey and Thomas Asline Ward, who still survives his old friend, and is the senior Trustee of Upper chapel.

About 1820, the church-rate contest began in Sheffield, and Mr. Fisher threw himself into it with his usual ardour. Meeting after meeting was held in the parish church, and great was the glee of the little knot of reformers who led the opposition, when Luke Palfreyman—another old Upper-chapel name—found out that, by moving the adjournment of the meeting for twelve months, they could avoid the direct negative which the pro-rate party would have been able to set aside. At last Mr. Fisher made a proposition that the rate should be abandoned, promising himself to give four times the amount that could have been levied on him, and to assist one of the clergy in a canvass for the amount needed to keep the church and churchyard in repair. From that time, church-rates have been only a tradition of the past in Sheffield.

In the movement for Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829, in the agitation to strengthen the hands of the ministry in bringing forward the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, in the struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and in every movement for popular education, Mr. Fisher took a leading part. In fact, for half a century past, no meeting in Sheffield for any public object has been complete without him; his ardent, fiery courage, his great kindness of disposition, and his hearty, vigorous style of address, making "old William Fisher" a universal favourite with the people.

Of his long connection of sixty years with the Upper chapel, there is not much of any general interest to tell. The life of our old Presbyterian congregations has been for the most part quiet and uneventful. Mr. Fisher and Mr. T. Asline Ward joined the congregation almost together, about 1801, the latter a few months the earlier. Their secession from the Church made considerable stir in the town, especially that of young "Tom Ward," as he was called, then a smart young officer in the Sheffield volunteers. From that time to the present, they have worked together in public matters, and been two of the most active members of the congregation. On the first vacancies in the Trust, they were

Digitized by Google

appointed Trustees of the chapel. In 1828, towards the close of the late Dr. Philipps' ministry, a secession took place from the Upper chapel. Mr. Fisher, always uncompromising and impetuous, thought that the rights of the congregation were infringed by what he looked upon as the assumption of too great power by the minister, and with several others left the chapel and set up a Unitarian meeting in the Music Hall. It was a hasty, ill-considered step, which many of those who took part in it afterwards regretted; and, after a separation of ten years, the two parties re-united, and from that time there has been complete unanimity of feeling in the congregation.

Mr. Fisher, however, lived to see a separation of a very different kind. When at the close of 1858 a movement was begun for starting a second congregation for St. Philip's district, no one entered with more warmth into the scheme than he did. To the building of the new chapel at Upperthorpe he contributed largely, and one of his last public acts in connection with the congregation was to take part in the laying of the foundation-stone in October, 1860. He spoke that evening at the meeting in the Cutlers' Hall, and was much affected as he alluded to the pleasure he felt in having lived to see a second congregation in the town, and told how he felt that he could not expect to attend many more such meetings of his fellow-worshipers.

In February last, he had a paralytic attack which for a time confined him to the house. He recovered to a wonderful degree, however; and, though his faculty of articulation continued somewhat impaired so that he could no longer take part in any public business, he resumed his visits to the works in Orchard Place, and went about hale, strong and cheerful as ever. He was in his usual place at chapel on Sunday, November 24. On the following Thursday he walked down to business, and seemed as well as ever. During Thursday night, however, he seemed restless and disturbed; and at five o'clock in the morning the doctor was sent for, and arrived just in time to see him peacefully expire.

He was married in 1807 to Miss England, of Robin Hood's Well, near Doncaster, who survives him. He leaves three sons, Alderman William Fisher, Mr. Chas. and Mr. Paul England Fisher, with a daughter, Miss Sarah Fisher. He had lost several children, among whom was Rev. Francis Fisher, Unitarian minister for three years at Dorchester, where he was much beloved, who died in 1846.

Though he had lived an uneventful life, though he occupied no public office, he held a position of general honour and esteem in his native town which will not soon be forgotten. Some years ago, his portrait, painted by Richard Smith, Esq., was placed by public subscription in the Council Hall, where it will look down upon successive generations of public men, a memorial of one of Sheffield's venerable worthies, a large-hearted, able and sagacious Christian citizen.

B. H.

Nov. 27, at Stoke Newington, aged 80, Mrs. Mary Anne Reid, relict of the late Mr. W. H. Reid, of Islington.

The following extract from a short autobiography which she placed in the hands of the minister of Newington-Green chapel about twenty years since, will interest those who knew her long and untiring devotion to that chapel and to the Unitarian cause.

"Until her eighteenth year, Calvinism appeared to her to be the only consistent Christianity. But the mercy of God seemed so totally to forbid the thought of his having formed the bulk of mankind for eternal misery, that at this period she was drawn into Deism as a refuge from that impiety which would make God at once the author and the everlasting punisher of sin. With a heart almost broken by blighted prospects, already weary of this life, and the hope of futurity snatched from her alike by Calvinism and Deism—for if the former were true *she* might not be of the elect, and the latter cut away the ground of reliance upon a future state of existence—an accident led her to hear the late Mr. Belsham at Hackney, and the effect was like the breaking of day after a long and stormy night. 'God is Light' was the text of the first Unitarian sermon she ever heard; and the rational, the delightful views of the paternal character and attributes of God then for the first time set before her, harmonized so exactly with what appeared to be both the scriptural and reasonable representations of the Deity, that from that day she became a constant attendant on Mr. B.'s ministry, and before he removed to Essex Street she had fully embraced his views. Indeed, she found in Unitarianism the religion which she seemed to have been in vain seeking for during all her previous life."

About twenty-two years back, this energetic and almost masculine-minded woman joined the then very small congregation at Newington Green; and from that time until her death the great object for which she lived appeared to be the prosperity of that chapel and its connected institutions. She was the foundress of the Sunday and Day Schools, for many years an active mission-

Digitized by Google

ary to the poor of the neighbourhood, and for a considerable period a most useful member of the Newington-Green Conversation Society. She lived to see the realization to no small extent of her warmest hopes; but then mortality had begun to lay its strong hand upon her. Her death was so strictly from simple decay of every physical and mental power, that she might be said to have been gradually dying during several previous years. To the last, however, whatever strength of mind she could command was exerted for the interests of the beloved place of worship she was no longer able to attend; to the last she insisted upon contributing *something* from her small pecuniary resources towards the maintenance of the services; and to the last, if anything could bring the light of satisfaction to her features, it was some information conveyed to her of some species of progress at Newington Green. There can be few members of any congregation, in any sect, to whom, in the matter of zeal to serve a religious society and cause, Mary Anne Reid might not be held up as an example, and to whom therefore the injunction might not with propriety be given, to "go and do likewise."

C.

Dec. 4, at Mossley, in the 34th year of her age, HANNAH, the wife of Mr. William Stanley BURTON.

Dec. 6, after a short but severe illness, Mr. ARTHUR PAYNE, second son of Mr. James Payne, of Manchester, and late a student of Manchester New College, London. He was born at Sevenoaks, Kent, Dec. 21, 1840, so that at the time of his death he was within a few days of completing his 21st year. Mr. Payne was originally intended for business; but great activity as a teacher in the Lower Mosley-Street schools, Manchester, brought him into vital contact with the moral and spiritual interests of his fellow-creatures, and awakened in him tastes and aspirations which, strengthened by association with some kindred minds, determined him to embrace the Chistian ministry as the business of his life. With this view he entered Manchester New College as an undergraduate student in the session of 1860-61. He passed through this preliminary part of his academic course with great credit, having at the close of his first session gained the first prize in the Lower Junior Mathematical class, and being bracketed with two others in the second place of honour in the Junior Greek class of University College. His gentle and unassuming manners, assiduous devotion to his studies, and quiet energy of spirit, secured the warm approval of his instructors, with the confidence and affectionate respect of his associates, and bore a rich promise of future usefulness. His tutors and fellow-students accompanied his mortal remains to their last resting-place in the cemetery at Highgate, where they repose amidst many similar memorials of youthful excellences taken early from a world which they seemed destined to improve and bless.

"Thus the righteous that is dead shall condemn the ungodly which are living; and youth that is soon perfected, the many years and old age of the unrighteous."

Dec. 7, ARTHUR JAMES, youngest son of Rev. J. FREESTON, of Failsworth.

Dec. 9, at Hamburg, in his 78th year, LUDWIG STEINTHAL, Esq., formerly of the city of Manchester.

Dec. 24, at Higher Broughton, Manchester, MICHAEL SHIPMAN, Esq., late of Hinckley, in his 82nd year.

MARRIAGES.

Oct. 15, at the church of St. John, Hampstead, by Rev. Thos. Ainger, M.A., ARTHUR FELLOWS, of Victoria, Vancouver's Island, third son of Isaac Fellows, Esq., of Wolverhampton, to ELEANOR CAROLINE, second daughter of Sir Rowland HILL, K.C.B.

Nov. 5, at the Unitarian church, Stourbridge, by Rev. David Maginnis, ALFRED FELLOWS, of Victoria, Vancouver's Island, second son of Isaac Fellows, Esq., of Wolverhampton, to LUCY, daughter of the late John MORGAN, Esq., of Hay, Brecknockshire.

Nov. 20, at the Presbyterian chapel, Newbury, by Rev. Richard Shelley, JOHN ADAMS, of Reading, to EMMA JONES, of Newbury.

Dec. 17, at the Abbey chapel, Tavistock, by Rev. David Griffith, W. A. PALMER, Esq., of Bedford Square, to Miss MARY CARTER, the third daughter of the late Mr. John COMMINS, Abbey Mead, Tavistock.

Dec. 24, at the Unitarian chapel, Belper, by Rev. Rees L. Lloyd, Mr. JOSEPH BURGOYNE, of Belper, to Miss HANNAH PEAT, of the Dalley, near Belper.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCVI.] FEBRUARY, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

DR. JOSEPH WOLFF.*

Of all the strange books which this eccentricity-seeking age has called into being, the volumes of which we give the title below may prefer a claim to pre-eminence. They are wild in speculation, disjointed in style, with not the slightest pretension to method, and there is scarcely a chapter which does not suggest reasons for doubting the good Doctor's sanity. His vanity is intense, and leads him again and again into trifling and ridiculous details. Notwithstanding these serious drawbacks, the book is not merely readable, but is generally interesting and sometimes instructive. The strange adventures of the author, if narrated systematically and with any literary skill, might have furnished materials for a work scarcely inferior in interest to the Travels of Livingstone. It is, in fact, a chaos of Dr. Joseph Wolff's talk, taken down from his lips by certain admiring friends. One of them, Mr. Alfred Gatty, acts as editor. What he says of his friend's written books, that they "have been remarkably muddled," may not untruly describe this dictated autobiography. Mr. Gatty quotes and apparently adopts the encomium of an unnamed critic, that it will be "a standard book like Robinson Crusoe." A less happy comparison could scarcely have been made. Every quality that Defoe possessed as a writer of professed autobiography is wanting in this work. No one will praise these volumes for simplicity in narrative, happy portraiture of character, the essentially dramatic power of the conversations, or the absence of all unnecessary appearance of the writer. But Dr. Joseph Wolff has some noble qualities, which no amount of eccentricity can hide from our view. He has faith in his creed to enthusiasm, and a self-denying and, what is better still, courageous benevolence, which all must admire, though few will imitate it. His temper, though here and there it exhibits some flaws, is essentially kind and genial. His editor pleads that some irritability may be excused in a man whose pulse ordinarily beats more than a hundred strokes a minute.

Without pretending to reduce the chaos into perfect order, we propose, before selecting a few extracts from these volumes, to mention some particulars of Dr. Wolff's singular career.

* Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, D.D., LL.D. 2 vols. 8vo. Saunders, Otley and Co. Second Edition. 1861.

Digitized by Google

Joseph Wolff claims to be descended from a celebrated German rabbi, Jonathan Eubeschütz, elevated by one of the Electors of Saxony to the baronial rank, under the title of Baron Von Alderfeld. His features are described, and the engraved portrait of him confirms the description, as not markedly of the Hebrew type. His beard, during his life abroad, reddish in hue and a foot in length, extorted from an Eastern courtier the compliment, "You look like a lion!"

Joseph Wolff was born in the year 1795, at Weilersbach. His father was a Jewish rabbi, whose family belonged to the tribe of Levi. Terrified by the invasion of the French, his parents soon after his birth removed to Kissingen, and afterwards successively to Halle, in Saxony, and Ullfeld, in Bavaria.

Marvellous tales are told of Joseph's youthful mental experiences, and of influences tending to draw him to Christianity. These influences had their completion at the Roman Catholic Lyceum of Bamberg. Of his studies in Roman Catholic colleges and monasteries, we cannot stop to recount the history. Among other places, he studied at the Propaganda of Rome, but was dismissed for heretical tendencies, which embarrassed his teachers and endangered the faith of his companions in study. He found friends at every change in a manner that reads more like a fairy romance than sober biographical reality. One of these opportune friends was the late Henry Drummond, the banker, by whose instrumentality he was taken to the Jews' Episcopal chapel at Bethnal Green, and so favourably impressed by the services and conversation of Mr. Hawtrey, the clergyman at the head of the establishment, that his conversion was completed and the foundations well laid of his attachment to the discipline and ritual of the Church of England. He was sent to Cambridge at the expense of the Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. Here for two years he studied theology under Simeon, and the Eastern languages under Dr. Lee. He describes himself as rising at two o'clock in the morning, giving the least possible time to his meals, and studying fourteen hours a day.

In process of time, Wolff's theology became a curious amalgam of the wildest dreams of the prophetical and millenarian school with the more prosaic pretensions of the High-church party. From Cambridge he was called by the sharp remonstrances of Henry Drummond, who eagerly desired to see the enthusiasm of his friend directed to missionary work. The field traversed by him in his first journey as a Christian missionary was a wide one, extending over Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Persia, Armenia, Circassia, the Crimea, Smyrna, &c. He reached Dublin on his return in May, 1826.

In London he visited Irving, in whom he says he detected a large development of "the organ of being humbugged; no deceiver himself, he was yet liable to be deceived by others."

Digitized by Google

Joseph Wolff became, but after he left Cambridge, an enthusiastic believer in the doctrine and virtue of apostolical succession, and holds preferment as an ordained priest of the Church of England, having for sixteen years been the vicar of Ile (Isle?) Brewers, in Somersetshire.

It is to Wolff's credit that he has through life put prominently forward his Hebrew extraction, and shewn an earnest desire to call the people of his native faith to the knowledge and reception of the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is as a missionary to the Jews in Persia, Bokhara, Cashmeer and various other countries, that he has established his reputation. While seeking in the first instance the children of Israel, he has not neglected in his proselyting zeal the disciples of Mohammed. It is a prevailing mistake that Wolff was sent in the first instance out by the London Society for promoting Christianity among the Jews. They wished and designed to send him to Poland. He pleaded hard to go to Jerusalem. The council were divided in purpose, when Henry Drummond stepped forward and undertook at his own expense to send him to the holy city,—very wisely, under all the circumstances, leaving him altogether unfettered in his plans, laying down neither rules nor orders, telling him he might, if he chose, "cry out in the midst of the streets of Jerusalem." The same generous patron took upon himself the publication of Wolff's journals. His enthusiasm was attended by éclat, if not large success; and the Society, not having in any quarter large results to shew from its labours, desired to secure to itself the reputation of an agent so earnest and popular. After five years' labours, during which time he had been liberally aided by the Society, he became their recognized agent, and in that character travelled all over England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

Joseph pleads that he is wholly uninfluenced by a spirit of *tuft-hunting*, and cares nothing for the great and noble save as they love the Lord Jesus and his work. The autobiography scarcely confirms this statement; its pages are plentifully strewed with the names of great men at home and abroad with whom Joseph talked and lived. In the very year that he entered into official connection with the Jews' Society, he formed an alliance of a more tender nature, having succeeded in gaining the affections of Lady Georgiana Mary Walpole, daughter of the second Earl of Orford. It was in preparation for this alliance that Wolff was, at an expense of £200, naturalized. His friend, Mr. Eneas Mackintosh, on this occasion advanced the necessary amount for fees, &c. Joseph pleads guilty to an earlier experience of the tender passion:

"He has already mentioned in his first volume that, when at Tripolis, in Syria, he fell in love with the beautiful widow, Mrs. Katziflis—and what man is there who did never fall in love? Even Luther said—

Digitized by Google

'Wine, women, and song,
I will love all my life long.'

"But Wolff did not mention the reason why his courtship was broken off, which he will now do. Wolff asked this lady what she thought of the conversion of the Jews? when she replied, that if the Jews ever became Christians, she would become a Turk; and curse the Jews for having forced her to forsake her beautiful and holy religion!

"*Wolff.*—'But I have been a Jew!'

"*Mrs. Katziflis.*—'We all here say that you are so different from all the Jews in features, look, and actions; that we are persuaded you must have been the illegitimate son of some Christian nobleman.' Wolff left her at that very moment when she spoke!"—II. 448, 449.

Joseph admits that his anxieties were, during the dangers of his missionary life, not a little increased by his recollections of the sorrowing wife at home:

"Dr. Wolff must here observe, that among all nations the observance of celibacy is considered a state in which a man can serve God better than in married life. The one thing which must be said is, that there ought to be no forced celibacy; and that a man should be allowed to carry a wife with him, as Paul and Peter did, according both to ecclesiastical history and the Gospel. And Wolff must say, by his own experience, that a roaming missionary ought never to think of marrying. For God only knows how Wolff suffered from being in a distant country, and having to feel that he had left behind him a wife. He took Francis Xavier as his model, but Francis Xavier was not married; and it is a great struggle still with Wolff to decide, whether he was right or not, in undertaking perilous journeys of many thousands of miles, separated from a wife whom he tenderly loved, and who had remained behind, and (as he heard) often in tears on his account, although a woman of a very powerful and religious mind. Oh! Georgiana, Georgiana, pardon me, if I have done wrong! But enough of that."—II. 77.

Wolff more than once refers to the authority of Xavier in justification of his own practices and tastes. He finds in the recorded conversations of the saint authority for his own love of humour, although we greatly doubt whether the great Romish missionary would have ventured on some of the escapades in talk of his would-be antitype.

Dr. Wolff twice journeyed into Bokhara. In the first instance, he penetrated Central Asia simply for missionary purposes, to preach the gospel to the Jews in Bokhara, Affghanistan and Hindostan, to find traces of the ten tribes of Israel, to study the history of the Jews of central Asia, and also to inquire about the descendants of the army of Alexander the Great, said to be found on the heights of Himalaya. Twelve years afterwards he paid his second visit to Bokhara. The motive of this expedition indicates the impulsive character of Wolff. Being in company with Hookham Frere, an observation that fell from that gentleman respecting the mystery that surrounded the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly, roused the enthusiasm of our

Digitized by Google

missionary, and he resolved on the instant to penetrate Bokhara, and be the means of liberating our countrymen if alive, or of ascertaining their fate if dead.

Wolff's adventures and sufferings far transcend the ordinary experience of the boldest missionaries. Forty years ago, in his mission to Palestine after leaving Gaza, he fell into the hands of banditti, who robbed him of everything. Two years after, he was struck down by fever at Jerusalem. The next year, when in Mesopotamia, he received 200 lashes from the Kurds. At the foot of Mount Caucasus he was again seriously ill, suffering from typhus fever. In 1827, he suffered shipwreck on the shore of Cephalonia. At Cairo he was ill again. In 1830, he was robbed by pirates near Salonica. Then he was captured and made a slave in Khorassan. The incident of Wolff's being enslaved occurred in his first mission to Bokhara. He quitted Burchund, attended by a suitable escort. But when the men in attendance learnt that horsemen belonging to a reckless chief named Muhammad were wandering about seeking for victims whom they might make slaves of, some of them deserted him and sought safety in flight. The adventure that followed justified their fears:

"When Wolff had ridden on before the rest, and was only a quarter of a mile distant from Sangerd, he suddenly heard a firing from all sides, and saw the flashes of the guns as they were fired off; and this was accompanied by dreadful yellings and screams from the barbarians. *Ammaan!* was the cry, which means 'Safety,' and Wolff might have saved himself, but he was determined to share common fate with the rest, and so he returned to his companions, when he saw an awful sight. His servant and all the rest were already tied to the horses' tails of a banditti who surrounded them. All these prisoners had been stripped entirely naked; and at last, one of the robbers rode up to Wolff, with a countenance of hell, and a gun in his hand, with a smoking torch upon it, and he continually exclaimed, 'Pool, pool!' which means 'Money, money!' Wolff gave his purse to him, and he said, 'Have you more money?' Wolff answered, 'Yes, in my trunk.' Then he said, 'When my companions come, don't tell them that I have taken your money, for those horrid fiends, the Kerahe, rob among themselves again.' At last, the whole troop rode up to Wolff, yelling, 'Pool! pool! pool!' Wolff said, 'I have given my money into the hands of this fellow.' They then gave their companion a tremendous beating, and took the money from him. Then they said to Wolff, 'Now, you dismount.' He obeyed; when they stripped him naked, like Adam and Eve when they were created, and tied him with a long rope to a horse's tail; and one with a whip came behind and flogged him.

"Wolff prayed!—in such hours one learns to pray.

"The chief of the gang, a horrid-looking fellow, of black complexion, with a blue diseased tongue, came up to him, and asked him, 'Who art thou?' and Wolff replied, breathing hard, and scarcely able to speak, 'I am a follower of Jesus;' and the chief, horror-struck, replied, 'A

Digitized by Google

follower of Jesus?' 'Yes,' Wolff said, 'a follower of Jesus! and I go about for his sake.'

"Wolff found out during his travels among savages, that it is exactly with them as it is with the devil himself; for they believe in Jesus, but it is a belief which makes them tremble; it is a torment to them.

"The chief immediately gave orders that Wolff should be untied and allowed to ride upon one of the horses; and they put a few rags around him to make him more comfortable. The road was covered with snow and ice, and they diverged out of the road, and at last encamped in a forest, where they made an immensely large fire; they then made free with Wolff's tea, sugar, and things, which he had brought; and they also broke open the cases of dates and pomegranates. Then they set a value upon the slaves they had taken, and Wolff's servant was valued at ten tomauns, equal to 5*l.*, but when they came up to Wolff and looked at him, they said, 'We don't like this fellow at all; he stares at us so.' Then one of them said, 'He is worth five tomauns, equal to 2*l.* 10*s.*;' whilst another one said, 'I would not give half that price for him.'"—I. 489—491.

His captors deliberated what they should do with their prisoner, who excited their fears; and they came to the conclusion that the best way would be to kill him and throw the blame on the Turcomauns. After various adventures and exposure to extreme perils, he and fifty others were thrown into a dungeon. Wolff's danger was greater than that of his companions in misery; for as it was the purpose of his captors to starve him to death, they omitted him when rations were supplied to other prisoners. His narrative of the mode of rescue, and of the character of the man by whose authority he was saved, is perfectly oriental:

"But after Wolff had been chained for about two hours, with those fifty other poor people, who were pouring out 2500 curses upon the head of Aboubeker; and, whilst Joseph Wolff was praying for them, suddenly the thunder of cannon was heard from the tower, and a voice exclaimed, 'Muhammad Iszhak Khan has arrived!'

"At once the scene was changed; for a person approached who made Wolff's chains more easy, and then a man came to the door of the dungeon, who opened it, and exclaimed, 'Is there not an Englishman here?' Wolff answered, 'Yes! yes! yes!'

"It was a Persian officer of the great Khan, who had arrived and spoken thus; and then he said, in great anger to the robbers, 'Pedr-Sookhtè,' which means, 'Oh that your father may be burned;' adding, 'Away with the chains from the Englishman and all the rest, for slavery is at an end throughout Torbab-Hydareea!' The chains were immediately taken off, and Joseph Wolff was made free; and not only he and his fifty companions in the dungeon, but also above two hundred others were set at liberty. Attributing their release to Wolff, the people all exclaimed, when he appeared in the street, 'Oh, thou hast been an angel sent from the Lord! Oh, thou hast been an angel sent from the Lord!'

"Wolff was now brought, with his fifty companions, to the palace of the great Khan, where he saw hundreds of miserable wretches with

Digitized by Google

their eyes cut out, and their ears and noses cut off. And he was introduced into the presence of Muhammad Iszhak Khan, of whom it is related that he had killed, with his own hand, his father, mother, brother, sister, and son-in-law; and so awful was his bodily strength, that he would sometimes take hold of a prisoner, and tear his skull in two. This tyrant had sold 60,000 Persians, people of his own religion, and subjects of his own king, to the Kings of Bokhara and Khiva, who were enemies to both his religion and country. Muhammad Iszhak Khan was eating his dinner when Wolff approached him, and he said, 'Abbas Mirza has written to me, that thou goest about to show to the nations the way of truth. For my part, I have no religion. I have already passed this world, and the other world. I have got, however, one good quality, and that is, I am a man of justice: I love strict justice; and, therefore, tell me the truth, and you shall see my justice. How much money have these rascals taken from you?'

"Wolff said, 'They have taken from me eighty tomauns.'

"He repeated, 'Eighty tomauns?'

"Wolff replied, 'Yes.'

"He then said, 'Now thou shalt see my justice.' So he instantly ordered Hassan Khan Coord, and all his followers, to be dreadfully flogged. He extorted from them every farthing; and, after he had got back Wolff's money, he counted it, and said, 'Now thou shalt see my justice;' and, putting the money into his own pocket, without giving Wolff a single penny, he added, 'Now you may go in peace.'"—I. 500—502.

In his journey to Madras he was attacked by cholera, after exposure to a soaking storm, during which he was compelled to sit in his palanquin, which was filled with water up to his neck. His life was despaired of, and the doctor tried the native remedy of branding the stomach of the patient three times with a hot iron. A long sleep ensued. While under its influence, the bungalow in which Wolff lay was burned down, and he in a state of unconsciousness was carried out into the open street. Then a bilious fever came on, and for twenty days he lay between life and death. Of his extreme danger, in 1832, in the Doab, we shall presently give an account partly in his own words. It tells alike to the credit of Wolff and of the officers of the two branches of Her Majesty's service, that in every extremity he found timely aid and most gratifying sympathy from British officers. Whether or not these gentlemen sympathized with the religious enthusiasm of our missionary, they treated him with consideration and tenderness. This circumstance seems to have made a profound impression upon his mind, and when he heard of the imprisonment of Stoddart and Conolly, he said to Lady Georgiana, "Now I am going to Bokhara to try to pay back a debt of gratitude which I owe to British officers."

Wolff left Bokhara in his first journey in the month of April, 1832. In the Indian Caucasus he satisfied himself as to one of the points of investigation he had undertaken. Near to Hindoo-Koosh, he entered a singularly beautiful valley.

Digitized by Google

"It was situated between two mountains of immense height, which rose, like sloping walls, on each side; and the valley itself was covered over with the most exquisite verdure and flowers. Springs were there, with water clear as crystal, and it reminded the beholder of Paradisaical beauty. Wolff walked on for a considerable distance through this lovely vale, and at last arrived amongst hills which were cut with ravines; and there, it is said, that the Balkhwee savages go roaming about, and are making and are made slaves. These people are completely naked, and of copper colour; and upon the heights of those mountains the Kafir Seeahpoosh are wandering. They call themselves 'Seema,' and are believed by some to be descendants of the army of Alexander the Great; but Wolff cannot help thinking that they are remnants of the tribes of Israel; for the Jews in Bokhara themselves, who do not call themselves Jews, but children of Israel, and who assert that they belong to the ten tribes, say that those Kafir Seeahpoosh are their brethren whose ancestors had entirely forgotten their law, and had fallen into idolatry—but into the ancient idolatry. They call God 'Imrah,' and they worship the figure of a fish, called 'Dagon.' They have in their mountains the ten commandments written upon stone; and their women observe the law of purification. They hate the Muhammadans with a perfect hatred; but they love the Jews, and as often as they kill a Muhammadan, they put a feather in their head-dress. Hence the proverb, 'He has got a feather in his cap.' Their colour is perfectly white, like that of Europeans." II. 37, 38.

Proceeding onwards to Doab, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of a singularly cruel Mohammedan tribe.

"Wolff was called by his people 'Hajee Joseph Wolff.' The Hazara of Dooab took offence at this, and said, 'Why do you dare to take the name of *Hajee*, as you are not a Muhammadan?' Wolff said, 'Even the Muhammadans in Bokhara, and in Arabia, recognize, as *Hajee*, all Jews and Christians, who have been in Jerusalem.'

"They replied, 'This is not the custom here among us, we are here Kharijee,' *i. e.* 'seceders from all the rest.' 'With us many things are not allowed which are allowed by other Muhammadans.'

"Wolff replied, 'I could not know your usage, for I have but just arrived here among you; so all you can do is not to call me *Hajee*, and I shall tell my people not to call me *Hajee*.'

"But, said they, 'The mischief is done, and therefore you must either say, 'There is God, and nothing but God, and Muhammad the prophet of God; or we will sow you up in a dead donkey, burn you alive, and make sausages of you.'

"Wolff said, 'There is God, and nothing but God, and Jesus the Son of God.'

"They at once now gave a sign, and all their Moollahs assembled in a large cave, hewn out of the rock. The Affghans who accompanied Wolff, as well as his three servants, trembled with anguish, and said to him, 'Say the creed, and the moment you are on your journey again, you may just be what you were before.' Wolff replied, 'Leave me, and let me alone. I will manage them.'"—II. 38, 39.

After making some arrangements with his servants, he entered the cave in which the Doab Mohammedans were assembled in

Digitized by Google

council, carrying with him certain firmans which he had received from the Sultan at Constantinople. He found them seated with the Koran before them, on the point of deciding that he must be put to death. How Joseph passed through this terrible crisis with life, himself shall tell:

"Wolff said, 'What humbug is that! You cannot dare to put me to death! You will be putting a guest to death!'

"They replied, 'The Koran decides so.'

"Wolff said, 'It is a lie! The Koran says, on the contrary, that a guest should be respected, even if he is an infidel; and here, see the great firman that I have from the khalif of the whole Muhammadan religion from Stamboul! You have no power to put me to death. You must send me to Muhammad Moorad Beyk, at Kondoz. Have you not seen how little afraid I am of you? I have told the Affghans already that they should disperse, and probably some of them have already gone to Kondoz.'

"When they heard the name of Muhammad Moorad Beyk, they actually began to tremble, and asked Wolff, 'Do you know him?' As Wolff could not say that he knew him, he replied, 'This you will have to find out.' They said, 'Then you must purchase your blood with all you have.' Wolff answered, 'This will I do. For I am a dervish, and do not mind either money, clothing or anything.'

"And thus Wolff had to surrender everything. Oh! if his friends in England could have seen him then, they would have stared at him. Naked like Adam and Eve, and without even an apron of leaves to dress himself with, he continued his journey; and as soon as he was out of sight of the Hazara, he witnessed a sight which he never thought to have seen among Muhammadans. All his Affghan companions knelt down, and one of them, holding the palm of his hand upwards to him, offered up the following extempore prayer:—

'O God! O God!
Thanks be to Thy name,
That Thou hast saved this stranger
Out of the lion's den.
Thanks, thanks, thanks,
Be to Thy holy name.
Bring him safely back
Unto his country,
Unto his family.
Amen.'"—II. 40—42.

That this Mohammedan prayer of mercy was fulfilled, and that, wanting money, food and raiment, he passed unhurt, travelling week after week in this pitiful condition, almost transcends belief. The editor says in explanation:

"When he tells us of his walk, without a rag of clothing on, for 600 miles, from the Dooab to the Punjaub through storms and snow, and one questions whether any human frame could endure the exposure?—the fact loses its improbability in the minds of those who know that he can walk barefoot along stone passages in winter, sleep with door and window open in the foggy nights of Yorkshire, and that, unless he has his cold shower-bath in the morning, he is apt to be irritable and oppressed. His powerful frame, too, hirsute and indifferent to climate,

Digitized by Google

never wears an extra coat; and as to mucous membrane, he seems to have no such delicate lining."—II. viii.

During this perilous journey he fell in with the Ghilzyes. He describes them as

"— a cruel people, and, though there was snow on the mountain, they turned Wolff out of their houses. But he spoke to them at last with such persuasion, reminding them of Abraham, who would not have done so, that they permitted him to sleep among them, and brought him milk.

"He told them that history informs us that Abraham was once reproved by God for having turned out of his tent a fire-worshipper; God saying to him, 'I have had patience seventy years with that fire-worshipper, and thou wouldst not have patience with him one night!' And Wolff added that he was not a fire-worshipper, but a believer in God and in Jesus, the Word of God!

"Next morning, he set out early, and hastened down the mountain, for the snow was blowing continually against his face; and he had to run along, with his head turned away as much as he could from the drift. And, more than once, the Affghans had to pull him out from the snow into which he had fallen.

"At last he reached the foot of the mountain, where he found an eternal spring. The whole country was covered with mulberry trees, of which Wolff ate in abundance; and he drank from the beautiful spring of water."—II. 43, 44.

He soon after reached Cabul, and there, by the forethought and mediation of Lord William Bentinck (of whose friendship, as well as that of Lady Bentinck, Wolff speaks on many occasions with warm gratitude), he was not only cared for, but sumptuously arrayed and treated with the utmost consideration. At Calcutta, he was the guest of the Governor-General, and not only lectured, but preached *every day for six successive days, twelve hours each day.* He does not tell us whether he or his hearers suffered most from this extraordinary feat.

In his lectures he advocated his favourite doctrine of the Millennium, and fixed upon the year 1847 as that in which the personal reign of Christ would begin. He candidly expresses his present sense of his folly. We would commend to Dr. Cumming's attention the words of confession of our missionary, who certainly was as skilled in prophetic science as the London orator. Wolff is describing a visit he paid to Captain Havelock (afterwards Sir William):

"He expounded to them his own doctrine on the personal reign of Christ, and the restoration of the Jewish nation to their own land, and their future conversion to Christianity. He also told them that those mighty events would take place in the year 1847; and if now an opponent were to ask Wolff, 'Why did you fix that time?' he has but one answer to give, which he candidly gives to every one, 'Because I was a great ass!'"—II. 129.

Should Dr. Cumming so far conquer himself as to imitate Dr.

Digitized by Google

Wolff's candour, we will take care to record the instructive circumstance of his appearing in so novel a character. But the charlatans both of the pulpit and the press never acknowledge themselves mistaken. Joseph records some conversations and intercourse in India with Mohammedans and Christian heretics, which are sufficiently curious:

"Wolff was sent for, during his stay [at Bokhara], by the excellent Goosh-Bekee, and found him surrounded by the chief merchants of Affghanistan, and by the Serkerdehaa, *i.e.* 'the aristocracy of the empire;' when the Goosh-Bekee said, 'As you have, Joseph Wolff, so well obeyed the commands of the king, which were given to you, through me; and as you have not meddled with Mussulmans in the cities of Bokhara-Shereef (*i.e.* 'Bokhara the noble'), you may now enter into conversation, in my presence, with these learned people here; and we shall ask you questions, and you will answer them; and you may ask questions, and we shall answer you. Tell us, then, how can you believe that Jesus is God, whilst he is man?' Wolff replied, 'God is in everything; in one he is present with his power; in another, with his wisdom; in others, with his goodness—but in Jesus the fulness of the Godhead was bodily manifested; and He had no human father, as the Koran itself testifies; but He was in God, even the Son of God, from eternity.'

"The Goosh-Bekee said, 'How can this be?'

"Wolff said, 'The sun has its rays, and heat, and light; and they are all one with the sun, and cannot be divided.'

"Goosh-Bekee said, 'We call him, therefore, the *Word* of God in the Koran!'

"Wolff said, 'This very expression is also taken from the Anjeel, (*i.e.* 'the Gospel'). And it explains the divinity of Jesus even still more strongly than the term *Son*. For, as the word of man is one with man, and cannot be divided, or separated from him, so the word of God cannot be separated from God, and is one with God.'"—II. 20, 21.

We suspect, if we may judge from other recorded conversations between Mohammedans and orthodox Christians, that these Mohammedans had more to say about this strange doctrine of God-man than Joseph Wolff has cared to charge his memory with. He perhaps resembles a worthy divine of whom we have heard, who is fond of theological argument, but, being very deaf, is compelled to use a trumpet when conversing. Now his friends allege that, when the good divine is inconveniently pressed in argument, down goes the trumpet, and the assailants' arguments are at once denied access to his ears. So Joseph Wolff believes his memory to be as accurate as tenacious (on that point we shall have a word to offer presently); but even if he listens patiently to opposing arguments, it need surprise no one that has realized Joseph's idiosyncrasy, that he remembers his own arguments and words better than those of other people. Mr. Gatty does not conceal his hero's acknowledged weakness:

"Dr. Wolff calls himself very vain—and so he is; and 'Joseph Wolff'

Digitized by Google

is dear unto himself, after a certain fashion, which is unlike the egotism of most of us. He prides himself on little things—he likes small attentions—the fondlings of a little child will gratify him—and a large congregation, or audience, will make him believe that he has preached like St. Paul, or lectured like Plato."—II. ix.

At Calcutta, Dr. Wolff fell in with Mr. William Adam, then a Unitarian missionary in that city:

"Wolff then went to the Jewish quarter, and conversed with the white and black Jews; and he also visited a remarkable man, of whom he spoke with too great severity in his 'Researches and Missionary Labours,' published in 1835. For, though Wolff believed him to be most essentially in error, yet error, proceeding even from conviction founded upon false premises, ought to be treated and combated with great tenderness. William Adam is the name of the gentleman alluded to. He was formerly a Baptist missionary, and, fired with zeal for promoting the doctrine of the divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, he entered into a discussion with the celebrated Ramohun Roy, an Unitarian, and was completely defeated by him. Mr. Adam's visage, however, appears to Wolff to be that of a man who feels himself unhappy, and therefore seeking the truth with seriousness; for there is no doubt that the principles of the Unitarians cannot inspire men with cheerfulness. This was the case with the great Unitarian, Channing, who, shortly before his death, expressed himself in a letter, as far as Wolff recollects (and his memory does not fail him in such matters), in the following manner. He wrote, 'I feel daily more dissatisfied with the religion of Belsham and Priestley. I wish to be united with the whole catholic Church throughout the world.' And thus Dr. Wolff now pants daily, more and more, after being united with the whole catholic Church throughout the world, in spirit and in truth. And he also desires to feel a stronger communion with the Church above."—II. 166, 167.

A few remarks are necessary on this passage. Not having the pleasure of Mr. Adam's acquaintance, we can neither question nor confirm Joseph's statement respecting his visage. But it is dangerous to found a theological argument on a man's features and their expression. Unitarians, like other men, have livers and biliary secretions, and a disordered bodily system may soon discharge from the visage all the cheerfulness which a benign theology inspires. If Joseph Wolff had enjoyed familiar intercourse with Unitarians, as we have for half a century or more, he would know that happier and more cheerful men and women do not exist. Unitarianism has been defined the religion of common sense and goodnature, and something may be said in justification of the definition.

If Dr. Wolff, in his reference to Channing, designs to intimate that that great and good man abandoned Unitarian doctrine for a more orthodox and catholic system, he is grievously in error. The biographer and nephew of Dr. Channing, alluding to the rumour that on his death-bed his uncle changed his opinions, declared, "once for all, that there was *no foundation whatever* for such a rumour" (Memoir, Vol. II., Note B, p. 499).

Digitized by Google

Now let us test Joseph's accuracy of memory by a reference to the whole passage of which he affects to quote a part. Writing to Mr. W. Trevilcock, Aug. 29, 1841, Dr. Channing remarks,

"I am strongly opposed to Methodism, not for its speculative errors, but for its spirit of domination. No sect seems to me more fettered, or to have more the spirit of a sect. It is a religious aristocracy, combining a great power for narrow ends. As I grow older, I grieve more and more at the impositions on the human mind, at the machinery by which the few keep down the many. I distrust sectarian influence more and more. I am more detached from a denomination, and strive to feel more my connection with the Universal Church, with all good and holy men. I am little of a Unitarian, have little sympathy with the system of Priestley and Belsham, and stand aloof from all but those who strive and pray for clearer light, who look for a purer and more effectual manifestation of Christian truth." (Memoir, Vol. II. p. 390.)

It is necessary again and again to meet and put down orthodox misrepresentation. Dr. Channing's desire to be free from the fetters of *sectarianism* has been felt by not a few who accepted with less reserve than he did the theology of Priestley and Belsham. We are quite willing to give credit to Dr. Wolff's desire of catholicism, although his autobiography furnishes some illustrations of the cramping and narrowing influence of an Established Church, with its dogmatic articles and severe creeds.

Of Dr. Wolff's second journey into Bokhara, much need not be said. His fears as to the fate of the two brave men, about whom so much solicitude was felt, were but too soon and too exactly fulfilled.

We have neglected to mention that Dr. Wolff received episcopal ordination in America from the hands of Bishop Doane, after undergoing examination in the Articles of the Church, &c.; and he tells us that in America he preached on the doctrines of the Trinity and the Divinity of Christ, *proving them from the Old Testament.*

On one subject, Wolff's moral courage flinched:

"Wolff never entered, during his stay in America, on the question of slavery, for he said, 'I do not wish to mix myself up with your domestic affairs.' This made him beloved by all the Americans; and nothing could be more kind than they were to him."—II. 315.

If the same temporizing spirit had influenced him among the Jews and Mussulmans of Bokhara, the name of Wolff would never have been known to the world, and he would not have deserved (and probably would not have received) Sir Charles Napier's panegyric, that Dr. Wolff "has worked harder for religion, and gone through more dangers for it, with a brave heart, than any man living."

Were we to quote Joseph's accounts of his visions, and some of his preachings and conversations, we should more than justify the supposition which not a few persons have entertained, that his

Digitized by Google

intellects are at times partially disordered. But, pitying these eccentricities, we can still respect the sincerity of his convictions and the earnestness of his spirit.

Before we part from the book, we will quote a passage in illustration of the singular phenomenon of the uniformity of Jewish faith and ceremonies:

"There is not in any religion upon earth, not even in the Roman Catholic churches, nor in the Eastern churches, nor in the Church of England, such uniformity of ceremonies, and uniformity of thought, and uniformity of legends, and uniformity of actions in the forms of prayer, so strong and exact as in the Jewish religion. As, for instance, this history of the belief about the strength of Judah, and the agility of Naphthali, and the sweet singing of Zarah, the daughter of Ashur, may be heard among the Jews in Houndsditch as well as in the city of Bokhara. The Jewish mode of bowing in prayer is the same in Bokhara, as it is in Duke Street, London, amongst the Portuguese Jews. The very same formularies of prayers—the very same feelings and expressions obtain in Bokhara as in St. Mary Axe; and amongst the Jews also of Hungary. When Wolff reached Bokhara, they were just commemorating the feast of Purim; and, when they read the Book of Esther, every time the name of Haman was mentioned, even the Jewish children and boys of Bokhara struck with a hammer upon the benches in the synagogue, just as they are struck both in London and Amsterdam. The principal Jews of Bokhara get drunk at that feast: a practice which is religiously observed at Jerusalem, and in the 'holy congregation' there, as well as at Dusseldorf, in Germany. They fast, on the day of Atonement, for four-and-twenty hours in Bokhara; just as they fast, for four-and-twenty hours, in London and all over Europe. The Jews blow the trumpet at the beginning of the new year in Bokhara, as they do at the beginning of the Jewish new year everywhere in Europe. They wait and pray there for the redemption of Israel, through the Messiah the son of David, just as they do all over the world."—II. 10—12.

If there be this uniformity of faith throughout the world among the Jews, what will Dr. Wolff say to their unanimous rejection of the doctrine of the Trinity and their inexpressible aversion to Christianity, because as generally received it promulgates doctrine inconsistent with the supremacy and sole Deity of Jehovah?

Here is a singular tradition, which in childhood Wolff learned from his father, Rabbi David:

"And of our blessed Lord he told the young Wolff a curious tradition, or rather read it to him out of the Jewish Talmud, which contains a treatise on the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Therein Titus is described as the most wicked man in existence, and it is related of him that he died from the tortures produced by a little fly of copper which entered his brain during the siege, and increased in size until it became as large as a dove, and tormented him to death. But when he was dead, a man named Onkelos, then a heathen prince skilled in the practice of sorcery, though afterwards a Jewish convert, celebrated for his commentaries on the Bible, came forward and raised Titus to life by magic, and then asked him how he would treat the Jews? To which Titus replied,

Digitized by Google

that he should ill-treat them, and inflict upon them every possible torture. Upon this, Onkelos raised Jesus of Nazareth also from the dead, and asked Him how the Jews ought to be treated? And Jesus of Nazareth answered, 'Treat them well.'"—I. 5.

At Alexandria, Wolff heard from a learned Jewish physician something respecting ancient manuscript copies of the Pentateuch:

"Dr. Marpurgo gave him an account of the manuscript of the Pentateuch, preserved in one of the synagogues at Cairo, which was supposed to have been written by Ezra, and which was considered so sacred, that an anathema was pronounced by the Rabbis at Cairo against every one who should open the door of the chest wherein it was preserved. Marpurgo added that he had intended to take it out, but sickness had prevented him. He also told Wolff of another manuscript of the Law of Moses, *Sepher Torah*, preserved by twelve Jewish families at a place called Malta (not the island), near Cairo, which was supposed to be written a thousand years before, and which was said to have performed many miracles. Many Jews from Cairo and other places performed pilgrimages to that Sepher Torah; and one day afterwards, Wolff asked permission to see it, and was allowed by the Jews to do so, when the worship in the synagogue was over, and most of the congregation had dispersed."—I. 176, 177.

We take as a final extract the admirable advice given by the late Robert Hall to our missionary:

"Before Wolff set out as a missionary, in the year 1821, from England for the East, he had the happiness of becoming acquainted with that mighty genius, the Rev. Robert Hall, the Baptist preacher, who said to him, 'Now, Wolff, you are going out as a missionary to the East; let me, therefore, give you some hints. First of all, do not imagine that wisdom has died out with us Protestants; and that all that you see among the Eastern nations is folly and superstition, because they are not in accordance with your preconceived opinions. On the contrary, direct your attention to the customs and practices of the Eastern churches, and, depend upon it, that those customs, opinions, and practices which are universal are of apostolic origin; for the East is not called, without reason, 'the unchangeable East.' And be not afraid if those customs are also practised by the Papists; for the Papists wear shoes, and the Protestants do so likewise.'

"Wolff could have kissed Robert Hall for this beautiful advice, and it sank deep into his ears and heart."—II. 310.

Robert Hall would indeed have wondered, had he survived, to learn that the first fruits of his advice to Joseph was his observance of the general acceptance in the East of "APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION." And thus was he convinced that it is, "in the strictest sense of the words, *a most scriptural doctrine.*"

Digitized by Google

SOME ACCOUNT OF MR. RICHARD FRANKLAND, THE EMINENT NONCONFORMIST TUTOR.*

THE troubles of the Nonconformist in the reigns of Charles and James the Second, were sometimes aggravated by the eccentric and lawless proceedings of the officers of the ecclesiastical courts. These men were often reckless in their treatment of the persons against whom proceedings were taken in their courts, reckoning, and not without reason, on perfect impunity. In one of Oliver Heywood's MS. note-books,† mention is made, under the date May 29, 1681, of certain proceedings of a Church officer at Kendal:

"Mr. Stanford, of Kendal, was to publish an absolution of Mr. Frankland, which was procured by Mrs. Jackson of Mr. Cradock, and instead of reading that, he said this: 'I am to give you notice that Mr. Richard Frankland, the ringleader of the sectarys, hath voluntarily submitted himself to the orders of the Church and is reconciled to it. What his design therein is, I cannot divine, except it be to sue for his scholars' pay to him; but methinks I see him come with bended knees, tears in his eyes, confession in his mouth, that he hath wronged the Church of England, begging pardon, promising reformation, and to be an obedient son of the Church, and resolving to come to the beginning of the service; and if he comes, good people, let him come freely, and do not hinder him. But you will say, 'How know you this?' I answer, 'I know no more of it than you do.'"

This was probably the idle freak of a crazy or a tipsy man; but the report spread that the noted Nonconformist tutor had succumbed and conformed, and the shrewd people of the dales through which the lying rumour ran, conjectured that he had got some good living.

In the year 1682, Oliver Heywood preached the first sermon in "a new-built meeting-place and pulpit" in Craven. Mr. Hunter, in his Life of Oliver Heywood, says: "This must mean the meeting-house at Winterburn, between Settle and Skipton, the only one‡ which arose in Craven under the old Dissent. It was the place which Mrs. Lambert attended." Whether there were one or two Nonconformist churches at that early period in Craven, we may feel assured that Mr. Frankland had much to do with their establishment and support. The fact has been already mentioned of his preaching at Craven through the instrumentality of Mrs. Lambert.

Mr. Frankland was permitted to behold the termination of the bad rule of the Stuart family by the glorious Revolution of 1688,

---

* Concluded from p. 16.

† Recently in the possession of the late Rev. Joseph Hunter, and sold by auction, with other books, MS. and printed.

‡ In the Congregational Year-Book, Horton in Craven is mentioned as having existed from 1670. Both places are near Skipton; Winterburn, seven miles N.W. by N.; the other, ten miles W. by S.

Digitized by Google

and the accession of William and Mary. But the change did not bring him immunity from legal troubles.

The Act of Toleration, though one of the distinctive trophies of the Revolution, was, as Mr. Hallam has remarked, "a very scanty measure of religious liberty." Mr. Locke, writing to Limborch respecting it, described it as wanting the breadth which Christians free from ambition and prejudice, and lovers of truth, might wish; but he welcomed it as a great gain, and with true political foresight said: "In these beginnings are laid, I hope, those foundations of liberty and peace in which the church of Christ will be finally established." It repealed the laws making it a crime on the part of Nonconformists to abstain from the parish church and to attend a conventicle; it also protected Nonconformist worship from violence and insult; but it did nothing to legalize the right of Nonconformists to educate their youth in their own way and in their own schools. Aided by the silent but effectual power of public opinion, this right was in the course of time indisputably established. But for nearly three quarters of a century the right was questioned, as the history of the academies at Rathmel, Warrington (under Dr. Charles Owen) and at Northampton (under Dr. Doddridge) attests.

Another sufferer from a similar cause was Mr. Oldfield, of Coventry, who was cited into the ecclesiastical courts of Lichfield and Coventry for the crime of teaching academic learning without a licence, and without subscription to the Book of Common Prayer. These harassing proceedings were at length put an end to, after costly litigation, and Mr. Oldfield obtained in Westminster Hall a *noli prosequi*. After detailing this case, Dr. Toulmin, in his History of the Protestant Dissenters (pp. 119, 120), thus speaks of that of Mr. Frankland:

"The learned Mr. Frankland, ejected from Bishop's Aukland, in Durham, who conducted, at different places of residence, an academical seminary of great reputation from 1669 to 1698, was, notwithstanding the protection and security which the Toleration Act offered, harassed by citations from the ecclesiastical courts from the Revolution in 1688 to his death in 1698, soon after he had obtained a similar prohibition to stop proceedings: in the mean time he had been excommunicated, on one of the citations for non-appearance. Others met with trouble on the same ground. The spirit of the law, which indeed, under great limitations, granted liberty of religious profession, and the known dispositions of the court, were not sufficient to restrain the operations of intolerance without an appeal to the royal prerogative, to obtain from the liberality of the king the indemnity which the law ought to have guaranteed. The proceedings against Mr. Oldfield and Mr. Frankland, on account of keeping seminaries for classical and philosophical learning, were peculiarly groundless and illiberal, as both had studied at the universities of Cambridge, and had left that seat of science and literature with great reputation for talents and proficiency. Prosecutions against men for opening schools and diffusing knowledge were more suitable to

Digitized by Google

the age of Gothic barbarism than to times like those of the Revolution, when the day-star of light and liberty was rising on mankind."

It necessarily strikes us as passing strange that an amiable and accomplished man like Richard Frankland should be harassed by persecuting laws when living in the diocese of Archbishop Sharp (the descendant of persecuted Nonconformists in the same county), and under the primacy of another Yorkshire prelate, Tillotson (also connected with Nonconformists). Yet such was the fact. We learn from Newcome's Life of Archbishop Sharp, that the first difficulties that worthy prelate met with in his diocese arose from "Dissenters taking advantage of the Act of Toleration to break loose and assume greater liberties than were designed them by the Act;" and the editor specifies "their setting up schools and private academies." This language indicates imperfect acquaintance with Nonconformist history.

It would have been somewhat singular if Nonconformist teachers had, after the passing of the Act of Toleration, felt any hesitation in claiming the liberty of educating their youth in their own principles,—a liberty which they had practically vindicated in the tyrannous times of the Stuart kings.

We have some interesting references to the later proceedings against Mr. Frankland, in the correspondence of the two Archbishops, and in a familiar narrative of the affair by the sufferer. They have, we believe, not been made use of in connection with the biography of Mr. Frankland. This is the letter of Archbishop Tillotson:*

"My Lord, "Lambeth House, June 14, 1692.

"Yesterday I received your Grace's letter concerning Mr. Frankland, with the copy of an address to your Grace against him. Yourself are best judge what is fit to be done in the case, because you have the advantage of enquiring into all the circumstances of it. If my advice can signify any thing, it can only be to tell your Grace what I would do in it, as the case appears to me at this distance. I would send for him, and tell him, that I would never do any thing to infringe the Act of Toleration. But I did not think his case came within it; that there are two things in his case which would hinder me from granting him a license, though he were in all things conformable to the Church of England. First, his setting up a school where a *free-school* is already established; and then, his instructing young men in so public a manner in university learning, which is contrary to his oath to do, if he hath taken a degree in either of our universities; and I doubt, contrary to the bishop's oath to grant him a license for doing of it; so that your Grace does not, in this matter, consider him at all as a dissenter. This I only offer to your Grace as what seems to me the fairest and softest way of ridding your hands of this business. . . . . I remain, my Lord, your Grace's very affectionate brother and servant, Jo. Cant."

* First printed in Dr. Birch's judicious Life of Tillotson (p. 271), but given again, and from the original, in Newcome's Life of Archbishop Sharp (pp. 358, 359).

Digitized by Google

How far the Archbishop of York acted on the advice of the Primate, will appear from the following letter, written by Frankland to Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary:

"Honoured Sir, "Rathmell, November 6th, 1694.

"Your's of October 17th I received; and though I have delayed writing thus long, yet it is but a little wherein I can well satisfy your request at present, and that especially, as to the altitude of some of our Craven Hills. According to the observations which formerly have been made, and which I find set down, the hill called Pennigent is five hundred and eighty yards perpendicular height above the plains of our Rathmell Ings; and the hill called Ingle-borrow is about the same height; and these two are the highest hills in our country. The hill called Fountain's-fell is about five hundred and sixty yards high; the hills called Pendle-hill, and Hinkel-haw, are not much above five hundred yards high: and though Pendle-hill seem as great an hill as any of them, yet I conceive the reason of its falling so much short in altitude, is from its standing on a falling ground. I might have mentioned some other hills, but these are the most remarkable in our parts.

"As to the conference I had with the present Archbishop, it was at two times: the former was at Skipton, where many of his clergy being present, would gladly have been hearers, but he would not suffer one of them to be in the room with us. I remember he began at first to be somewhat hot, but I was resolved to abate him nothing; he told me that he would not suffer such work to be done, as I was doing.* I told him there was other work much more proper for him, and of far greater importance, to be done by him; he asked me what it was. I told him, that as to the exercise of severity, he should begin at home, with those of his own clergy, many of whom were scandalous, a great reproach to religion, and stood need to be reformed. And for other work, I told him, I judged it much more suitable for him, to endeavour union and agreement amongst good men, though differing somewhat in their notions, than to cause rents in the Church about such poor and trivial things as ceremonies. He granted both; and after, became very moderate, and invited me to come and see him, and we parted friendly. There were other things we did freely discourse upon, but it is so long since, and the particulars so far slipped out of my memory, that I fear I cannot give you a just account of them, and therefore would rather refer you to that letter I writ to Mr. Heywood† about them; only this

* Educating persons for the Dissenting ministry.

† The letter to Oliver Heywood is given by Mr. Hunter in the Thoresby Correspondence, and part of it will be presently quoted. The narrative of the interviews which Mr. Frankland had with Archbishop Sharp contains one or two statements not made to Thoresby; e.g., the Archbishop told Mr. F. that the course he took tended to perpetuate a schism in the Church, and was therefore not sufferable. Mr. F. replied that Conformists were fallible in their judgments, as well as Nonconformists, and therefore he desired permission to argue the case with the Archbishop about schism before he came to a determination about it. Mr. F., speaking of the "other work" the clergy had to do, said it was better to endeavour reconciliation amongst sober Protestants, for strengthening the Protestant interest at a time when it was so much in danger. The Archbishop said he hoped the Nonconformists would find him an honest man. Mr. Frankland replied "that candour and moderation went to make up honesty." This the Archbishop readily granted. Mr. F. rejoined that should the Archbishop not

Digitized by Google

I well remember, that in general, the Archbishop did much yield to, and comply with what I said.

"The second conference I had with him, was at his own house at Bishop-thorp; where, to answer his invitation and my promise, I waited on him; but he would not at all suffer, that we should enter upon a debate about such things as were in controversy betwixt us, though I did attempt it once or twice: yet he was very courteous; he earnestly pressed me for to dine with him, and would have sent for my daughter, who was at an inn-house; but I, being much straitened in time, did at last prevail for to be excused. But I must view his library, take a pipe of tobacco with him, and drink of some of his wine bottles. And when I took leave with him, he desired me to remember him in prayer. I had at that time some free discourse with him: I told him I had observed the manner of his confirming baptized persons, at Skipton. He asked me what I thought of it; I said, I supposed it was at first intended for admitting baptized persons to the Supper Ordinance, who could give a good account of their knowledge and conversation; he said it was, and that he had given a strict charge to the ministers to bring none before him to be confirmed, but such. I told him that then he was grossly abused by them, because the persons brought before him were generally ignorant, loose, and profane, and little, or no means used for their instruction and reformation: he asked me how I thought this abuse might be remedied; I gave him the best advice I could. He read me that petition against myself,* which several ministers had presented to him; but seemed to give so little regard to it, that he desired to be informed by me concerning them and their walkings, promising to keep secret what I told him. He said I had great friends at London, and that he knew them. There were other things passed betwixt us, which I cannot now relate, nor do I know, at present, where to find the secretary's letter; but it was directed to the former Archbishop. That other work relating to my dear son, I should, above all other things, most willingly have complied with your most kind request in; but when I may have ability, or opportunity for it, I know not. Your nephew is very well; so with dearest respects to yourself and Madam Thoresby, to your mother Sykes, to brother and sister Wilson, I take leave, who am, Sir, your very affectionate friend and servant,

"RICHARD FRANKLAND.

"Some things I have mentioned to you, which I should not have been free to mention, but that I know to whom I write."

The narrative which this letter gives is honourable alike to the temper and forbearance of the Archbishop and the manliness and self-respect of the Nonconformist tutor.†

exercise moderation, he would frustrate the hopes which many sober people entertained, founded on his well-known character. On this the Archbishop treated Mr. F. very kindly, and asked him to visit him, which Mr. F. partly promised.

* In a letter from the son of Archbishop Sharp to Dr. Birch, now in the British Museum (Birch MSS. 4318, art. 142), and printed in the Camden Society volume of "Original Letters of Eminent Men" (pp. 374—378), this matter is referred to; and it is explained that the formal petition to the Archbishop came from the clergy of Craven, and its prayer was for the suppression of the academy.

† The courtesy of Dr. Sharp to Mr. Frankland was more than imitated by one of the most amiable of his successors, the late venerable Dr. Harcourt, who when-

Digitized by Google

The goodwill of the Archbishop was not, however, able to protect Mr. Frankland from harassing proceedings in the ecclesiastical and other courts. We get from contemporary diaries and letters a glimpse now and then of these legal troubles. The Rev. Richard Stretton, writing to Thoresby, Feb. 10, 1694, says, "Mr. Frankland's indictment we have gotten quashed yesterday." He had, as Archbishop Sharp told him, some good and powerful friends at court to speak in his behalf. One of these was the good Lord Wharton, who had been one of the lay members of assembly of divines, and was a zealous and kind friend to many of the ejected clergy. Another was Sir Thomas Rokeby.* Perhaps liberal Churchmen like Sharp and Tillotson, compelled by the laws of their Church and the demands of an intolerant clergy to do some violence to their own sense of right, or at the best reduced to the humiliation of a temporizing policy, are entitled to some share of that pity which we more freely give to those who suffer for nobly daring to be true to conscience. It is less difficult to say, such men should quit a Church the intolerance of which they disapprove, than it is to realize the painful nature of the alternative.

Mr. Frankland found time to take part in some of the public proceedings of the Nonconformist ministers in the north of England. In 1691, the first of these gatherings in Yorkshire, since known there and elsewhere by the name of "Meetings of Ministers," was held at Wakefield. Occasion was taken of a lecture preached there at the house of Mrs. Kirby, the widow of one of the ejected clergy, who had been one of the Camden Lecturers. Mr. Frankland was the senior minister present. There were associated with him eight of the ejected clergy of the county (including Mr. Prime, Mr. O. Heywood, Mr. Sharp, Mr. Dawson, &c.), also eleven ordained ministers and four candidates. Great was the excitement and alarm in the quiet town of Wakefield at this invasion of Nonconformity. To avoid observation, the ministers thought it prudent, at the close of the religious service, "to go apart and by several ways to the house at which they dined." Later in the day the ministers assembled in their registered house and formed themselves into a deliberative assembly. Mr. Oliver Heywood, who had been the preacher of the day, seems to have acted as President. The proceedings were opened by prayer by Mr. Frankland; then the President read

---

ever he met the most eminent Nonconformist tutor of his day,—his neighbour, the late Rev. Charles Wellbeloved,—took evident pleasure in his conversation, and paid him marked and most courteous attentions.

* Was this the "excellent Judge Rokeby" connected with the county of York, whom, in 1695, Thoresby saw attending the Nonconformist service at Haberdashers' Hall, where Mr. Stretton (previously of Leeds) preached? Sir Thomas Rokeby was appointed by William III. one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas soon after the Revolution. A Thomas Rokeby, perhaps a son of the Judge, was one of Mr. Frankland's pupils.

Digitized by Google

seriatim the "heads of agreement" which had been adopted as a bond of union by the Presbyterian and Independent ministers of London. Discussion was invited, but, except on the part of Mr. Frankland and Mr. Sharp,* no objections were offered. Thoresby, who was present, thus describes the meeting: "Most (of the heads of agreement) were unanimously assented unto by the brethren of both persuasions; others modestly discussed and explained, and, which I rejoiced to observe, without the least passionate expression. The truly Reverend Mr. Frankland and Mr. Sharp in their arguments shewed abundance of learning as well as piety, and were unanswered even in what was not readily assented to by some juniors about synods and re-ordination." The attendance of Thoresby and of his friend Mr. Samuel Ibbetson shews that laymen were present at these assemblies.

The attempts made after the Revolution to bring the Presbyterians and Independents into joint action were not followed by much practical or enduring success. Even with men in whom there was no apparent diversity of creed, there were opposing tendencies which soon developed themselves. The "agreement" to which the Yorkshire ministers pledged themselves in 1691, was presently dissolved, broken up, Mr. Hunter says, "in consequence of doctrinal differences, most of the Presbyterians beginning at this time to advance even from the diluted Calvinism of Baxter to Arminianism, while the tendency of most of the Independents was towards the Calvinism of the Assembly's Catechism and something more." (Life of O. Heywood, p. 373, note.) Within a few years of the "agreement," angry differences arose among the London ministers respecting Dr. Crisp's ultra-Calvinistic doctrines. The liberal party of the London divines ranged themselves about Dr. Daniel Williams, whose opposition to Antinomian doctrines had drawn down upon him the anger of his more Calvinistic brethren. The strife was viewed with sorrow by good men at a distance. Mr. Frankland joined with his Lancashire brethren in 1696 in an attempt to throw oil upon the troubled waters. At their meeting at Bolton, held April 4th, a letter was agreed to, drawn up by Mr. Thomas Jollie, addressed to Mr. Howe, Mr. Mead and the London ministers generally, recommending and encouraging counsels of peace.

On the subject of the ordination of ministers, Mr. Frankland held decided opinions. He expressed himself in these terms to his friend Mr. Heywood, in a letter bearing date Aug. 9, 1694:

"I am troubled to hear that the persons you mention do upon such weak grounds (so far as I understand them) put off their ordination, especially when grave ministers would not only argue them into their

* Mr. Hunter, in his excellent description of this meeting, speaks of Mr. Frankland as the sole objector; but Thoresby, having been present, is sufficient authority for the addition of the name of the Leeds minister as dissenting from the agreement. (Life of Heywood, pp. 372—376.)

Digitized by Google

duty, but would likewise contribute their help to them. If they should persist in their present course of preaching without being ordained, it would give great offence, and also open the mouths of those enemies of the truth, whom we have sometimes more sharply reproved for their acting as ministers without a due ministerial call; besides, (as you hint,) they might first, in general, be ordained ministers, and then they might, with better right, order and direct their people: they cannot expect to have the divisions that are amongst the people removed, till Christ's discipline take place amongst them."

It was natural that men who attached the last importance to ordination vows should desire to revive at the earliest period the ordination service. In Yorkshire it was resumed as early as the year 1678, and at the instance of Mr. Frankland. The original design was to ordain Mr. John Issot, who had been for some years a pupil at Natland, and who, having completed the academic term, was united with Mr. Frankland, assisting him both in the academy and the pulpit. Two ministers of older standing, but not hitherto ordained, were at their request ordained with him. The service was conducted with much solemnity at a private house in Craven, and extended over two days. There were present lay friends and ministers and some fellow-students of Mr. Issot. Two of the ministers present preached; then followed the Lord's Supper, of which thirty communicants partook. Mr. Frankland then examined the candidates for ordination in the original text of the Scriptures, in science and theology. Mr. Thorpe, one of the candidates, advocated the Baxterian doctrine of justification, which Mr. Frankland amicably disowned. The difference of opinion did not hinder the ordination. The proceedings of the second day included prayer, an examination of the certificates of the candidates, and an academic thesis syllogistically discussed. The high Presbyterian character of the service appeared in the thesis of Mr. Issot, "That ordination by the hands of lay elders *(seniores vulgó vocatos laicos)* is not valid." The same thing also appeared in what passed respecting Mr. Darnton, one of the ordained. He confessed his fault "in having preached twenty years without ordination." After renewed prayer, the candidates gave in their confession of faith. They were then questioned individually on various subjects of faith and discipline. The ordaining ministers being satisfied on these several heads, the imposition of hands followed. "The mode was this: Mr. Issot kneeled down before them; Mr. Frankland prayed; and when he came to the words, 'whom we set apart or appoint,' he having laid on his hands, the other two ministers did the same, and kept them on till Mr. Frankland ceased praying." And so with the other two candidates. The elders then gave the right hand of fellowship. Mr. Heywood again preached, discoursing on the laboriousness of the ministerial life. In the concluding prayer, most earnest petitions

Digitized by Google

were offered for Mr. Frankland and his scholars. After singing a psalm, this very impressive service was closed by the preacher's uttering the customary words of farewell and blessing.

There was another ordination at Craven in 1680, on St. Bartholomew's-day, in which Mr. Frankland took a leading part, the candidate being Mr. Timothy Hodgson, who was for many years domestic chaplain to Sir John and Lady Hewley. On this occasion a difference of opinion arose between Mr. Jollie and Mr. Frankland, and the former retired and took no part in the service. On a subsequent and similar occasion, these two ministers developed one of the distinctive characteristics of the two parties they represented. Mr. Jollie, as an Independent, desired that the people of the congregation should express their desire of dedicating to God the minister about to be ordained. Mr. Frankland, as a Presbyterian, resisted this as an unwarranted innovation, and carried his point. In reviewing this part of Mr. Frankland's career, it must be remembered that his academic and comparatively recluse mode of life would tend to bind him to the usages and ideas which he had accepted in his youth. The instructions which year by year he gave his pupils in matters of discipline as well as faith, would help to rivet his attachment to the ecclesiastical and doctrinal forms accepted of old by the Presbyterian party.

In doctrinal as in ecclesiastical matters, Mr. Frankland firmly resisted innovation; and the only publication which bears his name was a small theological tract designed to rebuke the "Socinian" heresy, which then in various ways began to trouble all that valued orthodoxy above free inquiry.

It is more easy to explain than to vindicate the sensitive jealousy exhibited by the early Reformers and the first Nonconformists in England in respect to opinions passing beyond the limits of what they regarded as orthodoxy. As they of the Church of Rome threatened the early Protestants with the outbreak of innumerable heresies as the consequence of their denial of the authority of the old Church, so did they of the Church of England foretel similar deviations from the orthodox path among Nonconformists. Luther and Calvin felt themselves embarrassed and weakened in their contest with Rome by the novel opinions of the bolder Protestants, and they felt they did well to be angry with their heretical brother, and to suppress at every cost his heresy. Hence the murderous fire lighted up at Champel, and the dying agony of Servetus. Hence, too, the anger of Frankland and others of the ejected clergy at the outbreak during the latter part of the seventeenth century of Unitarian doctrine.

The theological tournament in which those able champions, South and Sherlock, engaged, attracted general attention to the Unitarian controversy, of which the writers of that party were

Digitized by Google

not slow to make good use. Among these was, towards the close of 1694, a writer who published "A Letter to the Reverend the Clergy of both Universities concerning the Trinity and the Athanasian Creed; with Reflections on all the late Hypotheses, particularly Dr. W——'s, Dr. S——'s; the Trinity placed in its due Light; the 28 Propositions; the calm Discourse of a Trinity in the Godhead, and the Defence of Dr. Sherlock's Notions. With a short Discourse concerning Mysteries." This forms the third tract in the Third Collection of the Socinian Tracts. In ten chapters, occupying 35 quarto pages of double columns, this able writer discusses the several questions then debated, not only between Unitarians and Trinitarians, but between different members of the orthodox party, contrasting with much lucid statement and close argument the opinions of South and Sherlock, of Wallis and Howe and Fowler. In the opening chapter he argues the impossibility of believing that which is in itself incomprehensible. He illustrates the incomprehensibility of the doctrine of the Trinity by the treatment it has received from the hands of its defenders. There are almost as many Trinities as writers, and their Trinities are mutually contradictory. In the second chapter the writer comments on the theological propositions contained in the Athanasian Creed. Next he discusses the theories of the modal or nominal Trinitarians. In the fourth chapter he reviews Dr. South's defence of the doctrine. In the next he considers the arguments of those who, like Dr. Wallis, Dr. Arthur Bury and other nominalists, follow in the track of Dr. South. Then he shews the essentially tritheistical character of the Trinity of the Realist party. In the remaining chapters he discusses the opinions of Dr. Fowler, Mr. Howe and Dr. Sherlock, concluding with some remarks on Mysteries. "The whole Letter is," in the opinion of the late Rev. Robert Wallace, "one continued chain of sound and close reasoning."

Not so thought Mr. Frankland. He therefore prepared, and in 1697 published, a 4to pamphlet of 54 pp., entitled, "Reflections on a Letter writ by a nameless Author to the Rev. Clergy of both Universities, and on his Bold Reflections on the Trinity," &c.* The letter that follows, and which is preserved in the British Museum Library in its author's massive and characteristic penmanship, relates to this work:

"Rathmell, March 1, 1696-7.

"Rev. and dear Brother,—I now send you my *manuscript;* not a new copy of it as I intended, but rather the former, yet renewed in such

* This little volume is of extreme rarity. No copy of it ever fell under Mr. Hunter's inspection. Its existence was not known to the editor of Oliver Heywood's Works. There is no copy, we believe, in the British Museum, the Bodleian, or Dr. Williams's Library. The copy before us appears to have been submerged in salt water. Possibly a large part of the impression may have been accidentally destroyed.

Digitized by Google

parts as stood most in need of it; which I thought would be better than to have got it wholly writ over anew, unlesse I had more time for overseeing and correcting it. As it is I wholly commit it to you and to the honest stationer your neighbour, yet humbly requesting of you (which you freely promise) that you will add a Preface to it. That a blessing may attend your endeavours about it, and all your worthy endeavours in the church of God; and that this work of mine, how mean soever in respect of its author; yet as designed in defence of the glory of our great God, Father, Son and Spirit, against a scoffing adversary, may find acceptance, shall be the earnest prayer of your ever-endeared brother and servant in our Lord,

"RICH. FFRANKLAND.

"We all give our dear respects to yourself and all yours."

(Letters of Divines, Vol. II. p. 95).

Oliver Heywood did not disappoint the expectations of his friend, but contributed a Preface of five pages, the tone of which is in perfect accord with the "Reflections" which follow. The spirit of the Preface will astound those who know the writer only by his better works on practical religion. It opens thus:

"Ever since the Divine Oracle sounded the alarum of war between the seed of the woman and serpents brood, Gen. iii. 18, the devil and his agents have spit their poison against our blessed Lord Jesus, the Captain of our salvation."

Then the writer enumerates the heresies which have troubled the Church, and describes the fate of some of their defenders:

"Some of them came to astonishing ends, by the just judgment of God, and some by the sentence of men, as Servetus at Geneva, A.D. 1652. Georgius Blandrata, Petrus Statorius vented pernicious errors in Poland, but the later (latter) dissembled, and was found in his bed with his neck broken."

Here there is a manifest error. Of the three eminent Socinian writers who bore the name of Petrus Statorius, not one dissembled or came to a violent end. Blandrata deserted the cause of the Socinians and sided with their Jesuit opponents. His death had nothing to do with his theology, but was the deed of his nephew and heir, anxious to enjoy his uncle's wealth.

Another extract from the Preface will shew in what estimation Mr. Frankland was held by his friends:

"Its true, the plumb-line of reason is too short to fathom this mystery; but where reason cannot wade, faith must swim, having so good a card and guide in the Holy Ghost. The Trinity of Persons and hypostatical union of Manhood and Godhead in Christ, being so fully revealed in scripture, let us hold them fast, and contend for them as our freehold. This is the attempt and design of the ensuing Treatise, which was put into my hands by a very reverend and dear brother, whose praise is in the gospel, who is better known to the world by the successful fruits of his indefatigable labours, sounding vivâ voce, than by legible characters in scripture, having spent much time and strength in his peculiar province, with much advantage to the church of God. His learning and

Digitized by Google

capacity elevates him above his fellows, so that he needs no epistle of commendation from me or any other person; his own works praise him in the gate and in the consciences of many; nor doth any (pruritus scripturiendi) itch of appearing in print prompt him to this undertaking, but purely a zeal for God, his cause, truth and glory, and the preventing of young students being poisoned with soul-destructive errors, that have edged his upright soul, and moved his able hand to this uncouth undertaking. Its true, the manner of handling this subject is something abstruse and intricate, for the subject is high and profound, and above the reach of ordinary capacities; but I hope it may give some satisfaction to the learned and ingenuous reader, and that this and all the helps polemical and practical may be of use to the Church, is the prayer of thy soul friend,

"March 11, 1697." "O. H."

Mr. Frankland's description of the author of the "Letter" as "a scoffing adversary" is not justified by the work itself, which, like most of the Socinian tracts of that period, is calm and argumentative. The Letter-writer, however, differs from most of the other Socinian authors of his time by the philosophical rather than the scriptural character of his remarks. To a mind like Mr. Frankland's, firmly rooted in the orthodox faith, any questioning of that faith would be painful, and the application of natural reasoning to dogmas which he regarded as transcending reason would wear the aspect of scoffing.

The "Reflections" are from first to last harsh and intolerant. Mr. Frankland evidently regarded his opponent as entitled to neither courtesy nor mercy. He treats his strongest arguments with contempt, and gives an unhesitating contradiction to the plainest statements of the Letter. It need not surprise us that he treats the text of the Heavenly Witnesses (1 John v. 7) as genuine scripture and as settling the question in dispute; but from a professor of theology writing as far back as 1697, it was not to be expected that the Creed "Quicunque Vult," &c., should be spoken of as the work of "the worthy Athanasius." Mr. Frankland admits that Dr. Sherlock and the party of real Trinitarians who assert that the Persons in the Trinity are three distinct Minds or Spirits and three individual Substances, "have given just occasion of offence and scandal to all sober Christians, who do not stand in need of such weapons for defence of the Trinity against the extreams, either of Arius on the one hand, or of Sabellius or the Unitarians on the other." He professes his acquiescence in the Oxford decree of Nov. 25, 1695, censuring Dr. Sherlock's propositions. It would not, however, be an easy task to reconcile this statement with many of the arguments used by Mr. Frankland: e.g., he asserts that "there is not any writer about the Holy Trinity worthy to be taken notice of, but he does acknowledge a Divine Person to be an uncreate, eternal, incomprehensible, almighty Being, yea, God blessed for ever; and that it would be idolatry to worship him if he were not such"

Digitized by Google

(p. 5); and after quoting Phil. ii. 6, as a proof of the equality of the Son with the Father, he adds, "Ideas of Equals must be equal." So large a portion of Mr. Frankland's Reflections is occupied with verbal criticism on the Letter, that it is difficult to select passages interesting and intelligible apart from those they design to confute. One or two short extracts from the concluding pages must therefore suffice. Mr. Frankland is noticing the Letter-writer's remarks on "Mystery:"

"It argues intolerable pride and folly in him to prefer reason, as in fall'n man, his own magnifyed ideas (of things which we have found already to be so false), to the most undoubted traditions and revelations of God in the world, and to make those the rule and touchstone for trying these by, as its clear he doth, § 11."

"It argues the highest impudence and impiety for him to make, as § 103, 104, Mystery no mark of Christ or true religion, but only of Antichrist and irreligion, when yet sacred scripture tells him, 1 Tim. iii. 16, that *great is the mystery of godliness, God manifest in the flesh*, which clearly shews that there's as well a mystery of godliness relating to Christ as a mystery of iniquity relating to Antichrist."

"He pretends that there is no mystery in religion as to the things themselves which are revealed, but only as to the manner of them. . . . He tells us that to say three persons and one person are the same God, is as great a contradiction as to say, three persons and one are the same, and that we may as soon apprehend a round square, or a mountain without a valley; while yet Trinitarians would maintain under pretence of mystery, and this when not only Unitarians, but all mankind that worship but one Divine Being, are greatly scandalized at them for it, § 22."

"The whole of what is here objected, hath in the preceding discourse been so fully answered; the definitions of Person in general and of Divine Person so clearly laid down; the difference there is betwixt Substance, substantial Essence and Person, so fully cleared; his pretended contradictions, not resulting from Trinitarian doctrine (as he would have it), but from his own false ideas about these things, so clearly refuted and confuted, that I would persuade myself, would he and his party betake themselves to an impartial and unprejudiced consideration of what hath been said, this if it had no further effect, yet would make both him and them for ever hereafter to desist from these their loud and lying clamours against Christ's church and faithful servants, &c."—P. 55.

What Mr. Frankland calls "clearly laid-down definitions" of Person, Substance, &c., are, if not contradictions in terms, to the last degree obscure and perplexing. They who have spent any time and thought on the Homo-ousian controversy, will be able to realize the character of this portion of Mr. Frankland's tract. That he should not have succeeded in making subtle theological distinctions intelligible is not peculiar to him, and too many authorities will be found in every age to countenance the contemptuous and abusive tone he adopts towards his opponent; but it ought to be matter of regret that a Christian scholar

Digitized by Google

should forget courtesy, and that men like Mr. Heywood and Mr. Frankland, who had tasted the bitterness of persecution, should by their words or their spirit seem to countenance the use of any weapons but those of reason and scripture.

It must not be supposed that in his want of charity towards Unitarians Mr. Frankland and his friend stood alone. Their least tolerant sentiments would have found many echoes from the pastors and people of the early Nonconformist churches. True ideas of religious liberty have always been of slow growth. The results of the long persecution through which the Nonconformists of England had to pass, were more visible in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century. It is the more necessary to state the truth on this subject, because at the present time a feeling of enthusiasm, in itself natural and commendable, is in many quarters felt towards the ejected clergy, and a disposition has appeared to attribute to them a larger tolerance and a more liberal spirit than really belonged to them. It required the experience and the thoughtfulness of some generations before the conclusions to be drawn from their fidelity to conscience, and the wrongs which they endured on account of their love of what they believed to be truth, were generally recognized, if indeed they are yet generally recognized.

Before bringing this account of Mr. Frankland's life to a close, it is necessary to say something more on the great work of his life, his academy. The words quoted from Oliver Heywood shew the high estimation in which his brethren held his academic labours. He trained a large number of ministers, on whom devolved the responsibility of sustaining during the next forty years the Nonconformity of the principal churches of the north of England. We can enumerate only a few names of the ministers who received their training at Rathmel, Natland, &c.: Mr. Thomas Whittaker, of Leeds; Mr. Timothy Jollie, of Sheffield; Mr. Colton, afterwards Dr. Colton; Mr. Irlam, of Congleton; Mr. Dawson, of Rochdale; Mr. John Ash, of Ashford; Mr. Thomas Dickenson, of Northowram; Mr. John Heywood, minister of Blackley; Mr. Isaac Worthington, of Durham; Mr. John Holland, of Swaledale; Mr. Basnet, of Liverpool; Mr. Robert Murray, assistant minister at Chester; Mr. Jas. Clegg; Mr. Lessingham, of Grantham; Mr. Richard Chorley.

We have in the Life of Oliver Heywood now and then an interesting glimpse at the great Nonconformist academy. Thus in the year 1682, Mr. H., accompanied by his neighbour and friend Mr. Jonathan Priestley, visited Natland. On the day after they arrived, the pupils (about twenty in number) were assembled, and Mr. Heywood delivered an address founded on 2 Chron. xxix. 11, "My sons, be not now negligent; for the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him to serve him, and that you should minister unto him and burn incense." A text more

Digitized by Google

appropriate to the circumstances of his hearers he could not have selected. On the following day, he spent several hours in intercourse with the young men. Conversation was diversified by prayer. The next day was Sunday, and a great congregation gathered together, from Kendal and other places we may suppose, and Mr. Heywood preached. In those days of persecution, a religious service by a preacher like Oliver Heywood was regarded as a time of refreshment. There were no listless hearers there. The service, we are told, lasted five hours. In the work of the Academy and the duties of the pulpit, Mr. Frankland was assisted by Mr. Issot, by Mr. Owen, and by his own son, John Frankland. The death of his son in early life was a heavy blow, and occasioned the breaking up of the academy on the death of its founder. There was some effort made for its continuance, and Mr. Tong, the Presbyterian minister of Coventry, was named as Mr. Frankland's probable successor; but the scheme failed, and, as a substitute for the institution at Rathmel, Mr. John Chorlton, one of the ministers of Cross-Street chapel, Manchester, opened an academy in that town.

We have one letter more of Mr. Frankland's, which is preserved in the Library of the British Museum (Letters of Divines, II. 95):

"Oct. 22, '97.

"Rev. and dear Brother,—Your comfortable letter, together with your little book (which treating on a subject so suitable for me, renders it very precious to me), I have received, and do heartily thank you for them both. And now in answer to the queries you propose, I say, 1, In reference to the state of my body, I have been afflicted with gravel and wind, caused chiefly, as I suppose, through bad digestion, for most part of a year, and which do yet continue and are (especially at some times) very painful and troublesome. What the Lord designs to do by theise, as whether by means of them more speedily to cut off the thread of a poor toilsome afflicted life, or whether onely to try me for a season, and ith' mean time to inable poor nature not onely to wrastle with them, but to get from under them at length, for my part I cannot yet see. But this I am sure of, the Providence is an awakening Providence, and question not but is designed by a gratious, wise Father for blessed ends, even to bring my great change more nearly within view and to p'pare me for it. And its not the least comfort to me that I am sure to be helped in this with your prayers. As to your 2nd, What I have done about the Sp. Court, I can now inform you. On Tuesday last I had a letter from Mr. Squire my proctor, which certifys that at the last Mich. Court my case was put off by the Chancellor himself, till the Thursday after Andrew day, the last day of the term, so thinks they intend no further proceeding. And he conceives this was by order of the Archbishop. I have in this new experience of God's kindnesse to me, and desire that as this and the like mercies have been bestowed through the prayers of many, so thanks may be given by many on my behalf. As to the 3rd, What your little kinsman doth, I must say, he studies hard and makes good improvement. As to your last, I have received nothing

Digitized by Google

for him yet from my Lord's executors, but have procured for him (about) three pounds ith' half year or (about) £6 a year, which I hope will be continued for his time. But I suppose it may be Xtmas at soonest before we receive the first half year, and then we shall endeavour to let you know more exactly what it comes to: I will use my best endeavour to procure more for him. As to your school, I fear I can do you little service. Here's an honest man's son, one Shaw, who would be glad of such employment. But I fear he will be too soft and bashful, and if you have scholars forward in learning, I doubt he may be short in point of sufficiency. Yet if for want of one more able you be minded to make tryal of him, upon the least hint from you we shall send him. So with our dear respects and service to yourself, wife and sons, I take leave, who am your very dear brother and servant,

"RI. FFRANKLAND.

"For the Rev. Mr. Oliver Heywood, at Northowram,
nigh Halifax."

From this letter we learn that Mr. Frankland's persecutors harassed him to the very close of his life. But he was now rapidly hastening to that place *where the wicked cease from troubling*. He sunk to rest, October 1, 1698, being then 68 years of age. Among the pupils who surrounded his death-bed, and who sincerely mourned his departure, was Mr. James Clegg, afterwards Dr. Clegg, who followed the united calling of a minister of the gospel and a physician on the borders of Cheshire and Derbyshire. He thus speaks of the death of his tutor:

"I can never forget the manner and frame in which he left the world, being one of the numerous and sorrowful flock that then stood about his bed. His last breath was spent in taking leave of us, and most solemnly and affectionately recommending us to the favour of God and to the conduct of the great Shepherd." (Life of Mr. Ashe.)

The burial-place of this good man is unknown to us. The funeral sermon was preached by Mr. Chorlton, of Manchester (his text being Matt. xxviii. 20), to an assembly composed of persons of different persuasions, but all concurring in respect and affection to a departed friend. It was matter of regret at the time and afterwards that Mr. Chorlton did not publish the sermon. In the absence of any delineation of his friend's character, we must again refer to Dr. Clegg:

"I never knew a tutor so entirely belov'd by them all, nor one that so well deserv'd it. His unaffected gravity, sweetened with candour, meekness and humility, procur'd him that esteem and veneration, even from the most licentious, that made them ever afraid of grieving or offending him. Very few, indeed, of any persuasion, convers'd with him, but they respected and valued him; for he was a man of great moderation, of a truly charitable disposition, and studious to do good in all relations."

Dr. Calamy (Acct. II. 287) commends Mr. Frankland as a skilful interpreter of scripture and an acute metaphysician. He further describes him as humble in disposition, affable in man-

Digitized by Google

ners, and liberal to the poor. He also ascribes to him much zeal in promoting the gospel. As a preacher, he speaks of him as solid rather than popular.

A portrait of Mr. Frankland is preserved in Dr. Williams's Library, Redcross Street, London. The features are regular, the eyes large and expressive, and the nose well developed of the Roman kind. The general expression is grave even to melancholy. As a work of art it is valueless, and the portraiture is perhaps not to be absolutely relied on.

NOTE.—In a former article (see p. 6) it was stated that Bishop Cosin erected on the site of the mansion built by Sir Arthur Haslerigg, the elegant chapel which continues to this day. Since penning this statement, the writer has had the opportunity of reading the Rev. James Raine's "Historical Account of the Episcopal Castle or Palace of Auckland," and from it he learns that the story, though resting on apparently good authority (including a statement by the Bishop himself, and one by Basire, who preached his funeral sermon), is altogether inaccurate. The chapel "in its great leading characteristics is essentially in the same state in which it was left by Bishop Beck in 1310." Some repairs and additions were made by Cosin; but Mr. Raine proves by original documents that what the Bishop did was but "little," and that little was executed in "bad taste." The "apparently most explicit statements" of the Bishop, contradicted as they are by the chapel itself, may illustrate the exaggerations current among the Royalists of 1660 and their successors, when speaking of the "ravenous sacrilege" imputed to Cromwell and his party.

DR. ROWLAND WILLIAMS IN THE COURT OF ARCHES.

THE deprivation of Mr. Heath, on which we commented in the last No. of the C. R., seemed to us, as judges *ab extra*, a very paltry proceeding, unworthy of the dignity even of an orthodox Bishop to promote and of an Ecclesiastical Court to enforce. To have run down an exemplary country clergyman of simple, studious, scripture-loving habits, whose resulting mosaic-work of doctrine, if it cannot be squared with Church-of-England orthodoxy, is as little capable of being referred to any known type of heterodoxy, is not an achievement calculated to throw renown over its promoters at all parallel to the grievance which it inflicts upon its object.

There is something less paltry, at any rate, in hunting down a Rowland Williams. That element of the ludicrous which one is apt to see when forty or fifty well-mounted red-coats with a pack of hounds in full cry succeed at last in capturing a hare, is quite absent in a lion hunt. Rowland Williams is no ignoble game. He represents great scholarly and scientific principles, respecting which it is well that a decision should be made (if authority exists to make it clearly and definitively) as to whether they are, or are not, admissible within the pale of the Church of England. He is well able to sustain the position he has taken;

Digitized by Google

and if his position is defensible in law, he is not the man to be scared from it.

It is as one of the authors of the *Essays and Reviews* that he is cited before the Court of Arches by the Bishop of Salisbury, who stands to him in the relation of Diocesan to the Vicar of Broad Chalke, Wilts. There is something whimsical in this illustration of ecclesiastical discipline. It is not alleged that any one of the 800 rural inhabitants of the hitherto unknown hamlet of Broad Chalke has suffered spiritual damage from the review of Bunsen. It is even doubtful whether the book has penetrated the Wiltshire chalk wolds to this day. Its vicar is non-resident the chief part of the year; his sphere of theological activity being Llampeter College in South Wales. It is there, if anywhere, that, as Professor in a College for training young clergymen, his free thought and learning are dangerous. But there, no episcopal authority can touch him. The Bishop of St. David's, as official Visitor of the Llampeter College, has blandly suggested to him to resign his professorship; but the Professor, in reply to that gentle impeachment, politely hinted that the Visitor's wishes had not the force of law. So discipline is invoked from another quarter. It may be possible for the Bishop of Salisbury to deprive the vicar of Broad Chalke, who is as innocent as a non-resident can be of corrupting the orthodoxy of his parishioners Hodge and Ditcher, though the Bishop of St. David's is helpless on behalf of the embryo clergy at Llampeter, and Convocation itself can only denounce the Essays on behalf of this orthodox nation in general.

The pleadings in the case being now completed, though judgment is not expected to be pronounced till May or June, we take occasion in the interval to remark upon the more striking features of the accusation and defence; and, without presuming to offer legal opinion or anticipate the legal decision, we shall endeavour to estimate the case in the *moral* court ecclesiastical.

The articles filed against Dr. Rowland Williams are twenty-two in number. The first declares that all persons in holy orders ought to adhere to and maintain with constancy and sincerity the doctrines and teaching of the Church, and that impugners of them ought to be punished and corrected. Articles 2 to 6 are technical. From 7 to 16 specify the heresies charged against him, and quote numerous passages from his review of Bunsen's Biblical Researches in support of the charges. Among these are most of the passages cited in Dr. Jelf's pamphlet against the essayists. The free historical examination of the Hebrew prophecies which (with Dr. Williams as with most critics) results in assigning the fulfilment of many of them to occasions less distant from the prophet than the days of Christianity,—the doubt whether Daniel can have been the author of the *book*

Digitized by Google

Daniel, or Jonah of the *book* Jonah, and whether those books of the New Testament which Eusebius noted as of disputed authorship were really written by their alleged authors,—a suggested spiritual idea of the incarnation and of baptism, and an implied hint that justification properly means the peace of mind or sense of Divine approval which comes from trust in a righteous God; —these are the chief results of critical and interpretive learning that are specified as heresies in this suit. But a 17th article deals in more general terms, and, conveniently leaving the troublesome office of specific quotation, indicts the whole essay in the round accusations following:

"And we further object to you, the said Rowland Williams, that the manifest tendency, scope, object and design of the whole essay is to inculcate a disbelief in the divine inspiration and authority of the Holy Scriptures contained in the Old and New Testament, to reduce the said Holy Scriptures to the level of a mere human composition, such as the writings of Luther and of Milton; to deny that the Old Testament contains prophecies or predictions of our Saviour and other persons and other events; to deny that the prophets preaching under the special inspiration of the Holy Spirit foretold human events; to deny altogether or greatly discredit the truth and genuineness of the historical portions of the Old Testament, and the truth and genuineness of certain parts of the New Testament, and the truth and reality of the miracles recorded as facts in the Old and New Testament; to deny or interpret by a meaning at variance with that of the Church the doctrines of original sin, of infant baptism, of justification by faith, atonement and propitiation by the death of our Saviour, and of the incarnation of our Saviour."

Such, in brief, is the sum of the accusations against the author of the review of Bunsen. To intelligent readers of that review it will probably occur, that the specific criticisms complained of are, for the most part, strongly sustained by biblical and historical facts, which would remain facts in spite of a decree of the Court of Arches; and that the more general accusations following are without foundation in the tone and spirit of the essay, and sound more like the peroration of an opposing counsel who has no case, than the words of an official indictment.

The Church formularies alleged to be sinned against are the 6th, 7th and 20th, the 2nd, 11th and 27th of the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, that portion of the Nicene Creed which declares that the Holy Ghost spoke by the Prophets, the first chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews as appointed to be read on Christmas-day, and certain other chapters for other days.

The charges founded upon the lessons for certain days are objected to as informal by Dr. Williams's counsel, and must surely be struck out by the Judge, who has already declared that "he hoped it would be understood that he was not to try those grave questions in divinity." The question has evidently to do with the Church articles and formularies, and not with the Scriptures except as overridden by those articles and formularies. That a

Digitized by Google

certain chapter of the Bible is ordered to be read on a certain day, does not define the interpretation to be put upon that chapter.

The 6th of the Church Articles *(Of the Sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation)* contains the Church of England's enumeration of canonical scriptures,—than which it is impossible to imagine anything more slovenly and unprecise as a legal instrument furnishing the basis of an ecclesiastical law-suit. It professes to give the *names and number of the canonical books, "of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church."* In this list, the books of the Prophets are none of them mentioned by name, but the Churchman is to accept *four Prophets the greater* and *twelve Prophets the less.* Some of those who doubt the authorship of Daniel and Jonah have thought it reasonable to accept sixteen, if not seventeen, Prophets besides them, counting a second Isaiah, and a second if not also a third Zechariah, though not presuming to be quite sure that those were their real names. They may still receive four Prophets the greater (the longest books) and twelve or thirteen the less. The Church list of canonical scriptures goes on to enumerate all the books of the Jewish Apocrypha as books which "the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners, but yet it doth not apply them to establish any doctrine."

If this is but a vague and unsatisfactory statement of what is canonical in the Old Testament, much more so is the definition of what is canonical in the New: *"All the books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive and account them canonical."* No list even of their titles is given; but assuming the list to be understood, it is simply untrue to affirm that they are all books "of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church." Eusebius's catalogues of undisputed and disputed books are older than the Articles of the Church of England; and even if that Church stupidly requires her clergy now to believe them all alike authentic, she is rather hard upon them in requiring them to insist that *nobody ever has doubted any of them.* Facts cannot be obliterated even by Articles of Religion authorized by Act of Parliament. If Dr. Lushington considers this most undiscriminating and unlearned Article as furnishing the very letter of the ecclesiastical law by which he must decide, and is quite certain that Daniel is one of the "four Prophets the greater" and Jonah one of the "twelve Prophets the less," and that the Article which names neither of them still implies that Daniel wrote the book of Daniel and Jonah the book of Jonah,—and if he is quite clear that what is said of the books of the New Testament includes the opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by St. Paul, and that 2 Peter is undoubtedly the genuine work of the apostle Peter,—then woe to Dr. Rowland Williams, and woe to scholars and scholarship in the Church of

Digitized by Google

England. Common sense and common justice must not be so outraged.

How the 7th Article of the Church (intitled, *Of the Old Testament)* is called in question by Dr. Williams's essay, is not very manifest, unless he is considered to be one of those "not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises." But we doubt whether the accused has absolutely put the important word *only* into his illustrations of the unquestionable fact that the old Fathers did look earnestly and chiefly for such promises. Article 2 teaches the Incarnation grossly enough; 11 is on Justification, and 27 on Baptism,—on all which points Dr. Williams is called to account.

The 20th Article is on *The Authority of the Church;* and it seems somewhat superfluous to charge him with impugning that Article when the Church is engaged in trying her authority against him. In civil cases it is not customary to lay the indictment in this manner. A man is not charged with theft, and *also* with having defied the authority of King, Lords and Commons. He is not accused of murder, and *also* of being liable to its penalty. But the ecclesiastical indictment is more full, if not more precise. It charges the heretic with having impugned the doctrinal and critical assertions of various authoritative Articles, and *also* with having impugned that Article which declares the Church's authority over him. Thus assurance is made doubly sure, no doubt.

Let us now see what is the line of defence adopted. Lines of defence, we ought rather to say; for Dr. Deane and Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, the advocates of Dr. W., have adopted two different and independent, but not inconsistent, lines of argument.

It had been rumoured that the defence would chiefly consist in an attempt to distinguish between Bunsen's views as expounded by Dr. Williams, and Dr. Williams's own views as not expressed but improperly identified with Bunsen's. But this would have been a vain attempt for the adroitest lawyer to risk, and an unmanly course for the defendant to have allowed. So evident throughout is the general sympathy of the reviewer with the opinions he reviews, and so express are his words of admiring assent at the end: "Those who have assailed his (Bunsen's) doubtful points are equally opposed to his strong ones. Our own testimony is, where we have been best able to follow him, we have generally found most reason to agree with him." There was no honourable retreat from this plain avowal.

Dr. Deane accordingly, the leading counsel for the defence, only hints, as in passing, that "he had yet to learn that it was an offence against the law for clergymen to review the work of a learned man and comment upon it." He said, "It was no part of his instructions, nor was it his duty, to shrink from the most thorough inquiry into all the passages cited. He would not

Digitized by Google

adopt any legal subterfuge in dealing with them. He was not sent there to explain away or conceal the opinions of the defendant." Mr. Stephen was yet more explicit in saying, "that Dr. Williams did not wish to shelter himself under the honoured name of Baron Bunsen, whose works he had reviewed, and for which he was now charged with heresy. The views expressed in the obnoxious essay were his own, and on the part of the Rev. gentleman he stated that he was prepared to take the full responsibility of it." There was therefore no room for Dr. Phillimore's insinuation, afterwards made, that the defendant wished to be regarded as only recapitulating Bunsen's views without adopting them. It was irrelevant, unhandsome and unprofessional.

To return to Dr. Deane. He complained, and justly, of the mode in which the articles of accusation were framed, by quoting passages apart from their context, mixing passages from different parts of the essay, and suggesting meanings not necessarily implied. He quoted Bishop Lowth's Preliminary Dissertation to his New Translation of Isaiah as proof that the interpretation (as well as the translation) of the prophets might be regarded as an open question. As such certainly Lowth treated it, though his interpretive conclusions were far from anticipating those of Bunsen. This allusion to Lowth has given great offence to (we presume) some very orthodox descendant of the Bishop, who writes to the *Times* (Dec. 27) from the Athenæum Club, signing G. T. Lowth, and vouching for the orthodoxy of the Bishop, which, so far as we know, has never been impugned. He has been appealed to in this cause only as an authority for the scholarly *method*, which had not, however, led him far astray from traditional doctrinal results. Dr. Deane appealed also to other well-known divines of the Church of England in justification of the right to be scholars and to apply their scholarship to the interpretation of the Scriptures; referring especially to *Hey's Lectures on Divinity*, which discuss the question of Inspiration; to *Warburton*, who talks contemptuously of "organic inspiration," and is unorthodox enough in his *Divine Legation of Moses;* and to *Hartwell Horne's Introduction*, which contains a summary of opinions on the subject.

When the Judge pointedly asked Dr. Deane whether he was to understand him to say that Dr. Williams had never denied the two senses of prophecy, we can hardly acquit the latter of "legal subterfuge" in his reply, that "Dr. Williams never denied prophecy in its fulfilment—that is, in its secondary sense." Every theologian knows that the double-sense theory of prophecy takes Isaiah (for instance) to speak consciously of Judah and Israel, of Babylon and the Restoration, in the primary sense of his words, and consciously of Christ and Christianity in their secondary sense. Bunsen held nothing like this, nor (we presume) does Rowland Williams. We hold (as we suppose with them both)

Digitized by Google

that those prophecies which the Jews spoke and understood of the expected temporal Messiah's kingdom have been better realized in the spiritual work of Christ. But we could not allow Dr. Deane to say we accepted the double sense of prophecy, which seems like making it into equivocation or nonsense. Dr. Deane shewed by New-Testament instances that prophecy was often *applied*, by way of illustration, to things which it could not be seriously maintained to have originally contemplated. But this is not accepting the double sense as originally contemplated by the prophet. Dr. Deane further shewed in detail that many clergymen had already avowed the very opinions now charged as heretical against his client, and urged that, "if the promoters were right in their views, there must necessarily be an end to literary criticism in the Church of England."

Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, the second counsel for the defendant, took a bolder line of argument, which, if it be tenable, will prove the Church of England to be truly liberal, philosophical, literary, critical and free to the fullest extent; and, when thoroughly recognized, will surely supersede the functions of the Court of Arches thenceforth. Under such a Church there can be no prosecutions for heresy:

"If this had been an ordinary case he should, he said, have occupied a subordinate position only; but, considering the importance of the issue involved, the counsel for Dr. Williams had thought it better to pursue their independent courses, and to lay their conclusions independently before the court. The real issue involved in this case was this: *Did the law of England forbid the clergy of the Church of England to exercise their minds in the interpretation of Scripture?* The first question in every case of this kind must be:—'What is the law under which the defendant is to be tried, and what the principle upon which the Judge is to regulate his decision?' The Judge of that court was not sitting as a divine to decide upon the truth of Dr. Williams's opinions, but would have to consider only whether the defendant was forbidden by law to entertain those opinions under penalty of deprivation of his living of Broad Chalke. The ground upon which he intended to argue this case was that, in ecclesiastical courts, *open questions were permitted, and that, upon questions which had not been decided, full and intire liberty was left to the Church.* That which was contained in the Articles was conclusive, and though the rubrics and formularies of the Church were also conclusive, greater distinctness and precision was required in them than in the Articles. If there were any ambiguity in the formularies, it was not to be understood that the Church meant by them to establish indirectly that which it did not establish directly by the Articles of faith. * * * His client would, he was sure, sooner lose his living than gain his cause upon a technicality of law, or by the sacrifice of his convictions. He took, therefore, the bolder course, and contended that if Dr. Williams had entertained unfamiliar opinions—opinions which startled many people and some divines—he had a right to entertain those opinions, because he had from the Church, according to his ordination vow, the right and duty to follow studies profitable for the understanding of the

Digitized by Google

Holy Scriptures. That the Bible was the law of the Church, and contained all things necessary to salvation, was no ground for asserting that everything contained in the Bible was literally true, and this prosecution was an attempt to impose dogmas upon the Church which the Church itself did not impose. There was a great difference between unfeigned belief in the canonical Scriptures as declared in the ordination service, and unfeigned belief in every word of the Authorized Version. The liberty of interpreting scripture according to private judgment was allowed in the writings of every divine of the Church, and he was convinced that, so far from lessening the authority of the Bible, free criticism would do more than anything else to remove the doubts thrown upon it by the discoveries of science and the comments of learned men. *The questions of inspiration and interpretation were left open by the Articles;* and having regard to the controversies at the time of the Reformation, he contended that this was no accidental omission, but that the Articles were as carefully and advisedly framed as any legal document."

Is it true, then, that "the questions of inspiration and interpretation" were left open by the Articles of the Church of England, and purposely so left?

Would that it had been really so! Thirty-nine Articles and three Creeds and many doctrinal Confessions and Doxologies might then have been spared, which have excited discord and bigotry ever since. But in a modified sense we admit that the Church of England allows considerable latitude on these two comprehensive subjects. There is little or nothing in her Articles to define what must be understood by inspiration, or to regulate the work of criticism and interpretation. We can only conclude that her clergy are free to think, to criticise and to interpret, *until* their results impugn some or other of the fixed points of doctrine laid down in the formularies of the Church. We do not see that Rowland Williams was forbidden to be a student and a divine. He was not forbidden to read Bunsen or any other book. He was not forbidden to learn what he could about the literary questions respecting Jonah, Daniel, the prophecies in general, the Epistle to the Hebrews, &c.; nor to avow any of his learned results. But he must take the chance of running his learned head against any of those posts called Articles (or Articles that we should call posts) which have defined and shut up for ever the absolute truth of God. It is as subject to this risk that the Church-of-England clergyman is free to pursue his inquiries and avow his results in the wide field of sacred learning. On the technical question of inspiration, the Articles are so little explicit, that we doubt whether Dr. Lushington could define what the orthodox opinion is. On the subject of sacred criticism, they say very little, and that little (in Articles 6 and 7) defective or false. But on biblical interpretation, while they lay down no principles or rules whatever (except the impossible one that the Church may not "so expound one place of scripture that it be repugnant to another"), they distinctly warn every

Digitized by Google

free inquirer that he must come to the doctrinal conclusions of the Articles and Creeds, on pain of deprivation in the Ecclesiastical Courts and of perishing everlastingly! Such is the limitation with which we accept Mr. Fitzjames Stephen's assertion that matters of interpretation are purposely left open to individual judgment. It is a serious limitation to scholarship and to conscience. The results of theological inquiry are barred by the Articles and Creeds, but the process is, with this limitation, left open. If we are right in this view of the formularies of the Church of England, heresy can hardly be proved against Dr. W. from his implied views of prophecy, still less from his modes of biblical criticism and interpretation, which the Church has not forbidden *in limine;* but the heresy, if proved at all, will be found in his avowed doctrinal *results.* Do the Articles on the Incarnation, on Justification or on Baptism, condemn his *results?* This seems to us the question on which the Judge ought, according to the principle of subscription to doctrinal Articles, to decide. Yet it is plain that the current orthodoxy of the day has been infinitely more shocked and offended by "the free handling" of scriptural subjects, and the application of such knowledge and science to them as must soon forbid "the repetition of conventional language and traditional methods of treatment,"* than it has been by the more specific heresies discoverable in interpretations adopted by the defendant.

Mr. Stephen's speech contained several other noteworthy passages, which at least describe what *ought* to be the spirit of a National Church of England, though they should be shewn by the judgment in the present case to be somewhat in advance of its actual constitution and administration. In the following words he hit the true distinction between *Bibliolatry* and Bible-scholarship, which goes to the root of this prosecution:

"Two views were possible with respect to the Bible. All Christians must believe that God had made a revelation to man, which consisted in part in precepts to be obeyed, and in part of doctrines to be believed. But while some Protestants believed that the Bible *contained* that revelation, others believed that it *constituted* it. Some believed that the aggregate of the doctrines bequeathed (?) by God to man was the proper object of belief, and the proper subject of divine authority, while others believed that the Bible itself constituted Christianity, and that every word it contained was of equal and absolute authority. He desired the distinction to be observed."

How little is this self-evident distinction observed! The advocate himself, in laying it down, feels it necessary to apologise to the religious ignorance and bigotry that disregard it habitually:

"He knew the risk he ran of being held up as a man who disbelieved

* Pref. to *Essays and Reviews.*

Digitized by Google

in the choicest gift of God to man, but he would not shrink from performing his duty to his client, and, however plainly he might speak, he entertained the deepest reverence for the Holy Scriptures."

It is only by such plain speaking on the palpable but neglected distinction between the Scriptures as the records of Revelation and the Scriptures as absurdly alleged to be in every word Revelation itself, that reverence for them can be maintained or promoted. We do not know anything in the Church Articles that either recognizes or ignores this distinction; but the common sentiments of Churchmen decidedly ignore it, and the assumption that the Bible *constitutes* Revelation is certainly at the bottom of the articles filed against Dr. Williams.

Mr. Stephen made a good point by contrasting the articles and formularies of the Church of England with those of the Westminster Confession of Faith, and certainly shewed that, *compared* with the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, it allows, and meant in fixing its Articles to allow, considerable diversity of opinion. But the Articles remain, beyond which no latitude was to be allowed; and by them the defendant must stand or fall.

He thus eloquently presses upon the Judge the duty of interpreting the law with the utmost freedom in the defendant's behalf, and of leaving to the Legislature the odium of passing a law that all who enter the Church "shall leave thought behind."

"If an unnatural law is to be declared against reason and faith, let it not be proclaimed by judicial lips. If the Church of England is to set aside its essential character, and write up over that gate through which passed Hooker, Chillingworth, Berkeley, Cudworth and Butler, this fatal motto—'All you who enter here leave thought behind,' let the Legislature write it with an iron pen and engrave it upon a block of stone, that 'he who runs may read.' Let it not be etched and scratched upon the margin of a law report by judicial inference and *ex post facto* construction."

But what if the law already exists? Then the Judge must administer it, and leave to the Legislature the credit of repealing it, as they must and will whenever the public sense of truthfulness in religious belief shall demand such an ennobling of the National Church. The able counsel went on to describe the tendency of such decisions as that now asked against theological scholarship and thought; he glances at the cynical insolence of the illustrious commoner and the fanatical ignorance of the illustrious nobleman who have lately made themselves notorious in the Essays and Reviews discussion; and finely asserts the necessity of free thought and learning for a higher cause than that of the Church of England—for that of Christianity. This was the conclusion of his able speech:

"One word upon the tendency of the legislation the prosecution would thus force upon your lordship. They wish you to assume, by a

Digitized by Google

judicial decision, a censorship over the writings of the clergy. You are not asked to decide on the truth of Dr. Williams's opinions. Should you condemn him, your judgment would not prove, and would not tend to prove, that Daniel did write the book of Daniel, or that it is a prophecy and not a history. It would prove this, and nothing else—that the Church of England is committed to those opinions, and that whoever succeeds in refuting them will have succeeded in refuting it. The worst enemies of the Church would be best pleased at such a judgment. '*Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridæ.*' The Romanist would rejoice and the Atheist would exult, for they would read in such a decision the recantation of the only Christian body which has hitherto really believed, and acted on the belief, that the God of revelation is also the God of reason, that the religion of Christ and the Word of God can take care of themselves, and that the business of men is not to defend their pre-conceived notions about either the one or the other, but to ascertain by the use of the ordinary tests of truth what their true purport may be. Consider, my lord, the stupendous folly and cowardice of the law which you are asked to pass. No doubt you can shut the mouths of the clergy. You can say, 'Whoever doubts whether Daniel wrote Daniel must be silent or lose his living.' But can you shut the mouths of the laity? Will any one in this age and country dare to suggest that the Christian religion and its vehicle, the Bible, are not to be criticised at all? Can you silence literature? Can you silence science? Can you silence history? Can you send every man to the stake or the gallows who doubts the authorship of Daniel? This you can do: You can teach literature, history, and science to despise Christianity and to hate it; you can suggest to them that the Church of England is a sort of ladies' school on a large and bad scale, where nothing is taught that can surprise an ignorant woman or interest an instructed man. You cannot arrest discussion itself. All that you can do is to prevent the clergy from taking part in it. You must fight. Your enemies will use all the resources of modern science. Will you blindfold your leaders, and make your soldiers fight in chains? The folly and cowardice of the proposed legislation do not stop here. Folly and cowardice never know where to stop. The proscription of literature and criticism and science amongst the clergy will not only give infidels a monopoly of them, and put scientific and learned men on the infidel side, but it will utterly destroy the value of the evidence of any stray man of learning or intellect who may be bribed to take orders in an emasculated Church by the prospect of influence or preferment. When such a man denies that Greek words are to be found in the text of Daniel, or tries to explain away inconsistencies in the Gospels by sophistry which it would not be worth while to produce at the Old Bailey or the Middlesex Sessions, he will produce smiles instead of conviction, and men will say that the evidence on which he really believes in the date of Daniel is the prospect of a bishopric. And what is the reason why we are to disarm or discredit the natural defenders of the Christian faith, and to sign treaties between Christ and darkness, between reason and the devil? The reasons are contained in two phrases, each invented by a well-known man to stigmatise and prejudice the cause which I defend. 'Free inquiry, by all means,' says one, 'but let it be by free inquirers.' 'Save us,' cries the other, 'save us from the tyranny of professors.' I know

Digitized by Google

not what is more repulsive, the cynical insolence in the one phrase or the fanatical ignorance of the other. 'Let free inquiry be confined to free inquirers.' Do sceptics want to fight at odds? Do they grudge to others the weapons which they use so freely themselves? The clergy of the Church of England not free inquirers! Then what are they? Are they a sort of third sex, which has neither the powers of men nor the charms of women? Are they alone to be doomed to ignorance in an age of knowledge, to silence in an age of freedom? I say they are free inquirers. They possess the only freedom worth having—namely, freedom secured by law. No doubt there are positions which they may not contest, and perhaps the number of such positions might wisely be diminished; but, subject even to that restraint, they are the freest clergy in the world, for they alone of all religious denominations are absolutely irresponsible both to their congregations and to their ecclesiastical superiors, except by the operation of the law of the land. All the Bishops in England may protest against Dr. Williams, but they cannot diminish by one jot or tittle his pastoral authority, suppress a word of his writings, or take away one shilling of his income, unless this Court holds that he has committed a crime against the law; and he has committed no crime unless he has said something which the law specifically forbids him to say. But there is another cry. 'Save us from the tyranny of professors.' 'What,' it is said, 'will become of the faith of unlearned men if professors are allowed to distinguish between the Authorised Version and canonical Scripture, and to tell us that without the help of Greek and Hebrew we can have very imperfect notions of the real meaning of either?' What does this cry mean in plain English? Simply this—'Protect us from truth, shield us from light. Since there are difficulties about the Bible, 'Be it enacted henceforth that the Authorised Version, according to the popular interpretation of it for the time being, shall be and be taken to be the Christian religion.' And this is put forward in the name of freedom, and for protection against tyranny! We do indeed need protection against tyranny, and I claim it at your lordship's hands. Protect us not from the tyranny of learning, but from the tyranny over learning. Protect us from the tyranny of a vague popular opinion—an ignorant popular clamour. I call upon your lordship as an English Judge to protect an English subject against mob law. How can we tyrannise over the illustrious nobleman who wishes to shut our mouths? He seems to fear that he is to be taught Greek and Hebrew by main force. All the power on earth cannot teach him Greek and Hebrew against his will. If he chooses to put his head in the sand for fear of seeing the hunters, cannot he do it? If he is afraid of the *Essays and Reviews*, he need not read them. With my client and his friends it is far different. Upon them you have an invincible hold. Your judgment may drive them from the Church, or close their mouths within it, and if you do, what will be the consequences to the Christian faith? Hitherto I have been forced, most unwillingly, to assume the position of an assailant and a critic, not indeed of the Bible, but of a loose and pernicious popular superstition about the Bible. Let me say a few words in another tone. If I were privileged to defend, not the liberty of the clergy, but the truth of the Christian religion—if I might assume the character, which I trust I have not said a word to abdicate, of a Christian advocate—I would say of those who press on this prosecution in their blind zeal for prejudices

Digitized by Google

which they mistake for the Christian faith, 'Lord, forgive them, for they know not what they do.' If they could but get one glimpse of the real gist of Christianity, one clear notion of the true nature of the Bible, they would welcome criticism and science as their best friends, they would see that it is by their use, and their use alone, that the true glory of the Bible can be brought out, and its power to bless mankind be developed to the utmost. I believe that almost all the scepticism which prevails amongst us is caused by the obstinate folly of those who persist in a mad attempt to substitute for belief in the contents of the Bible, belief in an incredible and gratuitous theory about the Bible, which is opposed not only to reason and authority, but to the whole scope, tendency, and design of the Bible itself. I most earnestly pray that your lordship may be guided to a right judgment, not so much for the sake of English law and liberty, mighty as these interests are, as for the sake of Christianity itself."

We cannot wonder that the learned counsel "sat down amidst some applause," the decorum of the Court notwithstanding.

We have now noticed the most salient points of the case as they appeared in the defence. For, be it observed, the defence in this case precedes the prosecution, through one of the curious technical forms of the Ecclesiastical Courts. The articles of accusation being put in, the counsel for the promoters asks the Court to admit them. Then the counsel for the defendant shews why they should not be admitted; the counsel for the prosecution argues for them; defendant's counsel replies, and the Judge considers his decision. It is as if, in a civil cause, the prisoner were asked to plead guilty, and declining to do so, were called upon to prove his innocence; then the evidence against him should be called, and then his counsel reply. Beautiful anomalies are these, truly, in our Courts Ecclesiastical!

We find only two things specially inviting notice in the pleadings for the prosecution. One has been already alluded to, namely, the proposal to put the scripture lessons of certain days in evidence against Dr. Williams as documents of the Church of England. Dr. Phillimore had proposed to put in the 53rd chap. of Isaiah, the lesson for Good Friday, when the Judge observed:

"It is a question of immense difficulty, and the consequences may be such as may be most alarming. I cannot see how, if I admit the whole of this to be read—the lesson which is stated here—how I could exclude from the consideration of the case any part of the whole Bible the other side might think fit to bring in. If that were done, the Court would be in this position—and it is a fearful position to think of—that it would have to decide a judicial question, whether the doctrines laid down by Dr. Williams are conformable to the Articles or Prayer-book, or are conformable to the Bible and the whole Bible bearing upon the extracts. Where I am to put the limit and to shut the door at present I don't see, and you must feel with me the extreme difficulty of embarking upon such a voyage."

The voyage was accordingly shortened for a cruise among the Church Articles.

Digitized by Google

The other point worth noticing was an attempted injustice only imaginable in ecclesiastical law. Dr. Phillimore proposed to quote from another of the essays, and hold Dr. Williams responsible for what another author had written, because the two writers appeared in one volume. This he was not allowed to do; but it is not quite clear whether he would have been forbidden that line of argument, had not the Judge been in possession of the fact that a separate prosecution was already instituted against the other essayist, Mr. Wilson, for his essay on the National Church. The following paragraph announces to all newspaper readers the next impending prosecution for heresy:

"Another prosecution has been commenced in the case of 'Essays and Reviews.' The promoter of the suit, by whom articles have been filed, is the Rev. J. Fendall, rector of Harlton, near Cambridge, and proctor in Convocation for the clergy of the diocese of Ely. The defendant is the Rev. Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D., formerly Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, the author of the third essay in the volume entitled, 'Séances Nationale de Geneve.' It is likely that the same counsel will be retained. Mr. Toller is the proctor for Mr. Fendall; Mr. Dubois for Mr. Wilson."

We cannot regret that matters should be thus brought to legal settlement. Nothing can be more unsatisfactory to good and truth-loving men, within the Church or out of it, than the mixed narrowness of its symbols and latitudinarianism of many of its members, the perplexities of its Bishops and the intricacies of its Law Courts. Let it be known what the Church really is, and what she claims, and what she permits. If her legal constitution is (as we believe) intolerably narrow,—if the one apology that can be made for her lagging behind in the race of modern progress is, that her Articles were fit for three hundred years ago and are not fit for the present state of the world,—there is, we suppose, no surer way of making this palpably evident, and of insuring the necessary reform in her antiquated theology and lax-conforming ethics, than that her Law Courts should put forth their might against learning and free speech, till our secular English blood shall be inflamed to defend clerical learning and freedom.

Sub judice lis est. It is the general impression, we believe, that Dr. Lushington's judgment must be given substantially against Dr. Rowland Williams. We do not indeed see how it can be otherwise as to certain specified doctrines; though we believe the articles charged most broadly against him are the least capable of being sustained. But it will conduce to good morals that we should know what the Church law is and how far it needs alteration.

We should regret exceedingly, therefore, to find that any technical error was destined to set the proceedings aside, as the *National Reviewer* argues must be the case. He says (and the *Guardian* admits the correctness of the statement) that the Act

Digitized by Google

of Elizabeth 13th, under which these proceedings are instituted, refers to the Articles of 1563, which were only thirty-eight in number, not to those of 1571, which are the present code. The 29th Article *(Of the Wicked which eat not the Body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper)* is the additional one which constitutes the whole difference between the two codes. The *Guardian* therefore argues that, though this objection might have been fatal had it been taken in the suit "Ditcher *v.* Denison," in which the stress of Mr. Ditcher's argument rested on that 29th Article, it can have no force in the present case, in which all the Articles concerned belong equally to the earlier and later code. There is common sense in this conclusion.

But apart from the technical objection, the *National Reviewer* anticipates a judgment in Dr. Williams's favour. He says: "His alleged errors may be classed under the following heads—(1) they relate to Articles which admit of different meanings; or (2) to matters which are neither affirmed nor denied in the Articles; or (3) they are merely the views of Bunsen, alleged for the purpose of illustration."

On the third head, neither the *National Reviewer* in anticipating acquittal, nor the *Guardian* in somewhat savagely hoping for condemnation, seems sufficiently to have noticed that Dr. Rowland Williams has repeatedly and emphatically declined, through his advocates, attempting to shelter himself from responsibility in the way suggested. We agree with them both in thinking that many of the alleged heresies (indeed the chief ones, those large, broad heresies on the nature of inspiration and the critical rules of interpretation) belong to the second head. But we cannot avoid agreeing with the *Guardian* in thinking that there are various doctrinal opinions expressed which, though referring to "Articles which admit of different meanings," are irreconcilable with any meaning fairly attributable to such Articles.

If we anticipate a sentence against the defendant on some such points of detail, it is not in the spirit of the prosecutors and the approving *Guardian*. They wish to punish the man, and to silence thought, inquiry and biblical study in the Church of England. Quite conscientiously (as we know and believe of such men in general), they would make religion the opponent of science, they would refuse to the Scriptures the benefit of those materials of literary criticism which are applied to other ancient books; they would invite towards the clergy the contempt or pity of the laity; and spread far and wide the infidel's suspicion that the Church is a tool of State policy, and the gospel itself a delusion or an imposture.

No true Churchman can intelligently and deliberately wish to smother the spirit of inquiry which the Essays and Reviews expressed and have still more extended. The present state of things *must* be changed. It is too hollow for good men to advocate. It must be known and understood whether the liberality

Digitized by Google

so often claimed for the Church of England, and exercised by its best minds, depends on mere indifference to its own standards, or shall be recognized and guaranteed by law as the noble characteristic of this great nation's religious belief and worship. It must be known whether there is a law still capable, whenever invoked by popular or episcopal bigotry, of enforcing the beliefs of 1571 as the *ultimatum* of religious knowledge for 1862. It must be decided whether the narrowest minds, and those possessed of the least general culture in connection with theological beliefs, shall represent the Church of England and monopolize its benefices; or whether it shall hold out usefulness and honour to the nobler ambition of students and men of science also. And if the latter is the alternative desired at heart by Englishmen, perhaps the best way of opening their slow perception to the fact that the Church of the sixteenth century has not provided for the intellectual culture of the 19th, will be a few such decisions as are now sought in the Ecclesiastical Courts against thinkers and students. We sincerely and sorrowfully believe, in short, that the law is on the side of ignorance, narrowness and bigotry; and cannot believe that Churchmen will long rest satisfied with such a state of things when they have fully realized its existence. Time was when the Dissenters of this country, enjoying practical religious liberty in spite of intolerant laws which the spirit of the age had put to sleep, demanded and obtained the legal recognition of their freedom by the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Time is, when Churchmen, in the exercise of their conventional freedom of belief, are startled to find that the supposed obsolete laws of their own Church can be called into operation against them; and the alternative is offered them of submitting to spiritual slavery or demanding the recognition of their freedom by a revision of the laws and formularies of the Church.

To the solution of this alterative, we think the Ecclesiastical Courts will presently compel the long-indifferent laity on behalf of their long-perplexed clergy, if not also of themselves and their children. That it may be so is our best wish for the Established Church, and for the implied interests of religion and morals in this country. Perhaps the impending trial of Mr. Wilson for his essay "on the National Church" is more likely than any other procedure that could be fastened upon the Essays and Reviews, to bring into full discussion the principles of the Church of England as it is and as it ought to be, and to lead to a decision of the question whether free and accomplished minds can with pure honour minister at her altar, without a radical change in her doctrinal articles and symbols and in the laws which enforce them. In this view, we shall look at the proceedings in "Fendall *v.* Wilson" with still deepening interest, and trust that good may soon emerge out of the present evil of matters ecclesiastical.

Digitized by Google

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT FROM A PASSAGE IN THE WRITINGS OF ARISTOTLE.

THE passage referred to is in the second chapter of the treatise Περὶ κόσμου, or Περὶ τοῦ παντος, i. e. *Concerning the World*, or *Concerning the Universe*. In the opinion of many learned men, this work was not written by Aristotle in its present form, but was composed of extracts from his writings, made for popular use, and consequently with some additional ornament in the style. They, however, think that it was compiled very soon after his time, and that it is a faithful repetition of his language and doctrines.

The passage is as follows:

Κόσμος ἐστὶ σύστημα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς, καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις περιεχομένων φύσεων. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἑτέρως κόσμος ἡ τῶν ὅλων τάξις τε καὶ διακόσμησις, ὑπὸ θεῶντε καὶ διὰ θεῶν φυλαττομένη.—P. 391, ed. Bekker, 1831.

Translated:

"The world *(cosmos)* is a system consisting of heaven and earth and of the natures contained in them. Otherwise the world is said to be the orderly arrangement of all things, preserved both by gods and through gods."

In the phraseology of the passage three things are to be observed as illustrative of the language of the New Testament.

I. The term *cosmos (world)* is here used to denote the universe according to the philosophical conceptions of the day. It supposed the earth to be a sphere, placed in the centre and surrounded by the atmosphere, and that the clouds floated above the earth, with the moon, the sun, the five planets, and the fixed stars circulating in their orbits and still more remote from the centre. Paul uses the same language in his address to the Athenians on Mars Hill, Acts xvii. 24: "The God who made *the world and all things therein*, he, being Lord of *heaven and earth*, dwelleth not in temples made with hands." This use of the term *cosmos* was fixed and universally understood. The apostle must therefore be supposed to have employed it in the same sense in which it was used by Aristotle, and by numerous other writers of the highest authority, including some of the Jews. English readers should beware of supposing that "*the world*" in this interesting, grand, and instructive passage, means *the earth* only.

II. We have to remark the distinction made by Aristotle, or his copyist, between the two orders of *gods*, the higher and the lower. He supposes both orders to be concerned as agents in the conservation of the universe. His words illustrate 1 Cor. viii. 5: "Though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or on earth (as there are gods many and lords many), yet to us there is one God, the Father." This passage, together with that above quoted, marks the grand distinction between the heathen polytheism, which clung even to the doctrine of the philosophers,

Digitized by Google

and the principle of the strict unity of the Supreme Creating Mind, which is the distinction of Divine Revelation. The passage belongs to a numerous class, which shew the extensive application of the word THEOS in ancient times, and the consequent fatality of arguments employed to prove the Supreme Divinity of Christ by the mere application to him of this simple term.

III. We have here a remarkably clear example of the distinction always made by ancient Greek writers between the two causal prepositions, HYPO and ΔIA. In my Vindication of Unitarianism, 4th edition, pp. 82—98, and Note D, I have fully discussed this important question in reference to the New Testament. I was not then acquainted with the passage to which I now direct the attention of the readers of the Christian Reformer. They will perceive the distinction which is made between the superior order of gods, and those inferior gods *through* whom, as instruments, the former exerted their agency.

JAMES YATES.

Highgate, near London, Dec. 22, 1861.

RELATION OF MIRACLE TO THE MIND OF CHRIST.

SIR,

I SHALL feel obliged if, in reference to my letter on the Relation of Miracle to the Mind of Christ, in a late No., you can find room for two short extracts bearing on more than one branch of the subject: one is from the Rev. John Llewelyn Davies' excellent tract, entitled "The Signs of the Kingdom of Heaven: an Appeal to Scripture on the Question of Miracles" (Tracts for Priests and People, No. iv.); the other, from "Notes on the Miracles of our Lord," by the present Dean of Westminster, Dr. Trench. I wish I had been cognizant of them before; but if you will accept them as notes, I shall be glad.

J. H. RYLAND.

"If the Person who died that He might redeem the whole world, and in whose clear manifestation both we and the things about us shall find our freedom and glory, be more distinctly recognized as holding the operations of nature in His hand in order that they may serve the Father's will, the laws of nature themselves ought to shine out more clearly and gloriously, and the relations of external things to the spirit of man ought to be more accurately understood. To this test, as to so many others, we must desire that the revelation of God in Christ should be practically brought. Let us only trust it enough, and refrain from corrupting it with our own conceits. We shall then have no need to guard it with threats and definitions. It will prove itself to be the power of God and the wisdom of God, stronger than all its apologists on the one side, and all its assailants on the other."—*Tracts for Priests and People*, First Series, No. iv.—Signs of the Kingdom of Heaven, pp. 46, 47.

"If in one sense the orderly workings of nature reveal the glory

Digitized by Google

of God (Ps. xix. 1—6), in another they hide that glory from our eyes; if they ought to make us continually to remember Him, yet there is danger that they lead us to forget Him, until this world around us shall prove, not a translucent medium, through which we behold Him, but a thick impenetrable veil, concealing Him wholly from our sights. Were there no other purpose in the miracles than this, namely, to testify the liberty of God, and to affirm the will of God, which, however, it habitually shews itself *in* nature, is yet more than and above nature, were it only to break a link in that chain of cause and effect, which else we should come to regard as itself God, as the iron chain of an inexorable necessity, binding heaven no less than earth, they would serve a great purpose, they would not have been wrought in vain."—*Notes on the Miracles of our Lord.* By Richard Chenevix Trench, B.D., &c. &c. Fifth Edition, revised, p. 20.

PHYSICAL PECULIARITIES OF THE ANCIENT HEBREWS.

Sir,

As hitherto I have not been successful in eliciting from your readers conversant with Hebrew any reply to the inquiry, what light the originals of the sacred books throw upon this subject (C. R., 1861, p. 49), —I must except the short but valuable communication of Mr. James Yates on the complexion of David (ib. p. 173),—I beg to send you what my friend, Dr. John Beddoe, of Clifton, has been able to glean from other sources. This appears in an able and instructive memoir "On the Physical Characteristics of the Jewish Race," printed in Part ii. Vol. I. of the "Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London," 1861, p. 222.

After recounting a good deal of curious lore derived from books and travellers, and a candid examination of the question, Dr. Beddoe says: "It is impossible, however, to maintain that the Jews were ever predominantly Xanthous. What evidence can be gathered from the Bible, from the Mishna and from the Talmud, all runs quite the other way; and of this I am assured by a great authority in Hebrew literature, the Rev. Aaron Green, of London. In the first place, *black* is always spoken of as the healthy colour of the hair in the regulations of Moses respecting leprosy. In Canticles, the bride is made to say, 'I am black, but comely.' 'Look not down on me because I am black' (dark). Hence it might be inferred that the general colour was fair, else why the apologetic tone of the interlocutor? But, in the same book, the same person says of the bridegroom, 'His head is as the most fine gold; his locks are curled, and black as a raven.' The Mishna and Talmud furnish strong grounds for supposing that other colours than black were exceptional. In them, black (shachor) is used as a synonym for hair (séor). Thus, 'He who vows the *black* of the head;' and in the Ethics, 'Affable to the black (young),' i. e. to the young whose hair is black. In the Talmud, commenting on Leviticus, it is said, 'He uses '*black*,' because it was a generic term for *hair*.' The word frequently translated '*fair*' in the Old Testament, signifies, I am informed, *beautiful*.

"The only mention of hair of other colours seems to be in the case of Esau, supposing that the word 'admoni,' '*red*,' all over *red*, like unto a hairy garment, refers to the hair, as it almost certainly does."

Digitized by Google

This passage will be seen to afford but little support to those who consider the oriental Jew to differ materially in complexion and colour of hair from his brethren in Europe.

There is another matter embraced in the quotation from Sir Gardner Wilkinson in my former communication (ib. p. 50), upon which it will probably be of some interest in this place to state the views of Dr. Beddoe; I mean the complexion and the origin of the usual portrait of Jesus:—"The comparatively straight profile spoken of by Sir Gardner Wilkinson, Mr. Blakesley and others, as pertaining usually to the Xanthous Jews of Africa and the East, is not unfrequent, I think, among their northern brethren of like complexion. In both divisions I have seen faces of great beauty, which by their form and colour strongly reminded me of the traditional representation of the Saviour; but such are, I think, much less rare in the East than at Prague or Vienna, and rarest of all in England. Mr. Heapley, in his recent papers in the *Art-Journal* (An Examination of the Antiquity of the Likeness of our Blessed Lord), has done much towards proving that, at least as early as the second century, Christian artists at Rome had abandoned their previous mode of representing Jesus, for the type which has since become universally accepted, and which, I have little doubt, was really derived from the East. I shall presently shew that the Jews of that day were almost certainly in the main a dark-haired people. If, therefore, the Roman artists had meant merely to represent Jesus as a Jew of great beauty, they would probably have copied from the handsomest examples of the common type; and the fact that they took in preference the rarer type, which is almost always associated with a light complexion, renders it almost certain that they followed a tradition,—a tradition which, having had but a short time to run, may not unlikely have been founded on a fact."—P. 232.

The peculiarities in feature and complexion of this remarkable race, and the variations to which they may be liable, are well deserving of much further investigation, and are so intimately associated with other subjects of inquiry, that one cannot but hope for continued researches, whether literary or physical. The questions involved are not yet very satisfactorily solved. Even Dr. Beddoe says his *first* object was to elicit what others have observed.

Shelton, Staffs., Nov. 25, 1861. J. Barnard Davis.

DR. CROMWELL AND MATERIALISM.

Sir,

I beg leave to controvert an assertion in the article headed "Justice to Priestley," in your last No., viz., that "we can form no actual conception of a thing without investing it with material attributes;" for I opine that we have as actual a conception of space, in which matter exists, as of matter itself. Astronomy discloses to us innumerable orbs moving in infinite space, not identical with it. Vainly do some tell us that space is merely ideal; we have a steady conviction that it is something actually existing, something existing independently of beings and things which have outlines and organizations. Let me add, that our consciousness of the total dissimilarity between a pain of mind and a

Digitized by Google

headache, convinces us, generally speaking, that there *is* a dualism of spirit and matter in mortal man; and that while all who use the *word* "God," and confess that there are marks of wise design in animate and inanimate nature, are Theists, yet to deny that "God is a Spirit," i.e. an Infinite Mind, of which our minds are finite images, is to depart widely from Christ and Paul, and to go back towards the altar of "THE UNKNOWN GOD" at ancient Athens.

T. J. READ.

[We insert Mr. Read's letter, but must decline any further discussion in our pages of the metaphysical point he moots.—ED. C.R.]

THANKSGIVING FOR CHRIST. BY R. E. B. MACLELLAN.

LAUDS and praises let us bring,
That our God's high will appointed
Christ to be both Lord and King;
Made of him His own Anointed;
Gave to Jesus from His own
Fulness divine a copious treasure
Of light and love; on him alone
Poured His Spirit without measure.
Follow him with work and word;
Lip and life in concert gather;
And confess that Christ is Lord,
To the praise of God, the Father.

Song and psalm to God be paid;
Soul! relate the thrilling story!
That through Jesus He displayed
To us the brightness of His glory.
Christ's love and pity both declare
That he to longing man hath given
An image full, an image fair,
Of God who dwells in highest heaven.
Follow him with work and word;
Lip and life in concert gather;
And confess that Christ is Lord,
To the praise of God, the Father.

God by Jesus doth bestow,
To every creed and tongue and nation,
From sin and suffering, death and woe,
Promise of a great salvation.
God upraised him from the dead,
Unbarred for him the heavenly portals,
So gave us the hope to tread
Through the land of the immortals.
Follow him with work and word;
Lip and life in concert gather;
And confess that Christ is Lord,
To the praise of God, the Father.

Digitized by Google

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Quarterly Review, No. 221. January, 1862.

THE subjects of this No. are, Railway Control, the Autobiography of Cornelia Knight, the new Educational Code, Iceland, Spain's Revival, Alison's Life of Lord Castlereagh, the American Crisis, and the late Prince Consort. The review of Miss Knight's book indicates that the Toryism of to-day no longer does battle for the character of George IV. Hopeless as the defence is now admitted to be, the reviewer shews some want of temper in relation to this last and honest witness, and her testimony as to the character of the Regent and his Court. In the same spirit, the writer on Lord Castlereagh, though obviously embarrassed by Sir Archibald Alison's blundering book, tries to elevate Lord Castlereagh into a political hero and a far-seeing statesman. Both subjects have a certain interest to those whose recollections go back some forty or fifty years, but are to the younger public matters of indifference. By dwelling chiefly on his foreign policy, the reviewer avoids some of the less creditable portions of Castlereagh's public life. There is equal want of generosity and truthfulness in the sneers at the genius and policy of Canning, who was worth a hundred of the Londonderry race. The one sterling article of the No. is that on the Prince Consort, which is wise, genial and eloquent. It is evidently penned by one who has had access to the best sources of information respecting the habits and employments of the Prince, to whose virtues and talents it offers such remarkable testimony. The spirit of the article is a satisfactory proof that Queen Victoria and her late Consort have lived down the Tory dislike of which they were once the objects. After speaking of him as a "Prince gentle, pure and upright, wise and good," the writer glances at the merciful compensations which may alleviate in some degree the national sorrow.

"He has died with his own beloved ones about him, cared for and tended by the highest skill in the land; with the prayers of multitudes of the subjects of that agonized Lady besieging Heaven all importunate for his life, and the wail of a great nation rising muffled about his couch. . . Nor let it either ungratefully and untruly be said that we have utterly lost him whom we so deeply lament. A life spent among us for above twenty years in one ceaseless stream of good and wise works, no death of the body can be said to sweep away. In the light of a glorious example, long watched by the good with ever-increasing admiration, that life is ours still."

The greatness attributed to the Prince is described as of that kind which results from a perfect balance of mental power and the moral qualities. Greatness of this kind, to be appreciated, needs to be known as a whole. It appeals not to the love of the marvellous, but "to our deeper sympathies and nobler aspirations." At first, the nation was strangely blind to the promise of excellence which the Prince Consort gave. This blindness the reviewer attributes not to malice, nor to intentional disrespect, but to the singular and anomalous situation, in respect to the Constitution of England, occupied by a Prince Consort. The precedents set by former Princes did not give the nation ground for large expectations.

"If any one had ventured to prophesy that this untried youth and foreigner

Digitized by Google

was to be foremost in the ranks of every form of intelligence, foremost in plans of active philanthropy, foremost in diligence, order and judgment, in purity of morals, and the practice of domestic virtue, he would have been scouted as a dreamer of dreams. A youth just twenty years of age, and yet fully furnished in every scholarly department of learning and taste; a modern German Prince, and yet the worshiper of constitutional laws and the friend of progress; inexperienced in the art of life, exalted in station and suddenly exalted in fortune, possessing great personal advantages, and ushered into a gay and luxurious court, and yet not one blot on his moral escutcheon; royal yet disdaining every royal road to attainment and every traditional royal right to self-indulgence. Surely we may be pardoned for not readily believing in a character which the history of Princes and mankind had doubted to be fabulous."

After some particulars of his descent from the best Protestant Princes of Germany, the reviewer recurs to the jealousies entertained by our "insular" people against the Prince, and the quiet and judicious mode in which he, wounding none of our constitutional susceptibilities, carved out for himself a path to usefulness and honour. The Prince's loyal love to the Queen, and the return of the feeling on her part, are next well described in relation to the Prince's position in England and his right to participate in whatever affected the welfare and progress of the nation.

An elaborate notice of the various addresses spoken by the Prince is introduced by these remarks:

"In a country where scarcely a day passes without examples of the oratory of the most gifted and practised of her children, it was no small test of a Prince, foreign in birth and education, to enter the lists of public speaking, and measure himself against a standard no less peculiar to ourselves than high in mark. But here again the lofty tone of the mind, in all its parts, ensured his success. Casting aside all ambition of personal display, he sought simply and grandly to fathom the principles of whatever subject he had in hand, bringing to bear upon it a profoundness of thought and unstudied nobility of language, which, for all the national self-complacency, will ever remain the newest thing an English public can hear. And the truth was mighty and always prevailed, and the most eloquent of his hearers acknowledged that a new grace, beyond the reach of art, had been won in their own national accomplishment. The man who sees clearly, thinks correctly, reasons profoundly, and knows largely, has power over all subjects fitted for the human mind to investigate. Wonder therefore ceases as admiration and respect rise, as we view the varied topics over which this gifted individual shewed equal power."

The Prince's first appearance as a public speaker in England was in 1840, when acting as President of the Society for the Extinction of Slavery. After large quotations from the speeches of the Prince, which fully justify the reviewer's encomiums, he says, "It would be difficult to cite any instance of the same amount of spoken words so entirely devoid of the element of superficiality." The writer presently remarks:

"Nature, no less than position, and far more still, had marked this mind out as a centre to others. No man of any particular form of intelligence ever looked back on an interview with the Prince, without feeling that beyond his own especial orbit of interest, he had caught glimpses of a large and consistently-working intellectual system. For a time, it is true, each professor of art or science believed that he had found a devotee to his own particular shrine; after a while each knew that the Prince's perfect comprehension of one was but the measure of his knowledge of all."

Digitized by Google

The reviewer dwells on the Prince's knowledge of military affairs, his taste for the fine arts and personal skill in drawing and music, his singular aptitude for our modes of public business, and his ability as a letter-writer. His letters are described as "clear, vigorous, entirely free from mannerism, and abounding in original ideas." The reviewer handles discreetly the presumed unpopularity of the Prince, and, while rebuking the "vulgar high" and "vulgar low" who discredited themselves by the detraction of a Prince whose merits they were incapable of appreciating, truly says that by the mass of the English nation he was "honoured, respected and beloved."

With these wise and eloquent words this admirable article concludes:

"He suffered injustice; he bore disappointment; but his joy no man taketh from him! Seen by the light which his peerless life has shed upon his position, it now appears the noblest that a noble mind could desire. His not the applause and homage, his not the pomps and the vanities of sovereignty; but his the wisdom and the forethought, the lofty, manly, Christian devotion, which surrounded a woman's crown, as with an earthly Providence. This has been a joint reign in all but the name; and let us pray that it may be so still; for not even death can sever that long intimacy of two hearts and two wills which God has joined together. Alone, the Royal Widow must bear in time to face her loving subjects; alone, her loving and most deeply-sorrowing subjects must bear to gaze upon her august person; but the knowledge of that example none can take from her or from us. For *his* sake the Queen is already sublimely struggling to fulfil her duties; for *his* sake shall we not doubly strive to do ours? We can conceive no higher human spectacle than that of our Sovereign Lady thus bowing her head to the will of God, and raising it again by the Divine aid. If we have loved her in her years of happiness, shall we not venerate her now? And this, too, will be *his* doing, who has done so much for her and for us! So that his influence is yet felt in the workings of that sorrow of which we venture to foresee the hallowed uses."

The Edinburgh Review, No. 233. January, 1862.

The No. opens with an account of the life and writings of William Paterson, a Scottish Presbyterian, an associate of John Locke, the founder of the Bank of England. Happily for the institution he established and the kingdom whose name it bears, he was too shrewd a man to confound intrinsic value and its symbol, and knew that no authority could give to any artificial medium of exchange a permanent value irrespective of the credit of the parties in whose name it was issued. William Paterson deserves to be remembered inasmuch as he devoted his talents to the solution of those important social problems which are involved in economical science. The second article gives us the substance of Mr. W. G. Sewell's "Ordeal of Free Labour in the British West Indies." Much interesting information is given respecting the transition state of the coloured people of the West Indies, who, if not born in slavery, are all descended from slaves, and are scarcely yet capable of self-government. Several generations must be given to work out the problem. The reviewer contests the soundness of Mr. Sewell's anticipation that the mulattos will form the future rulers and leaders in the West Indies, putting more faith in Anglo-Saxon vigour and perseverance than in African passion, and on physiological grounds doubting the permanence of the mulatto race. It is a remarkable fact in physiology that the mulatto, where there is no renewed intermixture

Digitized by Google

of Anglo-Saxon or of pure African blood, wastes and declines. The reviewer closes an interesting article by applying his principles to the case of slavery in America. There follow articles on the Science of Language, the Military Defence of the Colonies, and Felix Mendelssohn's Letters from Italy and Switzerland, of which an authorized translation by Lady Wallace is about to appear. Next we have an abstract of certain blue books on Lighthouses, the subject of Life-boats and Wrecks being tagged to it. If less statistical and more descriptive, the article would have been more generally read and probably not less useful. Then comes a very interesting account of the Mormons, founded on the travels of Jules Remy and of our own countryman, Captain Burton. The reviewer speaks of Remy's prefatory essay on the religious development of the American mind as executed both with earnestness of purpose and a breadth of impartiality. The Frenchman takes Joseph Smith as a type of the Mystic school of thought (the English pupils of that school will not relish the conjunction), Emerson of the Pantheistic, and Channing of the Rationalist school. The reviewer points out a very remarkable prophecy of Robert Southey, published in 1829 in his Colloquies, and fulfilled in the rise of Mormonism. The poet was led by the importance he attached to a powerful Church Establishment to anticipate the development of some new form of fanaticism and imposture on "that part of the Anglo-American Union into which the older States continually discharge the restless portion of their population, leaving laws and gospel to overtake it as they may." But the singular fact in Mormonism is, that it draws its constant levies of recruits, not from the American States, but from England and Wales, the country in which law is more respected than in any other on the face of the globe, and in which the Church system in which the poet put his faith is in full operation. Southey, were he alive, would doubtless argue, that as the Mormon levies are taken from the Dissenters, the fact confirms his philosophy.

"The continual increase of the Mormon population is supplied, not by the United States, but by emigrants from some of the most enlightened countries of Europe. The proportion of the native Anglo-American to the foreign born is said to be not one in ten. *Great Britain furnishes the largest proportion by five to one:* Germany few: Denmark and Switzerland a large quota. No Catholic country contributes its contingent with the exception of a casual relay from Italy. Sweden alone has attached penalties to the profession of the religion, and checked the emigration of its people by legal means. It is a wonderful fact that out of this England of ours should go forth annually to the Salt Lake City a large body of men and women, who from the modicum of property they carry with them may be assumed to be at least of the upper rank of agriculturists or artisans, and who from the very fact of the venture which they undertake, must be persons of some energy of will and superiority of character. We have no means of knowing distinctly the immediate influences brought to bear upon them, but we have reason to believe that the arguments in use are rather of an economical than of a religious character. The persons abducted are almost universally Dissenters, and Wales supplies a larger proportion than any other part of Great Britain. We believe that little novelty in matters of faith is inculcated, and peculiarities, such as 'the plurality' in marriage, only alluded to when they become matters of objection. In the same way the violent interpretation given to Scripture by Mormon expositors is probably revealed with much caution to the Bible-loving people of England, who would be somewhat shocked at first to be told that St. Peter

Digitized by Google

assassinated Ananias and Saphira, and that the indignant Apostles trampled Judas to death."

There can, we think, be little doubt that the magnet in Mormonism which has attracted so many to its institutions is its socialism. There are in our own country not wanting proofs of the delusive power of the socialistic idea, and of the sacrifices that multitudes among the uneducated or the partially educated are willing to make to realize it. How grossly the socialist principle is violated in the "City of the Saints" we need not stop to illustrate. Of the great body of the people under Mormon rule it is conceded that they are temperate, courageous and steadily industrious. In a country not naturally unfavourable to man, the results of habits such as these must be a large production of wealth and physical comfort.

Its polygamy was an after-thought in the Mormon system. In the original book of Doctrines and Covenants, 1841, it is ruled that "one man should have one wife, and one woman but one husband." It was but a few months after the promulgation of this decree that Joe Smith professed to have received from Heaven another and a different message. How rapidly the institution of polygamy grew among the Mormons is evidenced by these statistical returns, drawn from the census of 1858. There were residing at Utah 387 families with not less than 7 wives; 730 with not less than 5; 1100 with 4; and 1400 with not less than 2. The reviewer well remarks:

"Mormon polygamy will probably endure as long as Mormon rule, but will not survive it a day. It is the creation of priestly despotism, and will fall with it. The weakest believer in the progress of mankind can show no examples of the permanence of a system founded on a descent in the standard of morality deliberately adopted, and the result, not of passion, but of perverted reason. It was the saying of the man who has left the saddest fame of all notable men, 'that the mind of man, like the globe it inhabits, is ever one half in darkness, while the other half is exulting in the light:' but a society that accepts the abnegation of the higher elements of humanity, will soon be reduced entirely to the lower, or be absorbed into some other form. Already Brigham Young is compelled to preach against knowledge and literature, and Captain Burton allows that a large number of the younger and more enterprising men leave the colony for a larger and freer sphere of action."

What the future of the City of the Saints may be, it would require a bold prophet to foretel. If left alone (as now they have some chance) by the government of the United States, they may be split into rival factions by the intrigues of those who may hereafter essay to wield the power now in the hands of Brigham Young.

The 8th article has for its subject May's Constitutional History of England. The reviewer's narrative of the policy of the two last Georges and their effect on the constitution of the kingdom, forms a fit introduction to a tribute to the constitutional rule of Queen Victoria, and to the wisdom and patriotism of the Prince whose loss the nation now laments. After describing the political, and in some respects irresponsible, position of the late Prince Consort, the reviewer observes:

"Such a position would have become dangerous, and perhaps impossible had it not been maintained with consummate judgment, and a constant deference to the constitutional rights of the Ministers of the Crown. But although the Prince had on many subjects strong political convictions which he ex-

Digitized by Google

pressed and defended with great ability,—and indeed he seldom failed to form his own judgment on the political questions of the day,—yet he never stooped to promote his own views by underhand practices; he abhorred intrigue; he allowed no personal predilections to tempt him aside from the straight path; and his course throughout was as honest and patriotic as it was able and judicious. His influence was at once so general and so salutary that, like the pressure of the atmosphere, it was unfelt. He hit the exact mean on which authority rests in a free country, and he contributed to make the Crown act as the adjusting balance of our institutions at home and of our policy abroad. Fondly attached to his native, as well as to his adopted country, no object lay nearer to his heart than to support in Germany the cause of constitutional freedom and national unity, while he desired that the foreign influence of England should ever be employed to maintain the faith of treaties, the principles of public law, and the cause of gradual and rational progress. He judged these questions by the principles of a statesman rather than by the interests of a politician; and as his position had placed him beyond the region in which men contend for political power, he sought, without distinction of parties or persons, to apply his dignified, liberal, and honest rule of life to the smallest as well as the greatest objects to which he turned his clear and comprehensive mind."

The two other articles are on Mrs. Norton's new poem and on "Belligerents and Neutrals." The latter naturally diverges into the whole American question. The writer argues that the present condition of the American people is essentially revolutionary, and that this revolutionary type is not of very recent origin. After adducing instances in their domestic history, and in their treatment of foreign countries, especially our own, to prove that the respect of the citizens of America is not for law, but force, the reviewer continues:

"What are they all but proofs that the rulers of the American people have established their popularity and power on revolutionary appeals to the passions of the populace, rather than on the restraints and obligations of law and reason? Can any one wonder at these injuries to foreign nations, when in the very Senate of the United States, a man like Mr. Sumner, illustrious by his talents and his virtues, was struck down by a ruffian, who in his turn received the thanks of his fellow-citizens; and when another man, a red-handed assassin like Mr. Sickles, is acquitted by an American jury, and now actually commands a brigade in the army of the United States? When such things as these happen, and happen unavenged, they betoken the approach of a great convulsion, perhaps of the dissolution of society itself. Indeed the very same remark was made many years ago by Dr. Channing in a letter to the late Mr. Clay: 'Among us,' said that eminent man, 'a spirit of lawlessness pervades the community, which if not repressed threatens the dissolution of our present forms of society. The invasions of the right of speech and of the press by lawless force, oblige us to believe that a considerable portion of our citizens have no comprehension of the first principles of liberty. It is an undeniable fact that in consequence of these and other symptoms, the confidence of many reflecting men in our free institutions is very much impaired. Some despair. That main pillar of public liberty, mutual trust among citizens, is shaken. That we must seek security for property and life in a stronger government is a spreading conviction. Men who in public talk of the stability of our institutions whisper their doubts—perhaps their scorn—in private.' If this was the language of this great and virtuous man in 1837, what would he say in 1862?"

Would that the United States had some citizens as wise and fearless as Dr. Channing ever was to guide them out of the mazes of their political entanglement! Unhappily, the crisis in their history has hitherto

Digitized by Google

called out no great men to instruct their countrymen. Some men previously esteemed for their talents have dwindled into very little men indeed. Is this the consequence of the low and selfish aims of American policy both North and South of the Potomac?

Ears of Corn from various Sheaves: being Thoughts for the Closet. Second Edition. London—E. T. Whitfield, 178, Strand. 1862.

More wholesome and nourishing food for man's spiritual nature has never been selected than that proffered for sale in this admirable little book. It is full of thoughts that have grown out of the deepest experiences of some of the best and noblest souls. Having found their own way to a real communion with God, these writers become most efficient aids to such as are seeking Him who is the Perfection of all Truth, Beauty and Goodness—the Life of our highest life—to abide in whom is blessedness, to depart from whom is death. Not that this book is one of the elegantly-bound volumes of meditations and confessions, to be read in luxurious apartments, for the culture of a sentimental devoutness. It is, indeed, full of aids to devotion; but it abounds also with aids to the attainment of that practical Christian spirit which we need to sustain and animate us amid the details of our ordinary life, or when we are abroad labouring in behalf of truth and humanity. Its aim is to fix the religious affections on the Holy One, and then to bring them under the beneficent control of the higher reason and judgment, that they may be so developed as to consecrate the whole outward life. We scarcely know, indeed, whether it would prove more valuable to those who, in a disheartening sense of estrangement from God, need the thoughts of holier men to hint to them their unwatched weaknesses and unrepented sins, and to shew them the way of return to their Father, or to those who, having been made partakers of the spirit of the life that was in Christ, find incentives to the attainment of sweeter graces and nobler virtues in the religious experiences of those exalted characters towards whom all true souls have an upward look. We earnestly commend this volume to our readers, especially to our pastors who are seeking to diffuse silent helps to their work, as pre-eminently calculated to develop a healthy religious life in our communities. We should be glad to see this book reach, not only a second, but a twentieth edition.

A Defence of my Professional Character. By the Rev. Dunbar I. Heath, M.A., Vicar of Brading, &c. &c. 12mo. Pp. 199. London—Tallant and Co.

Mr. Heath appeals from the Court of Arches to common sense and simple justice, from Dr. Lushington to the people of England. Dissatisfied with the account of his opinions given by the advocates retained by the Bishop of Winchester and in part accepted by the Judge, he is resolved to place in the hands of all fair men, of all interested in Christianity, a plain exposition of his opinions upon those important subjects, for explaining which he has been condemned. Accordingly he gives, in a series of short chapters, the language of the Articles of the Church in English and Latin, and contrasts his own opinion thereon with that decreed by Dr. Lushington to be the grammatical and natural interpretation. He quotes various scriptures and passages from

Digitized by Google

Anglican divines in support of the position that, while Dr. Lushington is ignorant of their meaning, the Rev. D. I. Heath upholds and does not contradict the Thirty-nine Articles of his Church. He protests against the admission of Scotch Calvinism as the orthodoxy of the Church of England, and appeals in his own behalf to the opinions of "Platonizing divines in high station in the Church of England, not many in number, but eminent in talent and position."

Mr. Heath expresses his wonder that his little volume of Sermons, never published save in the town of Ryde, and of which up to the time of the proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court only 150 copies were circulated, should have been made the subject of a costly prosecution by "an aged Bishop, always hitherto considered most calm and cautious."

He puts the charge against him in a way that deserves the serious consideration of all those clergymen who teach doctrines inconsistent with *any* of the Articles or Creeds to which they declare their assent and consent.

"As a matter of fact the charge against me assumes the existence of a contract between me and the Venerable Church of England. It assumes rightly that I on my part have engaged to teach and advance our common Master's religion in some form consistent with the literal and grammatical meaning of certain formularies. The church court expels me on the ground that I have broken this engagement."

An important practical question will follow the convictions which seem to be almost things of course in our Ecclesiastical Courts. Are clergymen to take their own sense of the Articles or Creeds, or that which is pronounced by the Courts to be the grammatical and consequently legal sense? If any considerable number of the more thoughtful and liberal clergy feel themselves bound to accept the decision of the Court of Arches and Privy Council on this point, the result of these proceedings may have a very serious influence on the future character of the Church of England.

When, about fourteen years ago, the Church was convulsed by the throes of the clergy protesting against the appointment of Dr. Hampden to the Bishopric of Hereford, Lord Russell, in a letter which he addressed to the clergy of Bedford, told them that "if such means as have been taken to ruin the reputation of Dr. Hampden are to deprive a clergyman of those distinctions which our Church boasts of maintaining as the rewards of learning and piety, a fatal blow is struck at all profound inquiry, at all enlightened pursuit of truth, at all clerical independence."

Far more serious than the clerical brutum fulmen which assailed Bishop Hampden, are the prosecutions which in 1862 are directed through clerical instigation against the theological speculations of certain intelligent and learned clergymen. We already hear that the more distinguished men of the two Universities now frequently decline holy orders. Must the future ministers of the National Church be confined to those whose want of intelligence deprives subscription of all its difficulties, or to those traders in holy things who would subscribe 390 articles, if required, as carelessly as they now do 39?

We return to Mr. Heath's Defence of his Professional Character. There is something touching in these prefatory remarks:

"To be judged a heretic by a church court in the year 1861, if I have my conscience void of offence, and be provided with some means of living in the

Digitized by Google

place of that of which I am by law deprived, is personally but little painful. A heretic who suffers for the grand and glorious doctrine that Jesus Christ will do justice to all, both good and bad, is, by the very nature of his heresy, more happy in mind than a man who cannot bring himself to believe this comfortable doctrine. Better to be a heretic, believing and actively teaching this great eternal Verity, than an orthodox man who fears to embrace it. Such an heretic am I; and I am happy in mind; and, through my very persecutions, I have had a such large field opened to me for continual conversation on Divine things with all sorts of men, of all sorts of ranks and opinions, that I cannot help feeling myself, by the very necessity of my position, to be leading a useful life.

"Simply to deprive me of a Vicarage (which I built myself) in the Church of England, and not also to burn me, for preaching that all men, good and bad, will live under the Righteousness of God, may be considered as rather a progress in the principles of Him who has Himself introduced Judgement and Justice, or Righteousness, to the knowledge of the earth; and whose Spirit, now striving for that purpose, will gradually cause mankind to carry out, by their own conscious or engrafted faith, that Justice which He, by His faith, first introduced to our knowledge. . . . .

"I perceive a grand Truth. My defenders are kind enough to say it is a mere harmless eccentricity. My opponents say it is a criminal heresy. It is at any rate that on which my own most innermost spirit depends for its support in all social struggles and disheartenments. . . . .

"I have not been brought bodily to the stake. What is at stake in these happier days is the character of the man who is judged heretical. Character is an impression made by an individual in the course of time upon his brother men. If that impression be a deep one, causing a deep conviction that its producer is a wise and good man, then the marring and degradation of this character, or even a passing attack on it, produces an injury to society; much more to society than to the individual, when the conscience, the pleasures, and the means of the condemned himself are superior to the world's opinion. . . .

"I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that my character, my professional character, my character as a plain hard-working, straightforward, matter of fact Interpreter of the Holy Word of God to my brethren, is most grievously and seriously attacked by my condemnation in the church court of the Province of Canterbury. True, the sentence only touches my temporalities, true, my pleasures will be multiplied, my usefulness increased, my means of intercourse with society enlarged, and a Parliamentary career (?) perhaps opened to me by my enforced absence from my vicarage: but in technically defending my temporalities I am of course actually defending in many men's estimation my personal honour, dearer to man's eyes than life and wife. If I retired now without further defence I should in many men's eyes be dishonoured. Such dishonour would hurt society. Personally I care not one jot nor one tittle for this most truly honourable dishonour. Yet I know of no good reason why I should choose to submit to be dishonoured even in man's eyes, without an effort to prevent it. I see many reasons why such submission, in the present stirring epoch of man's history, would be most prejudicial and dishonourable."

The cost of the appeal which Mr. Heath is now prosecuting is necessarily heavy, and he invites the public who approve of his proceedings to subscribe to his defence fund, and intimates that subscriptions will be received at Messrs. Bosanquet and Co., 73, Lombard Street. Many who dissent from Mr. Heath's theological interpretations may yet be disposed to aid him, from respect for his integrity and a desire to see the National Church essentially Protestant and free. We anticipate only one result from all these proceedings, the affirmation in our Courts of Mr. Disraeli's hint that free inquiry is only for free inquirers, and therefore is a luxury not within the reach of the clergy of a subscription and creed-bound Church.

Digitized by Google

INTELLIGENCE.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH, WITH EDITORIAL NOTES.

Jan. 1. The year opened auspiciously for the Unitarian cause in England with the inauguration of the "Church of the Messiah," as the new place of worship is called, built by the Unitarian congregation recently worshiping in the New meeting-house, Birmingham. All things concurred to make the opening service a success. The devotional service of Mr. Bache, the honoured minister of the church, the noble sermon of Mr. Madge (which we hope to see in print), were all that could be desired. The day was for the season brilliant. A very fine congregation (including ministers from many districts) and a remarkably handsome collection gave becoming emphasis to the occasion. This new Unitarian church is well situated in the great thoroughfare from Birmingham to Edgbaston, and its architecture is, if not faultless, very striking. The spire is lofty and graceful, the entrance to the church exceedingly rich. The interior we were pleased to observe perfect in two important particulars, the transmission of light and sound. The cost of the building, about £12,000, has been, by the munificent liberality of the congregation, nearly, if not altogether, raised. The schools, which have exercised for more than half a century a not unimportant influence on the town of Birmingham, are not to be given up. While the Church of the Messiah will have its Sunday-school, the teachers of the old school have resolved to continue their labours in other premises in the old district, and are supported by contributions from various sources.

On the same day, in Sheffield, the foundation-stone was laid of a school-house in connection with the Upperthorpe chapel and congregation, of which Mr. Page Hoppe is the zealous pastor. It is a most gratifying fact that the congregation in Norfolk Street, under the genial influence of Mr. Brooke Herford, continues its zealous help to the sister congregation. The building is to be in the Early English style, to have but one story, 68 feet by 34, to accommodate 360 scholars, to cost £700 (£500 of which is already contributed), and to be completed before Midsummer.

Jan. 6. The annual meeting of the congregation worshiping in High-Pavement chapel, Nottingham, gave occasion to a pleasant, spirited and useful social meeting, at which 300 persons assembled. Another noble educational effort has been made by the congregation in the erection of school buildings at Pease Hill, at the cost of nearly £500, in which 217 Sunday scholars are taught. The congregation intend to make this the beginning of a mission Unitarian church, hoping to secure the services of some one who will be both schoolmaster and preacher. This is, we believe, the true way for our congregations in cities and populous towns to increase.

The anxiety which weighed during the first week of the year on the heart of the nation in relation to America and the intentions of its Government, is happily lightened, if not altogether removed, by the announcement that President Lincoln and his Cabinet consent, in deference to the demand of England, backed by the opinions of every European Government that has spoken on the subject, to give up the prisoners wrongfully seized when under the protection of the British flag. It would have been a blunder as well as a crime if, under such circumstances, America had committed itself to the perilous issues of a war with England. To see two nations, speaking the same tongue, professing the same religion, and bound together by a thousand historical and commercial ties, shedding each other's blood and involving each other in want and misery through political passion, would have been a spectacle so sad as to weaken our confidence in and hopes for humanity. Yet the war now raging between the North and South of the once United States, has in it the very elements of evil that we should ascribe to a war between ourselves and the States. When the utter hopelessness of a renewal of the Union is taken into the account, is it possible to exaggerate either the folly or the wickedness of the civil war? It has been hitherto said that war is the game of *kings*, played at the cost of their subjects. But revolutionary wars, like this in America, shew that the sovereign people may be as reckless of their own blood and treasure as the most ambitious kings.

The tidings of the public insolvency of the Northern States lets in a little feeble glimmer of hope on the dark scene, and people argue that without money the war must in no long time die out through mere exhaustion. The costliness of war is not all evil. It hinders greater evils. France, Austria, and in a lesser degree our own country, reveal the painful burthens that await a people given to war. But never did national history disclose with such

Digitized by Google

rapidity and with such startling effect the state of confusion and ruin into which war throws the finances of a nation. The sad part of the story is, that not they who commit the crime alone suffer. They leave to after generations an entail of national burthen and distress.

Jan. 11. In none of our congregations are more judicious and indefatigable friends of education, secular and religious, to be found than at Dean Row, Cheshire, one of our ancient Presbyterian foundations. To the neat and venerable chapel, so successfully renovated a few years ago through the exertions of Rev. John Colston, large and commodious school buildings are now added, at a cost of £600. A part of this amount is conditionally promised by the Committee of Privy Council, but the larger portion has been raised by subscription. On the completion of the building, and in celebration of the opening of the school under a suitable master, a social meeting was held this day, under the presidency of that earnest friend of education, Mr. Samuel Robinson. On the following Sunday, the occasion was improved in two sermons at Dean-Row chapel by Rev. W. Gaskell. Handsome collections were made, but help is yet required to supply the needful fittings of the school-rooms. The school-room is 37 feet by 20. There is a class-room, 16 feet by 18, with a gallery such as is approved in modern schools. There is also a teacher's house. One feature of especial interest in this proceeding is, that the land on which the new premises are constructed was given by some members of the Church of England.

Jan. 14. A new mission chapel was opened at Pepperhill, in the parish of Halifax and in the vicinity of Northowram, the scene of the self-denying labours of one of the saints in the calendar of English Nonconformity, Oliver Heywood. The religious service was conducted by Rev. R. L. Carpenter and Dr. Beard. The building will be used as a school-house as well as a chapel, and the best influences, it may be hoped, will radiate from it on the rough but right-hearted people of this mountain hamlet. The cost of the building is £450, of which sum nearly one-third has yet to be raised. Can our Associations and Fellowship Funds find a better object for help?

Jan. 15. The annual meeting of the Trustees of Manchester New College, London, was held in the former city. The Committee congratulated the friends of the College on the fact that it is "peacefully and prosperously performing the noble work for which it was founded." If the wish expressed by the Committee is fulfilled in the future history of the institution, and it prove "*the means of educating many faithful ministers of Christ*," the present state of peace and prosperity will be deservedly perpetuated. But the Committee and Professors must not interpret the silent acquiescence of many old friends of the College into actual approval of the theological instruction given therein to our future ministers.

Jan. 20. Our congregation at Bridport held a social meeting under the presidency of their minister, Mr. Short. The occasion was improved by speeches expository of Unitarianism, which is well described in the *Inquirer's* report as "the most Christian theology and the most practical religion." The Bridport congregation traces its origin to the labours and sufferings of Mr. Eaton, one of the ejected worthies of 1662.

Jan. 20—22. The proceedings of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board at Manchester have not fallen below their ordinary and high standard of interest. According to the report of one of the examiners (Rev. Henry Green), the institution evidenced its good results in the progress made by the young men themselves. Six students complete their course, of whom five go as ministers to the congregations at Lydgate, Yarmouth, Clover Street, Rochdale, Derby and Nantwich, and one undertakes a new district mission at Liverpool. The cost of the institution during the past year has exceeded the income from subscriptions by £250, but the donations given have supplied this deficiency, and leave a balance exceeding that of last year by £260. A dedication service at Cross-Street chapel, conducted by Rev. John Gordon and Rev. Samuel Bache, closed these very satisfactory proceedings.

Of all proceedings connected with what is called the "Belfast Controversy" during the past month, we omit designedly to make specific mention. We introduce the subject only to give utterance to the feeling, which we are assured extensively prevails, of deep regret at the continuance of this unnecessary and very painful discussion. It is lowering the influence of men whose good standing is of great importance to our churches, and it is sowing broadcast distrust and disunion in our denomination. For the sake of truth as well as charity, we would implore our ministers, professors and editors, one and all, to drop their arms, forget past quarrels, to unite where union is possible, and to agree to differ in peace and goodwill where conscientious differences are unavoidable.

Digitized by Google

OBITUARY.

Dec. 19, HERBERT, third son of Francis LUPTON, Esq., of Beechwood, Leeds, aged 8 years.

Dec. 20, at Dover, MARY, relict of the late Capt. John TILLY, R.N., aged 80 years.

Dec. 28, at 39, Dorset Square, London, MARGARET, wife of Joseph RIDGE, Esq., M.D., and eldest daughter of John Allen, Esq., late of Fir Grove, near Warrington, aged 45.

Dec. 29, at his residence, Ramsgate, Kent, SAMUEL SHARWOOD, Esq., in the 87th year of his age.

Jan. 5, at her residence, Gore Street, Manchester, aged 81 years, ELIZABETH, widow of the late John LYON, Esq., Greenfield House, Urmston.

Jan. 7, at Oldham, aged 36 years, ELIZABETH, wife of Mr. James TAYLOR.

Jan. 8, at Dover, ALBERT, second son of the late Mr. John PAY, of Buckland, near Dover, aged 35 years.

Jan. 9, at Rochdale, Rev. S. F. MACDONALD, aged 39 years. We trust to receive some account of this estimable and much-lamented minister.

Jan. 10, at Clifton Cottage, Monton, EMILY, the wife of George WADSWORTH, Esq., Jun., and eldest daughter of Rev. T. E. Poynting, of Monton, aged 25 years.

Jan. 10, aged 83 years, GEORGE WILLIAM MALLOWS, Esq., of Bury St. Edmunds.

Jan. 11, at Chesterfield, aged 40, HANNAH SCOTT, wife of Mr. James PEARSON, of Whittington Moor, near Chesterfield.

Jan. 12, at Rotherham, Rev. JACOB BRETTELL, for forty-three years minister of the Unitarian chapel in that town.

Jan. 14, in the 83rd year of her age, ABIGAIL, daughter of the late Mr. Joseph CARTER, of Laughton, Leicestershire.

Jan. 15, in London, LAURA MARIA, the beloved wife of John Bonham CARTER, Esq., M.P.

Jan. 16, at Somersall Hall, near Chesterfield, aged 16, ELIZA, second daughter of the late George WRIGHT, Esq., of Chesterfield.

Jan. 18, at Brighton, ELIZABETH, widow of the late Mr. Samuel FRANCIS, aged 83 years.

Jan. 20, at Greenbank, Greenock, Mr. WILLIAM CURTIS, aged 55 years.

At Farncomb, Mr. THOMAS ELLIS, late of Littleton, Guildford, in the 75th year of his age. This amiable and much-respected gentleman was son of a former minister of Mead Row, Godalming. Of the chapel there, his father had been one of the founders.

MARRIAGES.

Dec. 1, at the Elder-Yard chapel, Chesterfield, by Rev. Francis Bishop, Mr. WM. GLOSSOP to Miss MARY ANN BEARD, both of Chesterfield.

Dec. 5, in Strangeways chapel, Manchester, by Rev. Dr. Beard, Mr. JAMES HENDERSON to Miss MARY LANG WATSON, both of Manchester.

Dec. 8, at the Elder-Yard chapel, Chesterfield, by Rev. Francis Bishop, Mr. GEO. WOLDEN, of Chesterfield, to Miss ELIZA WRAGG, of Mansfield.

Dec. 12, at Cross-Street chapel, Manchester, by Rev. William Gaskell, M.A., JOSEPH ASHWORTH, Esq., of Pendleton, to AGNES, daughter of Wm. TATE, Esq., of the Crescent, Salford, and granddaughter of the late Rev. Wm. Tate, of Chorley.

Dec. 25, at the Great meeting-house, Coventry, by Rev. G. Heaviside, B.A., Mr. JAMES LOWE to Miss LUCY LEE, both of Coventry.

Dec. 26, at Bury, by Rev. John Wright, Mr. THOMAS NUTTALL, of Lomax's, to Miss MARTHA NUTTALL, of Bury.

Dec. 27, at the Great meeting, Leicester, by Rev. C. C. Coe, Mr. JOHN M. COOK to EMMA, eldest daughter of Mr. T. W. HODGES, both of Leicester.

Jan. 1, at the General Baptist chapel, Horsham, Mr. THOMAS EVERSHED, Jun., of Billingshurst, to MARY, only surviving daughter of Mr. William KENSETT, of Horsham.

Jan. 1, at the Unitarian General Baptist chapel, Chatham, by Rev. W. H. Quinn, Mr. THOMAS SWAN to Miss LESSEY, both of Chatham.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCVII.] MARCH, 1862. [VOL. XVIII.

AIDS TO FAITH.*

THE swarm of controversial writings of every form and magnitude which issued from the press as soon as the theological world discovered the existence of the "Essays and Reviews," remained, as our readers are aware, unnoticed in our pages. Very few of them appeared with such credentials as to claim examination at the hands of those who looked at the question only from the scientific side; while all were alike tainted with the inherent vice of theological controversy. To prove that Dr. Williams had made a blunder in Hebrew criticism—to find a weak place in Mr. Powell's metaphysical panoply—to launch a bitter sarcasm at Mr. Wilson's place in the Church, or to hound an eager pack of bibliolatrists upon Mr. Jowett,—might be a triumph dear to the heart of many an evangelical champion, who in return would not fail of his reward, in the assurance from pew and press that he had utterly routed the sceptic host, and once more saved the emperilled Church. But to critics who desire to mark the slow progress and revolution of opinions, all this was no better than an idle beating of the air. It only proved, what was very well known before, that a large party in all English churches held in abhorrence the opinions expressed in the Essays; and that in seven brief treatises on weighty theological topics, written by seven different men, it was possible to find inconsistencies or even errors of statement. Now, however, in the volume before us, the controversy has really taken a step in advance. It consists of nine essays, by eight distinguished divines of the Church of England, not specifically taking up the same points as the "Essays and Reviews," yet covering, for the most part, the same ground. *That* was a deliberate expression of opinion by a certain party in the Church; *this* is an expression of opinion, equally deliberate, by another party, firmly and conscientiously opposed to the first. Although in the order of its publication controversial, in its method, and to a large extent in its tone, it is didactic. Had the "Essays and Reviews" never been written, it would have deserved and received the careful attention of scholars.

* Aids to Faith: a Series of Theological Essays, by several Writers. Edited by William Thomson, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. 8vo. Pp. 469. London—Murray. 1861.

Digitized by Google

It is a learned, moderate and religious exposition of some of the leading principles of orthodox English Christianity.

The first essay, "On Miracles as Evidences of Christianity," by Prof. Mansel, answers to Mr. Baden Powell's article in the "Essays and Reviews." The second, "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity," by Dr. Fitzgerald, who has just been translated from the Bishopric of Cork to that of Killaloe, pursues in part the track of Mr. Pattison. An essay by Dr. M'Caul on "The Mosaic Record of Creation," one by Dr. Ellicott, the new Dean of Exeter, on "Scripture and its Interpretation," and one by the Rev. F. C. Cook on "Ideology and Subscription," are plainly intended as antidotes to those of Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Jowett and Mr. Wilson respectively. The remaining papers, which it is not possible to pair off with any in the heretical volume, are the third, "On Prophecy," by Dr. M'Caul; the sixth, "On the Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch," by Prof. Rawlinson; the seventh, "On Inspiration," by Prof. Browne; and the eighth, on "The Death of Christ," by the editor.

Before proceeding to any detailed account and criticism of these essays, we desire at once to acknowledge their prevailingly courteous and moderate tone. The references to "Essays and Reviews" are few in number, and in expression neither angry nor sarcastic. There is, it is true, no affectation of scientific indifference about them; the contest is not a mere passage-at-arms where a laurel wreath is the only prize of victory, but a battle for hearth and altar; and the magnitude of the issue must needs be spoken of in grave and weighty words. But there is no personal inuendo, no ascription of motives, no calling of hard names. And while the literary power displayed in the several essays is, as might be expected, very various, all are clearly and soberly expressed, and one or two rise to a considerable height of force and eloquence.

It is, however, not to be denied that in a volume of this kind the editor ought either to abdicate his function altogether, or to perform it more completely than is the case in this volume or in its more celebrated prototype. Nothing has more excited our critical amazement than the various arguments which have been employed to shew that the "Essays and Reviews" ought to be considered as an organic whole, in which every contributor is really responsible for every contribution. Mr. Powell's unfortunate essay, which stood alone among the rest, the product of a different tendency of thought, the representative of a peculiar philosophy, ought surely to have been sufficient evidence of the contrary. Those who read the "Essays and Reviews" with minds already instructed on the subjects of which it treated, and trained to independent reflection upon them, would no doubt be able to take up and to assimilate the mental food which was there so

Digitized by Google

liberally provided; but we cannot understand how the book should have had other than a confusing and bewildering effect on readers whom it admitted for the first time to the regions of theological speculation. But what was, to some extent, a weakness in attack, becomes a far greater weakness in defence. The wall of the fortress is not completely portioned out among the garrison: here a rampart, there a battlement, is left without a guard, while upon others, not more important, the defence is doubled. The book has no order: if we are called upon to account for the fact that "Miracles" occupy the van and "Interpretation" the rear, we can only suppose that Mr. Mansel is a ready workman, and that Dean Ellicott has been busy with his new preferment. In many cases, in which important theories actually receive adequate discussion, it is not till long after every necessary inference has been drawn from them: the question of the authority of Scripture is never touched till the end of the book, yet is everywhere assumed from the beginning. We can hardly guess what the editor's duty has been, except perhaps to bring the whole volume up to a reputable standard of orthodoxy. If he had himself laid out an orderly and systematic plan of the work, and superintended the execution of each portion of the whole by a competent workman, he would have produced a volume which might have been a far more efficient "aid to faith" than this, with all its relative merits, can ever be.

Another more serious defect of the work, which can only be partly accounted for by the multiplicity of its authorship, is, that more than one fundamental question receives but a partial discussion. The several writers perpetually touch upon topics which, if accurately investigated, lead to deeper depths either than they know of or are willing to explore. So marked is this characteristic, as almost to warrant the inference that these writers, learned and thoughtful as they undoubtedly are, are yet unacquainted with the real conditions of the controversy in which they are engaged. Antecedently to discussion, there is no common ground for them and their opponents. Nothing can be assumed; everything must be settled by distinct agreement. When Churchman argues with Churchman, or Churchman with orthodox Dissenter, the Scriptures at least are a court of appeal recognized by both sides, and the procedure by which the decision of the court is invoked is the same. But it is the peculiarity of this contest (as indeed of our own contests with orthodoxy) that the contending parties accept in a different sense the principles which lie at the bottom of all religious controversy, and that every argument, on either side, must be firmly attached to some fundamental assumption. It is a fight, not between two developments of one system, but between two quite diverse systems of theology: a great gulf separates the hostile armies,

Digitized by Google

across which but few missiles on either side reach their mark. A thoughtful Unitarian would read a large part of this volume without feeling himself within the grasp of its reasonings. He might acknowledge their force and their coherence, but would destroy them by denying their premisses. To those who stand within their range, they may prove a "sharp sword of the spirit;"—to him, "telum imbelle, sine ictu."

To support this statement by instances. The defender of the infallibility of scripture always finds the case of the Old weaker than that of the New Testament. It becomes, therefore, a matter of importance to knit, if possible, the two together, and to concentrate the weight of the whole structure upon the strongest point. There are more ways than one of effecting this object: the historical development of Christianity from Judaism; prophecy; the theory of type and antitype; and that to which we desire at present to draw attention—the quotations from the Old in the New Testament, especially those which the evangelists put into the mouth of Christ. To these quotations the writers of "Aids to Faith" make a perpetual appeal. If Matthew quotes from Hosea, "Out of Egypt have I called my son," it is plain proof that a double meaning exists in the simplest prophetic utterance; if Paul finds in Sarah and Hagar an "allegory" of "the two covenants," the whole theory of type and antitype is held to be established; if Christ applies to himself a declaration of the Psalmist, Messianic prophecy is set up on a foundation which it were impious to assail. Nay, questions of authenticity which were altogether strange to the biblical ages are imported into them by these critics, and "apostles, prophets, confessors, our Blessed Lord Himself," are made to bear witness to the "Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch." Yet all these inferences, whatever their intrinsic value, are dependent upon the answers to be given to a prior series of questions, to which no allusion is here made. And these questions themselves are of two kinds, as the quotations which they affect fall into two classes. In the case of Paul, whose undoubted writings we possess, we have to examine the quotations themselves, with a view to determining for what purpose and according to what method they were made. Did he use phrases and appeal to examples of Holy Writ by way of authority, or of argument, or of illustration? Did he quote from the original or from the Septuagint, from the parchment-roll or from memory? What are we to say to citations which we cannot find at all in the Old Testament, or to others which are plainly made up of two or more passages, or to others, again, where, from defect of recollection or some other cause, the original words are misquoted? A careful and candid study of these various questions would, we should think, make the inferences which are drawn from the apostle's use of the Jewish Scriptures a little more cautious; while we have some

Digitized by Google

right to expect at least a statement of opinion in regard to them, before so confident an appeal is made to the evidence which these quotations are supposed to furnish. But with respect to the words of Christ, another and still more difficult series of considerations asks our attention. We no longer have the words of our authority at first hand. To put the question upon even the same level as that of the Pauline quotations, we must suppose the infallible accuracy of the evangelical narrative. Every debate as to the authorship and genuineness of the Gospels—the similarity of the three and the difference of the fourth—the influence of the historian's personality upon the history—the possibility that the disciples may half unconsciously have put their own opinions and prejudices upon the lips of the Lord—rises into view. One of our authors starts back in horror from the supposition that Matthew may have entertained incorrect ideas on the subject of prophecy; but we are afraid that bold sceptics might be found who—all these preliminary questions settled—might deem it not essential to the character even of Christ that he should be infallible on points of Hebrew criticism. We have pushed the argument to its legitimate result: in a work which professes to deal with theological difficulties thoroughly, it ought, whatever its conclusions, to cover all these points. But the theology of the "Aids to Faith" is like the world according to the Indian cosmogony: the earth upon the elephant (we forget the exact order of the mythical beasts), the elephant upon the tortoise, the tortoise upon the serpent, and then the emptiness of arbitrary assumption.

Again, throughout the volume are frequent and somewhat scornful allusions to that "verifying faculty" which has played an important part in this controversy. However numerous and great the sins of the Essayists, none has proved to be greater than the hints which they let drop as to the existence of a criterion of revelation applicable by human intelligence. It is easy to put this doctrine in a form which so offends every prejudice of orthodoxy, as to ensure its instant and angry rejection. Of what use revelation, if man is to decide whether he will accept it or no? What possibility of objective certainty if all truth, even the highest, is to be tried by a subjective standard? How shifting and uncertain the test, and yet how lofty its pretensions! On the one side, "the Word made flesh;" on the other, the mind of man, limited in power at the best, and perpetually darkened by passion, led astray by pride, weakened by prejudice! And thus, without going so far as to assert the absolute incapacity of unassisted human reason to comprehend spiritual truth, or the necessary contrariety of nature and of grace, our authors push home the claims of revelation, and almost succeed in fixing a character of overweening presumption and folly upon the co-ordinate claims of reason. Once more, a statement of fundamen-

Digitized by Google

tal principles would have given a logical force to the arguments of this volume to which they cannot else pretend. A series of the most important questions in religious philosophy underlie the points which are here so easily assumed,—questions which must be answered if the subsequent procedure of reasoning is to have any power of persuasion at all. There are two factors, present in greater or less degree, in every act or process of revelation—a revealing God and a percipient mind; and revelation is accomplished only by the concurrent activity of both. In proportion as the revelation is mediate or immediate, the respective shares of God and man in the process will be greater or less; when the Infinite Spirit bends down upon the soul of prophet or apostle, the human element may be reduced almost to zero; when a critic, at the distance of many centuries, investigates the records of revelation made to others, and estimates the reality of the fact by the force of purely external evidence, the same element is indefinitely increased. And hence the necessity, here and elsewhere, of a theory as to the proper function of reason in matters of religion. We may be able to shew that the human intellect ought to be confined to the estimate of historical proofs of the *reality* of revelation, while it opens itself in passive receptivity to the *matter* of its teachings; or we may be led to admit the necessity of personal and independent judgment upon the contents as well as the credentials of revelation. But the depths of this great question are not to be glided over on the frail ice of assumption. We have a right to ask, why at this point, and at no other, we are to cry, Halt! to the intellectual faculties which have brought us so far on our way.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall proceed to the estimate and analysis of the several papers of which this volume is composed, believing that thus we shall perform the task entrusted to us in the way most agreeable to our readers. The various essays will, however, engage our attention in a very different degree.

The masterpiece of the whole volume is undoubtedly the first essay, that of Mr. Mansel, "On Miracles as Evidences of Christianity." Without being ready to endorse all its statements and arguments, we are prepared to characterize it as a most thoughtful and in some respects original contribution to a great controversy. Of its style we need say no more than that it is worthy of the matter: it is clear, simple and strong; not muddied by unnecessary and disturbing metaphor, and rising occasionally to a grave and earnest eloquence. The following is the course of Mr. Mansel's argument.

He begins by the statement, that although different believers may differently estimate "the exact position of miracles among the evidences of Christianity," "without prejudice to their common belief," this is not the case when the question relates

Digitized by Google

"to their reality as facts, and as facts of a supernatural kind." With the miracles, Christianity stands or falls. The veracity of the worker of miracles, whether Christ or an apostle, cannot be reconciled with any natural explanation of the fact. "The most plausible of these natural explanations of miraculous phenomena deals the death-blow to the moral character of the teacher, no less than to the sensible evidence of his mission." But then the miracles "can only be judged in connection with the scheme of which they form a part, and by the light of all the collateral evidence which that scheme is able to furnish." Take them in connection with Christ, with all the circumstances predictive of and attendant upon his public ministry, and the most reasonable course is to accept his own statement of their character and origin. That statement is in itself a testimony to miracles of quite a different kind from any which can be afforded by a mere bystander; and if accepted in regard to one miracle, removes any "special antecedent improbability" which may be supposed to attach to the remainder. While to Christ, and so to the reality of his wonderful works, the whole of his relation to the history of the world bears witness: if they were exceptional, so was he; and each accords with the other.

"It is scarcely necessary to state how much this argument is strengthened when it is addressed to one who believes, no matter on what grounds, in any of the fundamental articles of the Christian Faith. I do not speak of one who believes in the narrative of the Gospels; for to such an one the miracles are not matters of question; but of one who in any sense believes in Christ as the Redeemer of mankind, though doubting some of the records of His earthly life. If God has seen fit to redeem the world by Christ and by Christ alone, what marvel if the history of Christ and of the dispensation preparatory to Christ exhibits signs and wonders such as no other history can claim? The antecedent probability, in this case, is for the miracles, not against them. It is to be expected that an event unique in the world's history should be marked by accompaniments partaking of its own character. The miracles are not every-day events, because the redemption of mankind is not an every-day event; they belong to no cycle in the recurring phenomena of nature, because Christ has not often suffered since the foundation of the world. Round this great fact of man's redemption the accessory features of that wondrous narrative are grouped and clustered as around their proper centre; no longer the uncouth prodigies of the kingdom of Nature, but the fitting splendours of the kingdom of Grace. It was meet that He who came as the conqueror of sin and death, who had power to lay down His life, and power to take it again, should come also as the Lord of Body and the Lord of Spirit, having power over the elements of matter and over the thoughts of men's minds; foretold by predictions which no human wisdom could have suggested, testified to by works which no human power could have accomplished. Viewed as part of the scheme of Redemption, the marvels of the Scripture narrative are no longer isolated and unmeaning anomalies, but a fore-ordained and orderly system of powers, working above the ordinary

Digitized by Google

course of nature because their end is above the ordinary course of nature. The incongruity, the anomaly, would be if they were not there —if the salvation of the souls of men were to be brought about by no higher means than those which minister to their bodily appetites and material comforts. The daily wants of the individual, or the progressive culture of the race, may be provided for or advanced by laws which work unceasingly from day to day, and from generation to generation; but we seek no recurring law of the Scripture miracles, because we expect no recurrence of that fact to which all Scripture bears witness." Pp. 10, 11.

The real question, Mr. Mansel goes on to say, is as to the *impossibility* of miracles. And this divides itself into two parts; the first of which "relates to the position occupied by miracles with reference to experience and to the empirical laws of matter;" the second, "to their position with reference to philosophical conceptions of God's nature and attributes." Again: "The argument which denies the possibility of miracles on the ground of the uniformity of nature, may be considered under two heads: first, as regards the general conception of a system of natural laws; and secondly, as regards the special experience of the mode in which those laws are manifested." The former may be fairly stated in the words of Hume's celebrated dictum, which, observes Mr. Mansel, "was just as strong or just as weak at the day when it was written as at the present time." If there be any change at all effected by the progress of science, it is in favour of the miraculous theory; inasmuch as the number of unknown causes is perpetually diminishing, without bringing us nearer to the possibility of performing Christ's works. More than this:

"The appearance of a comet, or the fall of an aërolite, may be reduced by the advance of science from a supposed supernatural to a natural occurrence; and this reduction furnishes a reasonable presumption that other phenomena *of a like character* will in time meet with a like explanation. But the reverse is the case with respect to those phenomena which are narrated as having been produced by *personal agency*. In proportion as the science of to-day surpasses that of former generations, so is the improbability that any man could have done in past times, by natural means, works which no skill of the present age is able to imitate. The two classes of phenomena rest in fact on exactly opposite foundations. In order that natural occurrences, taking place without human agency, may wear the appearance of prodigies, it is necessary that the cause and manner of their production should be *unknown;* and every advance of science from the unknown to the known tends to lessen the number of such prodigies by referring them to natural causes, and *increases* the probability of a similar explanation of the remainder. But on the other hand, in order that a man may perform marvellous acts by natural means, it is necessary that the cause and manner of their production should be *known* by the performer; and in this case every fresh advance of science from the unknown to the known *diminishes* the probability that what is unknown now could have been known in a former age."—Pp. 14, 15.

Digitized by Google

But a miracle is not "a violation of the laws of nature." "It is simply the introduction of a new agent, possessing new powers, and therefore not included under the rules generalized from a previous experience. Its miraculous character .... consists in the fact that the powers in question are supposed to be introduced for a special purpose, and to be withdrawn again when that purpose is accomplished, and thus to be excluded from the field of future observation and investigation." "So far, then, as a miracle is regarded as the operation of a special cause, producing a special effect, it offers no antagonism to that general uniformity of nature, according to which the same effects will always follow from the same causes. The opposition between science and miracle, if any exist, must be sought in another quarter; namely, in the assumption .... that the introduction of a special cause is itself incredible." Such incredibility is sought to be proved by the infinitely nice adjustment of all natural forces, which have been so arranged from the beginning as to render the conception of a disturbing power, proceeding from the original Source of law and order, absolutely impossible. To this, the sufficient answer is the free will of man. "Deny the existence of a free will in man, and neither the possibility of miracles nor any other question of religion or morality is worth contending about. Admit the existence of a free will in man, and we have the experience of a power analogous, however inferior, to that which is supposed to operate in the production of a miracle, and forming the basis of a legitimate argument from the less to the greater." There is "an elasticity, so to speak, in the constitution of nature, which permits the influence of human power on the phenomena of the world to be exercised or suspended at will, without affecting the stability of the whole. We have thus a precedent for allowing the possibility of a similar interference of a higher will on a grander scale." "The fundamental conception which is indispensable to a true apprehension of the nature of a miracle, is that of the distinction of mind from matter; and of the power of the former, as a personal, conscious and free agent, to influence the phenomena of the latter." And Mr. Mansel then proceeds, in the following passage, to draw out the true relation of miracles to natural law:

"If, indeed, we include, under the term *nature*, all that is potential, as well as all that is actual, in the constitution of the world—all that can be brought about in it by divine power, as well as all that is brought about in it by physical causes,—in such an extended sense of the term, a miracle, like any other occurrence, may be included within the province of nature. We may, doubtless, believe that God, from the beginning, so ordered the constitution of the world as to leave room for the exercise of those miraculous powers which He foresaw would at a certain time be exercised; just as He has left similar room for the exercise, within narrower limits, of the human will. In this sense, some of the

Digitized by Google

scholastic divines maintained, with reason, that a miracle is contrary to nature only in so far as nature is regarded as an active manifestation, not in so far as it is regarded as a passive recipient of power. If this distinction is once clearly understood, the question, whether miracles may be represented as the result of *law*, or not, is a mere verbal question, which is only important from its liability to be mistaken for a real one. Properly speaking, a natural effect is not produced by a law, but by an agent acting according to a law. Every natural phenomenon has its physical cause in some antecedent natural phenomenon which it regularly follows; and the *laws of nature* are merely classifications of some of these sequences with others of a similar character; or, as they have been aptly called, 'the uniformities which exist among natural phenomena, when reduced to their simplest expression.' In this sense, miracles cannot be referred to a natural law, known or unknown; for they do not resemble any sequence of one sensible phenomenon from another; nor can any sensible phenomenon or group of phenomena be pointed out, or even supposed to exist, the occurrence of which would be invariably followed by such results. But if the term *law* be used in a different sense, to denote a method or plan conceived in the mind of an intelligent Being; and if, by referring miracles to a law, no more is meant than that they, like other events, formed part of God's purpose from the beginning, and were the result, not of sudden caprice, but of a preordained plan, by which provision was made for them, that they should be wrought at their proper time and place without disturbing the economy of the universe,—such an expression, allowing for the necessary imperfection of all human terms when applied to divine things, is perhaps the most true and reverent conception of these events which we are capable of forming during this present life; though, like other analogies transferred from the human mind to the Divine, it is the object rather of religious belief than of philosophical speculation."—Pp. 21—23.

The second part of the argument then proceeds to vindicate "the assumption that we are justified in regarding the visible world as under the government of a personal God, and in speaking of His acts and purposes in language which implies an analogy between the Divine mind and the human." And the point upon which Mr. Mansel chiefly and with great force insists is, that the idea of God which we derive from the physical world, is necessarily inadequate and incomplete, and needs both interpretation and correction from the side of our self-knowledge. Mind affords a surer image of God than matter. Our idea of law comes out of our personal consciousness of duty; we discern causation "in the productive energy of the personal will;" our conception of order is due to the notions of unity and totality which we derive from "the immediate perception of the one indivisible Self, and its several means of conscious existence." And we apply to the resolution of the problems of the external world the knowledge which we thus gain by self-inspection.

"Without this action of mind upon its objects, the little world of each man's knowledge would be, not a Cosmos, but a Chaos,—not a system of parts in mutual relation to each other, but an endless succes-

Digitized by Google

sion of isolated phantoms, coming and going one by one. It is from this little world of our own consciousness, with its many objects, marshalled in their array under the rule of the one conscious Mind, that we are led to the thought of the great universe beyond,—that we conceive this also as a world of Order, and as being such by virtue of its relation to an ordering and presiding Mind. Design, Purpose, Relation, of parts to a whole, of means to an end,—these conceptions, borrowed from the world of mind, can alone give order and unity to the world of matter, by representing it as moulded and governed by a ruling and purposing Mind, the centre and the source of that relation which mind does not take from matter, but confers upon it. Through this alone can Chaos be conceived as Cosmos; through this alone can the Many point to the One."—P. 26.

From this, then, Mr. Mansel draws the following conclusion:

"From the above principles it follows (to use the words of Sir W. Hamilton) 'that the universe is governed not only by physical but by moral laws;' and 'that intelligence stands first in the absolute order of existence—in other words, that final preceded efficient causes.' But this involves, as a consequence, that the question concerning the possibility or probability of a miracle is to be judged, not merely from physical, but also, and principally, from moral grounds; not merely from the evidence furnished by the phenomena of the material world, but also from that furnished by the religious nature of man, and by his relation to a God to whom that nature bears witness. It is altogether an erroneous view to represent the question between general law and special interposition as if it rested on mechanical considerations only,—as if it could be judged by the difference between constructing a machine which, when once made, can go on continuously by its own power, and one which, at successive periods, requires new adjustments. The miracle is not wrought for the sake of the physical universe, but for the sake of the moral beings within it; and the question to be considered is not whether a divine interposition is needed to regulate the machinery of nature, but whether it is needed or adapted to promote the religious welfare of men. If the spiritual restoration of mankind has in any degree been promoted by means of a religion professing to have been introduced by the aid of miracles, and whose whole truth is involved in the truth of that profession, we have a sufficient reason for the miraculous interposition, superior to any that can be urged for or against it from considerations derived from the material world. The very conception of a *revealed* as distinguished from a *natural* religion implies a manifestation of God different in kind from that which is exhibited by the ordinary course of nature; and the question of the probability of a miraculous interposition is simply that of the probability of a revelation being given at all. In the words of Bishop Butler, 'Revelation itself is miraculous, and miracles are the proof of it.'"—Pp. 28, 29.

The concluding part of the essay is occupied with the kindred question as to the value of miracles as evidences of religion. The analysis of the main argument, which we have already given, has extended to so great a length, that we have no room to spare for the steps of Mr. Mansel's proof, "that miracles are employed to prove not the truth of the doctrine, but the autho-

Digitized by Google

rity of the teacher; and the authority being established, the truth of the doctrine follows from it." To those who are acquainted with the present state of the controversy, this sentence will sufficiently indicate our author's position. And the whole essay is brought to a close in the following eloquent statement of the influence upon scientific culture of the study of the Scriptures:

"To these remarks, which are applicable to every age and race of men to whom the Christian evidences may come, it may perhaps not be inappropriate to add a further observation having a more especial reference to ourselves. The very attacks which have been made, in the supposed interests of science, upon the miraculous element of the Gospel narrative, may themselves serve, if rightly considered, to give to that very element a new significance, and to point to a moral purpose more discernible now than of old. An age of advanced physical knowledge has its especial temptations, no less than its especial privileges. Few indeed, it is trusted, will be found to repeat what one great scientific teacher of the present century has been found to assert, that the heavens declare, not the glory of God, but only the glory of the astronomer. Yet this bold and profane language is only the extreme expression of a tendency against which an age like the present has especial need to watch and pray. Against such a tendency it is no small safeguard that men of science should be trained from their earliest childhood in records which at every page tell of the personal presence of Him by whom all things were made, manifested in direct control over the delegated workings of His visible creation. It is but one form of His perpetual presence with His Church, that in founding a Faith destined to ally itself with the intellectual cultivation of all succeeding generations, He should have founded it in such a manner as to furnish, in the record of its origin, a lesson of the spirit in which that cultivation should be pursued, and a safeguard against the perils to which it is especially exposed. If there are times when the very vastness of the material system which science discloses seems to thrust the Author of all to an almost infinite distance from us;—if there are times when we feel almost tempted to echo the wish of the poet, to be 'a Pagan suckled in a creed outworn,' so that we might but have a clearer sight of the presence of Deity among the phenomena of nature;—if there are times when the heaven that is over our heads seems to be brass, and the earth that is under us to be iron, and we feel our hearts sink within us under the calm pressure of unyielding and unsympathizing Law, as those of the disciples of old sank within them under the stormy violence of wind and wave;—at such times we may learn our lesson and feel our consolation, as we turn to those vivid pictures which our Sacred Story portrays of the personal power of the Incarnate God visibly ruling His creation; and may hear through them the present voice of Him who spake on the waters, 'Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid.'"—Pp. 39, 40.

If we seem to our readers to have analyzed Mr. Mansel's contribution to this volume with undue minuteness, it has been because we believe it to possess a permanent philosophical and theological value. There are parts of it to which we might justly have taken exception, especially the passage in which he

Digitized by Google

endeavours to prove that the evidence in favour of any miracle necessarily removes all from the reach of special criticism; and so not only places all the miracles of the New Testament on the same level of credibility, but lifts those of the Old to a position of equal honour at their side. But we have not wished to chequer by any minute, even if just, criticism, the expression of our deep interest and sincere admiration.

Of the other papers contained in this volume, we shall give some general, and necessarily brief, account on another occasion.

MEMOIR OF THE REV. MAXWELL DAVIDSON.

A BRIEF memoir of the Rev. MAXWELL DAVIDSON, the late highly-esteemed minister of the Unitarian congregation at Wareham, Dorsetshire, will excite interest, especially in those who seek the extension of the great truths of Unitarian Christianity, in the promotion of which in Australia he acted so conspicuous a part. In the future history of that colony, it will be considered no small honour to have been the first to proclaim in its scriptural integrity and simplicity the great truth, that "this is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." Many, we believe, will desire to peruse some memorial of him, to whose zeal, courage and discretion, under Providence, they owe it, that, saved from the deadening influence of unbelief, they are enabled to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences, apart from the slavery of human superstition and human creeds.

The Rev. Maxwell Davidson was born in 1809, in the parish of Killinchy, county Down. He was descended from a class in society which has supplied many ministers of the gospel, his father being a respectable farmer, in the occupation of a farm which had been in the family for four generations. The family was of Scotch extraction, and had settled in Ireland in 1641. The name of his mother (who also was Scotch) was Douglas. He received his school education under the Rev. Thomas Read, of Killinchy, a superior classical scholar, who had been educated at an academy under the late Dr. Moses Nelson, and his son, the Rev. Thomas Nelson. He went to the college department of the Royal Belfast Institution in 1828, where, after passing through the course with credit, he received, in 1831, the general certificate, which is equivalent to a degree in Arts. Leaving college for a time, he occupied for four years the situation of resident and general assistant in a most respectable boarding academy at Crumlin; and as the venerable Principal, the Rev. Nathaniel Alexander, was then advanced in years and exceedingly infirm, the whole responsibility of the tuition and superin-

Digitized by Google

tendence generally devolved on Mr. Davidson. On his return to the Belfast Institution for the completion of his theological course, he was engaged for a year as a resident and chief assistant in Dr. Montgomery's boarding and day school at Belfast, where he acquitted himself with much fidelity and success. Being brought up as a Calvinistic Presbyterian under an orthodox presbytery, he studied theology in 1837 at Belfast under Dr. Hanna, a Trinitarian. In the pursuit of his theological researches, he saw reason to give up the religious views in which he had been educated, and at a time when he had much promise of popularity and pecuniary emolument in connection with the Calvinistic Presbyterians, joined the Unitarians. He was licensed to preach the gospel by the Remonstrant Presbytery of Bangor, Aug. 15, 1839. A letter from the well-known and respected Rev. Fletcher Blakely to the Rev. Robert Aspland, in which Mr. Davidson is described as "of excellent attainments and exemplary conduct, a good classical scholar, and a distinguished student of the Belfast College for five full sessions," was the means of introducing him as a preacher and tutor into England. He also received high testimonials of character and attainments from his revered friend, Dr. Montgomery.

His first engagement was as tutor, Sept. 1839, in the family of Abraham Clarke, Esq., of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, where he remained for four years, discharging the duties of his office with singular fidelity, and storing his mind with a variety of useful knowledge, for which the situation afforded him some considerable advantages. He was ever willing to give assistance in the pulpit to his attached friend, the pastor of the Unitarian society in that town, and to the Rev. H. Hawkes, of Portsmouth, by both of whom and by many members of their congregations he was highly esteemed. Being desirous of entering more fully on the duties of the ministry, he accepted an engagement for some months with the congregation at Billingshurst, Sussex, from which he removed to take charge of the congregation at Mead Row, Godalming, as successor to the Rev. Edwin Chapman. Residing at the neighbouring town of Guildford, he united the office of schoolmaster and pastor. In many respects the habits of his early home life rendered this situation peculiarly agreeable to him, many of his congregation consisting of intelligent farmers, into whose pursuits his former acquaintance with agriculture enabled him so well to enter, and he had at all times a strong relish for the beauties of natural scenery, which abound in that neighbourhood. He was very successful in sustaining the Sunday-school at Mead Row, and in attaching to himself and to his ministry the young men of the congregation. He was exceedingly useful as well as beloved in this pastorship; but after six years' ministry, having received through the medium of the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association an

Digitized by Google

offer to become tutor in the family of John Duerdin, Esq., of Melbourne, Australia, with the prospect (if circumstances should admit) of conducting worship in that locality, he resolved to embrace it.

His congregation deeply felt his departure, and passed, among others, the following resolution: "That it is with sincere and earnest regret that we receive the announcement of the resignation of the Rev. Maxwell Davidson of the pastorship of this congregation; and we desire to thank him most emphatically for his zealous exertions in behalf of this church and all its connected institutions during the six years of his ministry among us, and also for the many and various advantages we have derived from his friendly intercourse among our several families, and to assure him of our heartfelt desires for his happiness and success in the new world he has chosen for his temporary abode."

He arrived at Melbourne in November, 1851, and was cordially received by John Duerdin, Esq. The circumstances of the place at his first arrival did not augur well for the establishment of Unitarian worship. The mania for gold-digging was then at its height, and the public mind was too much absorbed to give earnest attention to the support of a purer faith than that to which it had long been accustomed. That this was a season to Mr. Davidson of great mental anxiety and earnest deliberation as to the time for the commencement of the attempt to open Unitarian worship, the writer of this memoir has strong evidence in letters addressed to himself at this period. But at length the die was cast; the attempt, with the blessing of God, was to be made. An advertisement was issued requesting persons favourably disposed to Unitarianism to meet in the Mechanics' Institution for mutual recognition and consultation; and, much to his delight and that of the few stanch friends who had encouraged the undertaking, a sufficient number assembled to render the project of commencing public worship highly desirable and encouraging. Eight gentlemen, with Mr. Davidson, allowed themselves to be the referees to persons desirous of establishing Unitarian worship, whose names deserve to be gratefully remembered as founders of the Unitarian church at Melbourne. These were, Alexander Wilson, John Duerdin, John Stevenson, A. Campbell Brown, William Stevenson, W. A. C. A'Beckett, Henry Montgomery, William Small, and Thomas C. Bateman, Hon. Sec. The Rev. M. Davidson was chosen their minister, but he generously declined to receive any emolument till their church was organized and an edifice erected.

The little band of disciples met for the first time to worship in the Mechanics' Institution on Jan. 30, 1853. It was an eventful day. Mr. Davidson, in a letter to the writer, published in the Inquirer, Vol. xi. p. 380, describes the congregation as consisting of about forty or fifty families. The opening prayer and

Digitized by Google

the sermon on the occasion, on the Unity of God, from Matt. xii. 22, 23, were published. The sermon contains passages which merit quotation. His spirit seemed to have fully grasped the reality that the knowledge of his God and communion with Him are, to use his own words, man's "noblest, most excellent culture" (p. 4), that *only* mental elevation which "raises hopes beyond time, chance and the grave" (p. 5). The spirit of his prayer and of his sermon will point to the conception that he yearned to feel more entirely that devotion, religion, is the foundation of all future good, "the beautifier, the civilizer, the ennobler of the whole life of man" (p. 22). He continues—Religion, "is the bond that keeps him joined to a Being of infinite power, wisdom and goodness. It is the communication between our finite spirit and the Infinite Spirit. Therefore, while that communication is kept open, wisdom and power are ever coming from God to man. Holier, juster, truer, does the sincere worshiper walk from day to day. Steadier, firmer, does he proceed amid the trials and temptations of this probationary scene. It keeps the soul in all its qualities ever young. There is no old age to the mind closely joined to God, for all his immortal, ever-living properties are in some degree received by the sincere religious heart." Towards the close he sums up: "You must lay the groundwork of your present and everlasting happiness in your own soul, by loving first the Supreme Good with all your heart and strength and mind. When you have done *that*—when you are fixed and immovable there—then get wealth, and it will be a blessing to you; it will be all gilded over with the bounty of God. The gold and the silver, instead of being darkened in your worldly, worn-out mind with Satanic dark hues, will shine clearer and brighter than they really are, when they reflect the splendour of God's blessing" (p. 27).

After the auspicious gathering for worship in the Mechanics' Institute, the best spirit prevailed in the little flock. It was resolved to erect a place of worship, and a liberal subscription was forthwith commenced. The arguments which led to this course are well stated in the address on laying the foundation-stone of the church, and much Christian influence imparted in two published discourses preached the Sunday before and the Sunday after that interesting event. We think the reader will be gratified with a few extracts. In the first discourse, speaking of the object of public worship, the preacher observes:

"The hymn, the prayer, the reading of the Scriptures, are to suggest the purity, the benevolence, the justice, the moral excellence of God, to our minds. It is true, the service may be a languid and feeble one, and the worshiper may have neither a strong mind nor a strong religious sense, yet rarely will he attend public worship without having some of his higher faculties moved. If he be induced to think of God in the least degree, that thought cannot enter without dispersing some dark

Digitized by Google

shades of malice, or cruelty, or selfishness. The abode of that idea only a short time in the mind must purify it to some extent. The conscience will be made somewhat more sensitive and clearer by its residence." P. 7.

Mr. Davidson's address at the laying of the foundation-stone was peculiarly appropriate. After a suitable introduction, he says:

"It is proposed that here should be taught a morality and a piety as near as human weakness will permit to that taught by our Saviour, Jesus Christ. No written creeds, no mysterious confessions, will be exacted of those coming to worship here. The Bible and the Bible alone will be the only standard of faith and practice. We think that therein is contained everything necessary to salvation. We think also that the Old and New Testament give not only the highest and best revelation ever vouchsafed to man, but that their pages, when generously interpreted, communicate a religion in consonance with the highest intellectual culture, and beautifully adapted to the highest moral elevation of the race.

"This place of worship is not intended for a house of controversy, where every one that enters may expect to hear denunciations of every one's belief but his own. It is not designed as a place where nothing is heard but our *denial* of certain doctrines, where nothing is heard but *negations*. We purpose quite the contrary. We may deem it a conscientious duty to declare sometimes in what points we consider other divisions of the Christian church to have departed from what we regard as the simplicity of the gospel. But we hope that these occasions will be exceptions. We consider that our views of God and Christ and duty and accountability, afford the finest field for positive teaching.

"We have not to defend any doctrine opposed to sound and unprejudiced reason. We have no metaphysical subtleties to explain, at which 'reason stands aghast, and faith itself is half confounded.' We have only to walk right on, with the Bible in our hands, teaching us that we are all over-canopied by a Being of infinite wisdom, power and goodness, —that Jesus of Nazareth 'is the way, the truth and the life,' that lead to Him. We believe that our views of the Divine government are so natural, so simple, so scriptural, that 'those who run may read.' We believe our own interpretation of Christianity to be the most excellent, to be the most correct; but we do not lay claim to any infallibility. Our religion does not sanction intolerance. If we ever are intolerant, we are transgressing our own principles. We do think our principles and doctrines all beautiful, scriptural, and admirably adapted to promote the present and eternal happiness of man. We consider our views of Christianity, from their simplicity and freedom from mystery, from their being expressed everywhere in the language of scripture, as eminently adapted to men of good sense whose occupations have not afforded them much time for study. We think they are adapted well to them; and we think that the system of interpretation which had the decided approbation of Milton, Newton, Locke, the celebrated Lardner, Priestley and Dr. Channing, must be fitted to meet the wants of the human soul in its most cultivated state,—that it must be well suited to satisfy all those hopes of eternal life which these men so invincibly

Digitized by Google

held. We do believe that they are calculated to make men truly happy, truly benevolent, truly honourable and honoured in this world; and to give them such deeply-grounded faith in Christ and in God,—such a solid, scriptural and rational hope of glory, honour and immortality in another world, that no poverty, no disappointment, no bodily suffering, no blighted hopes, not even death itself, will ever shake.

"These, then, are my convictions of what our religious views are, and what they are capable of doing for man. But as this is the first house attempted to be erected in this colony or these colonies for the worship of One God, the Father, through Jesus Christ, allow me on this, to us, most solemn occasion, one word of warning. I warn those who have been in the habit of attending Unitarian places of worship, and those who may join us now, that these views of God, of duty, of man and his destiny, however beautiful, true, scriptural and excellent they may appear, can do nothing for them held as a mere theory; that if they expect from them any of the natural and legitimate effects and advantages I have mentioned, without the public or private exercise of religion, they will be grievously disappointed. Without attention to moral and religious discipline, I do believe they will find the whole moral and religious tone of their minds sink. One by one, will their better dispositions fade away. Their benevolence, their purity, their philanthropy, their reverence for God, will all begin to wane, and the result will be moral and religious death.

"Such conduct will only end with disgrace to themselves and disgrace to the principles they have professed. They will have done their part to retard for a while the diffusion of pure and undefiled religion. Other men of stronger wills, of more single aims and deeper religious power, will rise to do the work. Our principles and doctrines, then, are all excellent, all beautiful, all scriptural. We have only one course to pursue—to prove them so to all the world, by a zealous attention to every means which will serve to deepen the conviction of them in our own hearts, which will allow these doctrines to have their fair and legitimate influence on our whole walk and conversation. Without this, they will be only 'as sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal.' With a generous, reasonable and steady culture, I believe they will confer on us all the happiness on earth that the most excellent minds ever desired, and that they will bring us to a glory in a future life, 'which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive.'"—P. 14.

His sermon preached the Sunday after laying the foundation-stone of the church was equal to the occasion, and was well adapted to impress his hearers with the value of a high-toned practical religion. It was from Matt. v. 16, "Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven." He forcibly observes:

"There is not one of us whose conduct will not in some degree retard or further the diffusion of our doctrines. There is not a personal virtue nor a social virtue but will be agents in promulgating and establishing our faith. Patriotism, philanthropy, benevolence, civility, courteousness—all serve to recommend it; and we need not say that temperance, truthfulness, holiness and justice, are the only tests of its worth or truth.

Digitized by Google

No wealth, no social position, no power of preaching, can do anything *without* these. These are the *missionaries* which no bigotry, no worldly interest, no ignorance, can long resist. So much of these as we possess, just so far and no farther can we go. If you could measure or calculate the height and depth and breadth of these qualities in our hearts, you could tell even *now* the whole extent of our influence for years to come.

"We are, then, peculiarly called upon to walk worthily of our high vocation. It has been for many years my firm conviction that it only requires a consistently religious and moral life in its professors to make our religious views almost universal. I have had a wide and long acquaintance with orthodox men and orthodox writers. I believe there are few of the more intelligent who dare trust themselves to read Channing or Dewey. The confusion of three Persons, all infinite, being one,—the monstrous idea of God dying on the cross,—the entire absence of such an idea as a triune God, not only from the pages of the Old Testament, but from the mind of every Hebrew who read it from the time of Abraham till the time of Paul,—these points, when they do allow their minds to think on them, cause great perplexity. If they had not a large traditionary literature of the darker ages as well as the modern creeds to refer to, they could never retain them. The march of intellect would most undoubtedly sweep them all away. But there is one reason which makes them cling to these tenements, however frail, however unsightly. They are afraid, if they permit the unintelligible but revered mysteries to go, all religion, all morality, will go with them. They are waiting to see if Unitarianism can produce a pure morality and a fervent piety. If it could do that, they would not hold their contradictory creeds for a day. Now I do believe that this is the state of mind of a most influential number in almost all the churches around us.

"All the best men of all churches have a large share of moral and religious life; and rather than see the existence and culture of these sink, they would join any society, albeit it might hold some views which seemed to them irrational. They can neither live nor die without religion. If they cannot get it in a lovely, rational form, they must adhere to it in a more deformed aspect.

"Your lives, then, will be as much inquired into as your doctrines. The question will be asked, Have your views of Christianity power to make their professors assemble together every Sunday in order that they may hear them, in order that all the virtues they enjoin may be more deeply engraved on their minds?

"I know there are individuals who say, that if a man live a good moral life, there is no occasion for piety, for devotion, for religious exercises, either public or private. I think this a fatal error; because I do not believe that morality *will* remain strong and pure and active in the mind of him who forgets God and neglects his worship. Religion and piety are the links that hold man to the great spiritual fountain, God. Break those bonds, and he wanders forth without any communication between him and the Source of all life. To expect him then to manifest philanthropy, kindness, truthfulness, is to expect the river to flow on when its source is dried up."—Pp. 29—31.

In the conclusion of this discourse, Mr. Davidson's own fervid sense of the value of the gospel and his devotional spirit strikingly appear:

"The light here mentioned in our text by our Saviour, is a light that

Digitized by Google

was to come from those illumined by the spirit and precepts of the gospel. If his word abode in them, they would bring forth much fruit. It is from Christ, from his example, from his depth of spiritual power, that a similar power must be excited in us. He has 'the words of eternal life.' If you leave him for superstition and creeds, if you leave him for the wide wastes of infidel philosophy, you will miss your aim of that 'perfect man' which is formed 'by Christ Jesus.' You cannot sincerely embrace any doctrine without its consequences. In infidelity the soul has no anchor to cling to when tempests arise. The unbeliever has no standard of human perfection, like Christ, to follow, nor has he any standard of morality, like the parables or the Sermon on the Mount, to flee to in the days of despair, affliction and death. He has to wander over an illimitable desert without a star to guide him. The language of Christ is consoling, true and simple. It opens up infinite hopes; it keeps you calm and steady under the wings of Almighty power and goodness. If you leave that rock, you will never again find rest for the soles of your feet.

"This restless scepticism may most justly be compared to a man making a long journey through an unknown, rough, entangled country. He applies to every guide, has confidence in none—follows each one a short time, and often in contrary directions—so that his whole power and strength are wasted away before he reaches his destination. But the sincere follower of Christ has no windings to make. He is never led out of the straight path.

'Awake, asleep, at home, abroad,
He is surrounded still with God.'

"In obedience to the morality of Jesus, light rises all around you. His teachings touch all the moral and religious well-springs in your soul. These well-springs, then, are now the enjoyment and the beginning of that kingdom of heaven which is to have no end."

The church in which Mr. Davidson was so deeply interested was built for £4346. 7*s*. 6*d*. on land given by the Government. An additional quarter of an acre was afterwards obtained for a minister's dwelling and school-house. A portion of the ground of the new cemetery was also appropriated to the Unitarians.

At the first annual meeting of the Melbourne Unitarian congregation, the following address was made to Mr. Davidson:

"Melbourne, April 18, 1854.

"Dear Sir,—Upon this the first annual meeting of our society within the place of worship erected for the service of Unitarian Christianity, we feel that it is but right to offer our sincere congratulations upon the result of the last twelve months' proceedings, terminating as they do this day in our possessing a church wherein, it is hoped, the sound principles characterizing our holy religion will ever be inculcated.

"To you, as a minister of this denomination of Christians, it cannot be other than a source of deep consolation to find that there have not been wanting those who could so far appreciate the unspeakable worth of the truths which the gospel reveals, as to induce them, amidst much difficulty and anxiety, to prosecute their efforts in raising the building now dedicated to the celebration of Unitarian worship.

"In expressing our sense of the benefits derived and comfort felt from your ministerial offices since the establishment of the congregation, we

Digitized by Google

have at the same time to request your acceptance of the accompanying mark of our respect and esteem.* We would also thank you for the solicitude you have evinced to familiarize us with the precepts and teachings of the Great Head of this and all other churches. We trust that we may ever be sensible of the value of the privileges we enjoy; and in gratefully acknowledging the goodness of Almighty God in thus highly favouring us, we pray that His blessing may rest upon your labours, and that you may prove truly efficacious and influential in promoting the permanent happiness of many of your brethren in this community. We are, dear sir, your faithful friends. For, and on behalf of the members of the congregation,

"GEORGE W. SELBY."

Thus was Mr. Davidson, by the force of his character, his prudence, temper, zeal and piety, under the Divine blessing, the founder of the first Unitarian church in Australia, supported by a considerable share of the intelligence and respectability of Melbourne, numbering among his hearers Sir Wm. A'Becket, the Chief Justice of the colony, and gaining for itself the consideration of the other religious bodies of the town, as manifested by the respectful manner in which the press recorded the congregational proceedings. The establishment of this congregation was of great importance also as lending the advantage of its example to other towns in Australia for the commencement in them of Unitarian worship, as was evident in the successive establishment of the Unitarian congregations of Sydney and Adelaide,—Sydney, under the pastorship of the Rev. G. H. Stanley, formerly of Huddersfield; Adelaide, under the Rev. J. C. Woods, formerly of Newport, Isle of Wight.

Mr. Davidson married in January, 1854, Miss Willis, a lady who had been governess for three years in the family of Lady Emily Harding, of Stapleton Rectory, near Shrewsbury, and afterwards in that of the Earl of Denbigh; but failing health had obliged her to relinquish for a time the arduous duties of a teacher, and a change to Australia was arranged as a means of securing a long sea-voyage, with a view to recruit her health. On her passage she had become a Unitarian from the perusal of the Memoir of Dr. Channing, lent her by the surgeon of the ship; and on reaching Melbourne she gladly made an engagement in the family of John Duerdin, Esq., where she hoped to become acquainted with Unitarian literature. Soon after Mr. Davidson's arrival in the colony, which was about nine months subsequent to her own, she established a select boarding-school in the suburbs of Melbourne, receiving pupils at £100 a year; but her pupils all deserted her shortly after her marriage with a professed Unitarian minister. From her practical acquaintance with the Unitarian controversy and large mental acquisitions, she was well qualified to be an able as well as zealous co-operator in the work of the ministry. The attendance at the chapel was then

* A purse of 200 sovereigns.

Digitized by Google

numerous and respectable. During the time that divine service was held in the Mechanics' Institute, Mr. Davidson was filling the office of tutor to Mr. Duerdin; but on that gentleman's return to England, and after his own marriage, Mr. Davidson's whole time was devoted to the interests of his church. His heart became more deeply impressed with the value of religious truth, as experience led him to feel its vast importance to the welfare of the community. He had, as a minister to a congregation composed of persons from all quarters of the globe, a considerable share of the anxieties which ever attend a faithful minister's pastorate. The following letter, though not intended to meet the public eye, will, as the matured thoughts of a valued minister passed to his reward, be read with interest. It also affords hints which may be useful to others similarly circumstanced, at the same time giving a glimpse of colonial life.

"Melbourne, Sept. 25, 1856.

"My dear Sir,—I beg to acknowledge yours, dated June 11, 1856, and to return you my grateful thanks for the long and continued interest you have taken in my life and movements. My style of preaching is considerably changed since I left England. I mention this, as you allude in your letter to the kind of sermon which you now and have for years considered best for a congregation. I entirely agree with you on that point. There are very many of my sermons which I may have thought very excellent at the time, and which this individual or that individual praised, but which I could not now read with satisfaction to any audience. On this subject my views are radically altered. You well know that I lost my *right hand* when I lost the late Alexander Wilson. His death left me without a single individual who had had the least experience in conducting a Unitarian congregation; and scarcely one who took part in our affairs had ever much attended a Unitarian place of worship. Now you can fancy my position in the midst of the strongest Calvinistic and Roman Catholic population—aye, and what is more detrimental and more injurious, a very large amount of proclaimed atheism and great indifference. There are far more declared, open atheists here than in England, and a vast deal of undefined infidelity hanging on our borders and insinuating itself into families of our society. Several families of influence that were called Unitarian, I believe were deistical or infidel. My preaching, I trust, is fast doing away with any doubts that the orthodox ever had as to our being *Christian*. They are now hinting and wishing to make it appear that the congregation are not so high in their views as I am. Some of them, no doubt, are not. You see I have enough to do, with Trinitarians on one side and Infidelity on another. I have learned one lesson, or at least I am learning it, that one of the great reasons why Unitarians are called infidels, why the orthodox deny to them the Christian name, is, that persons *do* claim the Unitarian name, *do* join our churches, who are not Christian, shewing in their conversation their repudiation of miracle, even of the resurrection, and of the whole leading doctrines of the Christian scheme. It is these who obtain for us the name of infidels. No minister who really believes in Unitarian Christianity will be denied the name of Christian, unless for a time, in

Digitized by Google

ignorance of his views; nor do I think any congregation will. I think the concession of the title very much depends on whether they are really Unitarians as they profess themselves. A strange, undefined set come out here, from Scotland and America and Germany. You have some idea, then, of my situation. One very great drawback is, that I have no layman well read in our theology, who could aid me in a controversy, or who is alive to these double influences of superstition on one side and rank infidelity on the other. Many of my congregation cannot see why I should be afraid of these things. Indeed, so little do they know of the state of religious opinion, that about a year ago some of them applied to me to allow a Rev. G. S. to preach for me, who, whatever may be his real opinions, is considered now by many as an Atheist or Socialist. He was once a missionary in the North of England for the Rev. George Harris, but soon professed himself anything or everything but a Unitarian. You remember he joined the Unitarians some eight or nine years ago, and then came to London to John Chapman's business. Whilst there, he was chairman for Holyoake. Well, one of my committee was much enraged at my intolerance, and left the church. Since that time, the walls of Melbourne are covered all over with placards regarding this Mr. S. and his Atheism and Socialism, so that my people *now* are of opinion that I saved them from the ill fame of Socialism or Atheism being admitted into our pulpit. Now I do not mean to say that Mr. S. is a Socialist or an Atheist; but I have heard that the Rev. George Harris considered him as verging on Atheism. But whatever may have been his real views, it could not be prudent for us to admit a man whom the world regarded in this light, especially as our cause has been so lately planted. At the time I refused him admittance to my pulpit he was unknown in Melbourne.

"If Christianity continue to be the religion of the people of these colonies, if it continue to bind the great majority as God's revelation, I believe that the Trinity will lose its hold, and that Unitarianism will be the religion of the land. But if infidelity and indifference seize upon all who reject the Trinity, then these countries will become infidel, and the professors of Christianity will be confined to a few, and it will be *only* a profession.

"Thus you see it is difficult to predict our future. But we have to *do our duty* 'in our day and generation.' I wish we had another station here—a minister placed at Geelong as well as Melbourne.

"I have had a little skirmish in one of the local papers. At our congregational tea-party I laid claim to the theology of Mr. Caird's Sermon, and there was a layman there who claimed it for orthodoxy. He was so indignant about our beloved Queen! It caused some inquiry, and I preached a sermon on our principles, which, being advertised, drew a great number of Trinitarians to hear.

"I was very much obliged for the notice you took of me and my congregation at your meeting of the Southern Unitarian Fund Society. I feel very grateful for the kindness I always received from the people of Portsmouth and the Southern congregations; and I always think that, if I ever return home a rich man, I shall take up my abode in their quarter of the world. Please give my most respectful and kindest remembrance to Mrs. Kell and all your family.

"Yours very sincerely and obliged,

"Rev. E. Kell." MAXWELL DAVIDSON."

Digitized by Google

Mrs. Alexander Wilson, now of Highbury,—the widow of Mr. Davidson's very attached friend at Melbourne,—thus writes of him:

"He was always a kind, generous friend to both poor and rich, and would do all or anything he could for any one. Certainly he was no bigot, and one of the most warm-hearted beings that ever lived, and one who, with all proper pride, never let it come in the way of his Christian duty or kindliness. He was generous to a degree; and if any of his poor congregation went to ask him to purchase or to give anything, he would always, whether convenient or not, give or buy. I think I may say that, if not liked for his religious principles, he was generally respected in Melbourne, even by his opposing party I mean, and I know at one time, his sermons were regarded as some of the best in Melbourne; for he was considered a well-educated man—up to the mark; and while I was there, he often brought into his discourses something with regard to the then present times of what was constantly passing around us, which seemed to be turned to great service, and gave much pleasure to his congregation."

Mr. Davidson left Melbourne for England, Sept., 1857, having resigned his pastoral office in the previous May. Several reasons conspired to make him desirous of returning to England. In a letter to the writer, dated May 20, 1857, he says:

"I have some time thought there ought to be a change of minister. Five or six years without ever having a minister to preach for you or to speak to, is very wearying to the preacher and monotonous to the hearer. There are very great changes going on in the political affairs of the colony. It is likely to become a pure democracy, and hence a large sympathy with Yankee opinions."

Another reason for leaving Melbourne, which we may now consider as foreshadowing the future, is thus mentioned:

"My health is never very good in the immediate neighbourhood of Melbourne, but is very well in the country, especially near the sea. I seem to require sea air more than anything else. Could you not obtain for me one of your livings near the sea, with a small piece of land? Colonial people are restless and changeable. They have changed their own country and climate, and all old associations, and they never again rest like the old country people. Towns like Melbourne and San Francisco are peculiarly changeable. The congregation has had three ministers in San Francisco since I came here. The bringing out of ministers from Boston has cost them perhaps nearly £1000."

On Mr. Davidson's arrival in England, Dec. 30, 1857, he spent six months in visiting his friends. It was a circumstance most agreeable to his wishes that the congregation at Wareham, in the district in which he most wished to settle, being then, on the resignation of the Rev. D. Griffith, without a minister, sent him a unanimous invitation. In his new charge he devoted himself to every claim upon him with the same fidelity as at Melbourne. The respectable and intelligent congregation of Wareham appreciated his services as a preacher, and esteemed him as

Digitized by Google

a friend, and the evening congregation was increasing. Their largest congregational tea-party took place at the Town Hall during his ministry. He had also good prospects in his private school. His anticipations of the quiet comfort for which he had yearned, and of ministerial usefulness, must have been in every way satisfactory. His brother ministers in the south, who met him at their annual ministerial gathering at Ringwood in September last, cannot but look back with peculiar though saddened interest, while they call to mind the warm greetings of his friendly spirit, and the animated part he took in their discussion as to the best mode of celebrating the bi-centenary of 1662. Little thought they that ere that time arrived he should be taken from them! He was a man of a genial and affectionate disposition, and his conversation was remarkable for freshness as well as purity of thought. Such meetings were peculiarly congenial to his heart, and to them he always contributed increased vivacity. His sterling integrity, his unaffected piety and benevolence, endeared him to all. But it was the will of Him who is all-wise that he should be removed from this scene of labour and translated to a nobler sphere. Symptoms of serious illness from an affection of the heart manifested themselves about a month before his final seizure. He was for some weeks unable, without inconvenience, to walk upstairs, but continued to pursue his usual duties, and preached twice on the Sunday only two days before his almost sudden death, Nov. 19, 1861, at the age of 52. He was buried in the same grave with the Rev. John Edwards, formerly the eloquent minister of the New meeting-house, Birmingham—the successor of Dr. Priestley—who was drowned while bathing in the river three miles below Wareham, in 1808.* He was followed to his last earthly resting-place by the Rev. L. Lewis, of London, and the neighbouring Unitarian ministers. Touching proof of the warm esteem in which he was held was manifested by ladies and gentlemen—indeed by his whole congregation, from the highest to the lowest, of both sexes—joining in the mourning train. The Rev. L. Lewis preached the funeral sermon to his sorrowing people, and paid a suitable tribute to his memory. He has left an affectionate widow and two young children to lament their heavy loss,—a loss which will be painfully felt by all who enjoyed the benefit of his friendship.

"His memory long will live alone
In all our hearts, as mournful light
That broods above the fallen sun
And dwells in heaven half the night."†

EDMUND KELL.

* See his memoir, by the Rev. J. Kentish, Monthly Repos., Vol. III. p. 693.
† Tennyson's "In Memoriam."

Digitized by Google

SOME ACCOUNT OF DR. HENRY SAMPSON, ONE OF THE CLERGY EJECTED AT THE RESTORATION.*

AMONG the lesser worthies who in the seventeenth century did homage to conscience and religious truth by a costly Nonconformity, Dr. SAMPSON well deserves a place. To his industry we owe, as will be hereafter stated, a portion of our present knowledge respecting the ejected clergy.

Henry Sampson, descended from religious parents, was born at South Leverton in or about the year 1629. There are two villages of that name in the county of Nottingham, a few miles from East Retford. In the more southern village there were in the early part of the seventeenth century three owners of land of the name of Sampson,—Thomas, Henry and William. William was the father of Henry Sampson, of whom we desire now to speak. The biographers speak of his being a nephew of John Vicars, the learned orientalist, author of the Decapla in Psalmos, published in 1639, a work which extorted high praise from Anthony Wood, who commends the author as "a most admirable linguist, and the best for the oriental tongues in his time." It is probable, therefore, that the mother of Henry Sampson belonged by birth to the respectable and religious family of Vicars. William, a younger brother of Henry, was born about 1636. What other members there were we are not informed. The heir of William was Sampson King. He might be the son of a sister of Henry and William Sampson. They had the misfortune to lose their father at a very early period, probably soon after the birth of the younger. Their mother contracted a second marriage with the celebrated Presbyterian divine, Dr. Obadiah Grew, minister of St. Michael's, Coventry. This circumstance exercised considerable influence on the destiny of Henry Sampson. His stepfather was a calm and sedate divine, of retired habits, but able in the pulpit, and fearless in pursuing the path of right and conscience. Several anecdotes are told of his firmness and high courage. That he could be generous, too, and was a true gentleman, appears from his treatment of a neighbouring clergyman of the Cavalier party. Mr. Panton, compelled in the time of the war to sell his library, found a purchaser of some of the books in Dr. Grew. When brighter days for the Royalist side returned, he expressed a wish to re-purchase the books possessed by Dr. Grew. They were at once returned; but, as the Dr. was the richer man, he declined to receive any payment. When the Act of Uniformity was passed, his diocesan, Bishop Hacket, entreated Dr. Grew, but in vain, to retain

* A brief but spirited sketch of his life appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1851. In that and a subsequent No. of the Magazine, some extracts were printed from Sampson's MSS.

Digitized by Google

his living. He was afterwards a sufferer for his Nonconformity, and lay for six months in the jail whence Lawrence Saunders, one of the Marian martyrs, had gone forth to his death.

There was a second family, born at Coventry, as a son and daughter are mentioned: the latter became the wife of an ejected divine, Mr. Willis; the former is known as Dr. Nehemiah Grew, a physician and writer on medical and philosophical subjects. The half-brothers were friends to the close of life; and it is remarkable that both followed the same profession, both practised in London; and when the elder died, the other paid a warm and graceful tribute to his virtues. This and other circumstances warrant the belief that the common home of the two families was happy and prosperous till religious persecution marred its peace and comfort.

The various personal and family ties which bound Henry Sampson to Puritanism were confirmed by his education. Of his school history at Coventry no account has reached us. At the age of fifteen (according to Dr. Grew), Henry Sampson became a pupil of Mr. William Moses, afterwards Master of Pembroke Hall, and one of the ejected. He went to Cambridge well prepared, if his epitaph speaks truly, for university studies (*Coventriæ bonis literis et linguis institutus*). The books of Pembroke Hall* give the date 1646 as that of his entrance there. He was then seventeen years of age. The ancient and religious house at which Sampson studied drew from Fuller the eulogium, that it might be "compared with any foundation in Europe not exceeding it in bigness, time and number of members," and it would "acquit itself not conquered in all learned and liberal capacities." It has honoured names among its alumni,—Spencer, Grindal, Lancelot Andrews,—and no less than three of the Marian martyrs,—Rogers, Ridley and Bradford. The Masters of Pembroke Hall during Sampson's residence in the university were probably Richard Vines and Sydrach Simpson, both men of eminence, the former among the Presbyterians, the latter among the Independents. Vines was reputed a "Luther" among the preachers of his time. To him and the other Masters of Colleges at Cambridge, Parliament addressed, in 1645-6, an ordinance to secure "constant good preaching" in the university, which it declared to "concern the welfare both of the church and the kingdom." When such men as Spurstowe, Whichcott, Cudworth and Vines, were amongst the heads of Colleges, the standard of university preaching must have been high.

Sampson's academic career was in every respect successful. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1649-50, was elected a Fellow

* This and some other information we owe to Mr. Mayer, of St. John's College, the able author of several biographical and historical works relating to Cambridge in the seventeenth century. We have also to record a similar obligation to Mr. Joshua Wilson, of Tunbridge Wells.

Digitized by Google

in 1650, and proceeded to his Master's degree in 1653. Of his college studies and acquirements we have an account in the words of his friend and pastor, the celebrated John Howe. After describing his early and decided religious tastes and habits, and his deliberate adoption of the ministerial office, he observes: "And therefore, though in his academical studies, wherein he spent several years, he neglected no part of that rational learning which was most fitly conducing and serviceable to this purpose, yet he most earnestly applied himself to the gaining a thorough acquaintance with those languages wherein the Holy Scriptures were originally written, and spared no cost to procure a great variety of the best and most celebrated editions of both the Testaments, with other helps for the attaining of that most necessary knowledge, whereof his library, so richly furnished on that head, did appear after his decease their full evidence."*

It was during Sampson's college days that the "Engagement," a political test ascribed to the Independents, was imposed. It bound every one taking it to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth as then established, without King or Lords. This oath was sorely against the grain of the Presbyterians, and many of them honestly refused it. There were not wanting some who, recognizing the government as one *de facto*, were willing to tender a conditional allegiance, binding themselves, as they imagined, only negatively—so long only as no power hostile to the existing government appeared. Samuel Dillingham, writing to his friend Sancroft from Emmanuel College at this time of trial to men's consciences, and spurning with a noble contempt some of the equivocations and apologies for subscription in a *non-natural* sense, said: "If this be the doctrine of Protestants to subscribe equivocally and with reserves quite besides the main intention of the instrument, which is clear enough to all, I will turn Jesuit; for I never can believe it lawful; it is a mere delusion and a lie."†

Sampson, we must conclude, took the Engagement, as he was about that time elected Fellow of his college His fellowship led to his early promotion to a benefice. But before we follow him from Cambridge to a living, it is worth while recording that amongst his associates at Pembroke Hall were several who afterwards shared his honest Nonconformity. Abraham Clifford, elected Fellow at the same time and afterwards ejected, studied and practised medicine. Thomas Parsons, also a Fellow, was ejected from St. Michael's, Wood Street, London; and Daniel Manning, another Fellow, was afterwards ejected from Enfield,

* Howe's Works, folio, Vol. I. p. 655. The splendid copy, whence this extract was taken, in Dr. Williams's Library, appears to have belonged to the Royal Family. It was possibly the property of the literary Queen of George II.

† See Cary's Memorial of the Civil War in England, Vol. II.

Digitized by Google

in Middlesex. The name of the Master, Mr. William Moses, has been already mentioned.

About fifteen years before these excellent men were appointed Fellows, the college had been largely benefited by the goodwill and generosity of Sir Robert Hitcham, a former alumnus of Pembroke Hall, and afterwards a serjeant-at-law and a Member of Parliament. He bequeathed to the Master and Fellows the castle, manor and advowson of Framlingham, in the county of Suffolk. The incumbent of Framlingham in 1650 was Richard Golty, who had held the living for twenty years. He had a conscience, and scrupled to take the Engagement. His ejection, which was the consequence, gave Pembroke Hall an early opportunity of employing its newly-acquired patronage. Henry Sampson received the rectory, the most valuable preferment in the gift of his college. The church at Framlingham, dedicated to St. Michael, is a very noble ecclesiastical edifice, having nave, chancel (nearly equalling the nave in length), side aisles, and a noble square tower nearly 100 feet high.

In Framlingham, Henry Sampson would find a fair field for the exercise of ministerial ability and zeal, and some scope for his literary and antiquarian tastes. As a preacher, he is said to have gained general acceptance, and the favourable verdict of his parishioners was confirmed by the judgment of the people of Coventry, who had occasionally the opportunity of hearing him in his father-in-law's church. He took much interest in the historical recollections which the town and its noble castle inspired. Of the latter he drew up a short account, which may be found in the later editions of Leland's Collectanea. This short antiquarian essay bears date 1663. He had previously, and while residing at Framlingham (1657), edited Thos. Parker's Latin treatise on "The Method of the Divine Grace in leading Sinful Man to Life, succinctly and completely explained in Seventy Propositions."

The author was the son of Robert Parker, a learned Nonconformist, compelled for safety to quit England for Holland. Thomas Parker was also an exile, but found a home in America, where with some religious friends from England he founded the town of Newbury, choosing that name because in Newbury, Berkshire, his ministry had been carried on.

The "Method of the Divine Grace" is in fact a manual of Calvinistic theology. It is well composed, has the merit, so rare in theological treatises, of brevity, and is free from that asperity which is the common fault of polemical writings.

Mr. Sampson not only carefully revised the text from MS. and printed copies of this work, but added a Preface, like the work itself, in Latin, which gives good evidence of the writer's elegant scholarship.

Dr. Grew speaks of the work as "a golden book with a golden

Digitized by Google

epistle prefixed." The epistle is not unworthy of this commendation. He describes Parker's book as a string of pearls. In history, he observes, abridgments are mere waste paper; but in polemical theology great books are great evils. Like mountains, the greater they are, their tops are the more barren. He gives his author this praise, that "he stole from no one and assailed no one." "The names of Arminius and Socinus are by him not mentioned; but he passes by nothing necessary to the subject or argument."

He alludes plaintively to his position at Framlingham, as one dwelling at the very extremity of England,—an exile from nearly every kind of pleasant literature. He doubtless felt, as hundreds have felt since, that the transition from the learned halls of an university and the society of the cultivated and wise to the dull quietude of a country parsonage and the talk of unlettered squires and their rude hinds, is to a scholar unspeakably distasteful.

There was in the county of Suffolk in those days more of Independency than of Presbyterianism. Henry Sampson had no presbytery near him to confer upon him such orders as it could give. He remained, therefore, to the last without ordination.

Presently the Restoration brings back to Framlingham Mr. Golty; and Henry Sampson's parochial functions are at an end. His non-ordination freed him from the anxiety experienced by those of his friends who had been solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry, and who felt what Oliver Heywood said—"Woe is mine, if I do not preach the gospel."

How long an interval he allowed to pass between his abandonment of the ministerial office and his preparation for another profession, we do not certainly know. Probably he saw the killing Act of Uniformity in operation before he abandoned the hope of fulfilling the object of his education.

We cannot doubt that Henry Sampson's Nonconformity was his own deliberate and unbiassed choice. His brother William, seven years younger than himself, also educated at Pembroke Hall (he graduated M.A. in 1660), continued in the Church of England to the close of his life, and obtained preferment in his native county, and also in the Cathedral of Lincoln. It not unfrequently happened that members of the same family ranged themselves with different ecclesiastical parties. Not seldom the sons of eminent Nonconformist fathers trod the beaten and more gainful path of Conformity. This was the case with the son of Henry Newcome, of Manchester.

When Henry Sampson saw that every door was shut by which he could with untarnished conscience re-enter the ministry, he chose the medical profession as the best alternative before him.

Mr. Howe, speaking of the clerical and medical professions, remarks that the step is easy from the one to the other; and,

Digitized by Google

glancing at his two friends Sampson and Grew, proceeds to remark: "There are some instances, and blessed be God, 'tis to be hoped there are others, which shew that *religio medici* is not always opprobrious or a note of ignominy and reproach, and that *a beloved physician* on the best account was not appropriate to the first age. That calling gives great opportunity to a man of a serious spirit of doing good to the soul, and I know it has been improved by some to discourse and pray with their dying patients; and when their art could not immortalize their bodies, they did all that in them lay for the saving of the immortal souls." Considerations of this nature led several of the ejected ministers to study and practise medicine. As instances, we may mention Dr. John Reynolds, ejected from Wolverhampton; Dr. Francis Cross and Dr. Ichabod Chauncy, both of whom practised at Bristol; Dr. Gilbert Rule, the ejected curate of Alnwick; Dr. Nathaniel Fairfax, ejected from Willisham, the son and brother of ejected clergymen; and Dr. Abraham Clifford, like Sampson, a Fellow of Pembroke Hall.

In order to prepare himself for the practice of medicine, he went abroad, visiting France, Italy and Holland. He stayed some time at Padua, but still longer at Leyden, which had already acquired a high reputation as a school of medicine,—a reputation subsequently increased by the lectures of Paul Herman and Alexander Pitcairn. The university of this city, with its noble library and splendid botanical gardens, was founded in the sixteenth century in commemoration of the fidelity of the citizens in enduring a siege of fearful severity made by the Spaniards. Here, a few years after Sampson's and Grew's time, Boerhave and our own countryman Richard Mead studied. But there were others besides medical students then sheltering at Leyden. One distinguished man was there, with whom Sampson had much intercourse,—Oliver St. John, who in Charles's and Cromwell's days had played a conspicuous part both as a constitutional lawyer and a politician, and had been rewarded by the Chief Justiceship of the Court of Common Pleas. Though clear in the matter of King Charles's trial and condemnation, he put no faith in Stuart promises of indemnity, and withdrew to Holland.

When Henry Sampson had obtained his physician's degree, he returned to England and established himself in London. Here he was admitted an Hon. Fellow of the College of Physicians, and sought, not without success, medical practice.

He took or gained an excellent position among the more learned members of his new profession. On this subject, better testimony cannot be desired than that of his half-brother, the learned Dr. Nehemiah Grew, who tells us that among the members of the College of Physicians he justly obtained the repute of being substantially learned in all points of his profession. He devoted considerable attention to morbid anatomy, and accumulated a

Digitized by Google

series of valuable cases in which he detailed observations made on post-mortem dissections. His practice became large and remunerative; but it is recorded to his honour by his friend and pastor, Mr. Howe, that he rejoiced in all opportunities of attending and relieving those who were unable to pay the customary fee, and that his attention was as great in such cases as in any others.

Dr. Henry Sampson did not, on his return to England, forget the Nonconformity which had necessitated his temporary exile and his change of profession. He joined one of the several Nonconformist societies which, spite of the Act against Conventicles and other persecuting laws, met about 1670, and probably earlier, in the very heart of the city. The pastor of the Presbyterian church which he joined about 1670 was Dr. Lazarus Seaman, ejected from All-Hallows, Bread Street, who had been one of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and succeeded Dr. John Cosin in the Mastership of Peterhouse College, Cambridge. He was assisted in his ministerial labours by Dr. Thomas Jacomb, ejected from St. Martin's, Ludgate, and was succeeded by the more celebrated Mr. John Howe.

In his elaborate "History and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches," Mr. Walter Wilson fixes the locality of this society in Silver Street, in the Meeting-house Yard, and describes the place as "a small oblong building with three galleries, shut in from the street, concealed from observation, and admirably adapted to times of persecution. But from Thoresby's Correspondence, Vol. I. p. 182, it appears that the earlier place of meeting was Haberdashers' Hall, at the back of the present Post-office. It was occupied, subsequently to Lady-day, 1695, by another Dissenting congregation, of which Mr. Stretton, the ejected minister of Petworth, was the pastor. The strength of the Nonconformists lay in the trading community, and many of the halls of the city companies were used, before and after the Act of Toleration, as places of Nonconformist worship, a circumstance which, as has been well observed by the author of the "Religious Life in England," gave their peculiar architectural character to the early Nonconformist meeting-houses. The new chapel in Silver Street, described by Mr. Walter Wilson, was built for Mr. Howe, and after the persecution of Dissenters had ceased. Both places were among the most celebrated seats of Dissent in the metropolis. Titled ladies did not hesitate to frequent the humble conventicles in those retired city nooks. The Countess of Exeter was the unceasing friend and protector of the second pastor, and it was in her house in Little Britain that he died in 1687. Sir Thomas Abney, whose name is so closely connected with the history of English Nonconformity, was a member of the congregation. Others of the ejected clergy, besides Dr. Henry Sampson, worshiped there. But neither the character of the preachers nor the rank of some of the flock

Digitized by Google

had at one time sufficed to protect them from outrage. For two or three years, at the close of the reign of Charles II., Mr. Howe did not think it safe to venture unnecessarily into the streets, and his congregation was on one occasion disturbed when he was preaching by the officers employed to enforce the persecuting laws; many were seized and imprisoned or fined. One of the victims was Mr. Richard Dowley, who had been ejected from Elford, in Staffordshire.

Dr. Sampson married a lady of exemplary and religious character. Their happiness was, however, clouded by her long-continued illness. She died on Sunday, November 24, 1689, after eighteen years of suffering, borne with calm and gentle resignation. The bereaved husband suggested to his pastor the text for the funeral sermon, and never were words of scripture more felicitously adapted to the circumstances: Luke xiii. 16, "Ought not this woman, being a daughter of Abraham, whom Satan hath bound, lo, these eighteen years, to be loosed from this bond on the sabbath-day?" A letter of Mr. Howe's relating to the publication of this sermon is fortunately preserved:

"*To my worthy friend, Dr. Henry Sampson.*

"Sir,—I have perused the papers which you sent me, and find, as far as I can recollect, they contain in them the substance of what was delivered, with no more mistakes than is usual in writing from the mouth of one who is not of the slowest of speakers. Some things beside, which the limits of the time allowed not to be spoken (having some short memorials of them before me), I have added, conceiving they might also contribute towards the good end you proposed to yourself in so earnestly desiring this publication, the assisting of their patience and their good and placid thoughts of God, who are exercised under long and languishing distempers. The observation which your profession has occasioned you to make in the case of many others, hath, I doubt not, let you see the need of somewhat to this purpose; otherwise the example you have had so long before your eyes of so calm and composed a temper in this excellent relation of yours, might have made you less apprehensive how great an addition a fretful, ungenial spirit is to the sin and the affliction of a sickly state. I am sensible your own affliction is great in the loss you now sustain; the relief will be great and suitable which the forethought of that state will afford where they neither marry nor are given in marriage, but are as the angels of God in heaven. I am, Sir, in much sincerity and affection, yours to serve you in the work and labours of the gospel, "J. H."

The closing words of this letter, from one of the mildest and purest of the Christians of his age and class, were not mere complimentary expressions. Mr. Howe well knew, and has borne emphatic testimony to, Dr. Sampson's habitual religiousness of spirit.

"Nor," said he, "were the great advantages lost which he had gained for the instruction of a congregation (had the state of things and his judgment concurred thereto), for they eminently appeared to such as

Digitized by Google

had the privilege of living under his roof, and of partaking of the instructions which his great acquaintance with the holy Scriptures enabled him to give them from time to time; which, together with his daily fervent prayers and holy conversation, made his family as a well-ordered and watered garden compared with the howling wildernesses of too many others. But in all my conversation with him, nothing was more observable or more grateful to me than his pleasant and patient expectation of the blessed state which he now possesses. The mention whereof would make joy sparkle in his eye and clothe his countenance with cheerful looks, accompanied with such tokens of serenity and a composed temper of mind, as shewed and signified submission with an unreluctant willingness to wait for that time which the wisdom and goodness of God shall judge seasonable for his removal from a world which he loved not, nor yet could disaffect from any sense of its unkindness to him, but only of the prospect he had of a better."

To have enjoyed, as Dr. Sampson did (with some interruptions, however, during Mr. Howe's enforced absence abroad), for about a quarter of a century the public services and the private, confidential society of this wise, gentle and catholic-hearted Christian pastor, was of itself enough to reconcile Dr. Sampson to his own disappointment in respect to the ministry. During the latter years of their lives they were close neighbours, both living in Love Lane, Wood Street, Cheapside. There were many bonds to unite Howe and Sampson. Both had been ejected, both had lived in Holland, and received courtesies from distinguished scholars there. Mr. Howe's eldest son, George,* was a physician, who had also studied medicine in Holland, and afterwards practised in London.

Dr. Sampson delighted in the society of the ejected clergy, so many of whom found a haven in the evening of their stormy day in the hospitable houses of the wealthy citizens of London. He has recorded the names of not a few to whom he was accustomed to render the valuable aid of his professional knowledge. In the course of nine months (1695-6), he lost nine friends in the ministry, of whom eight had at one time or another been his patients. Sighing over their memory, he wrote, "Oh, how many of my acquaintance, friends and patients, go to heaven before me!"† What endless themes of interesting conversation these once persecuted men, now delightedly enjoying their religious liberty, would have one with another! The mere enumeration of their names is suggestive: *Mr. Mayo*, ejected from Kingston, the father of that Mr. Mayo who was the first preacher in the Gravel-Pit meeting-house, Hackney; *Edward Lawrence*,

* Dr. George Howe married into the Foley family of Whitley Court. We know from Richard Baxter's Life that in the early days of English Dissent, the Foleys and other distinguished families did not disdain to worship in conventicles.

† This incident and many others in this memoir are gathered from Thoresby's Extracts from Dr. Sampson's Day-books preserved in the Library of the British Museum, additional MSS., 4460, Plut.

Digitized by Google

ejected from Baschurch, in Shropshire, of whom it was said he had eleven strong reasons against Nonconformity, viz., his wife and ten children, but his faith in God outweighed all these reasons. Being asked how he would support them, he answered, "They must live upon that text in Matthew, *Take no thought for your life*," &c. He was the close friend of Philip Henry and Mr. Heath, the latter the friend and correspondent of Milton; *Mr. Francis Mence*, an Oxonian and a writer; *Mr. Baker*, to whom was attached the *soubriquet* of "Mother Church," an odd name for an ejected minister; *Mr. Thomas Miles*, ejected from St. Chad's, at Lichfield, the history of whose persecutions, adventures and escapes, if minutely written, would fill a volume; *Mr. John Chester*, an ejected clergyman of Leicestershire, one of those brave spirits who preached and saved souls through all the horrors of the plague in London; *Mr. William Rathband*, of Highgate, the son of an old Nonconformist minister in Lancashire; *Mr. Kentish*, ejected from Middleton, in Durham, whose sufferings in the cause of Nonconformity could not silence either himself or three sons whom he bred up to the ministry. These men, and such as these, and their families and friends, were the associates of Dr. Henry Sampson. He was accustomed to write down in his "Day-book" the little histories and anecdotes which fell from them in familiar talk. Invaluable would these be to the biographer of the ejected clergy, could they be found. A small portion of them has come down to us through the industry of a Leeds antiquary, a considerable sample of which we propose to give in another article.

Sampson, while true to his principles and proud of associating with the order of men for which his original destination and early habits fitted him, was a man of the world, had his share of humour, and found profit and pleasure in the society of intelligent men of all classes. Thus we find his Day-books contain gleanings of his talk with Sir Thomas Rokeby, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Mr. Erskine, the Master of the Charterhouse; Lady Rokeby, Dr. Tennison, Lord Chief Justice St. John (his former companion at Leyden), Dr. Lightfoot, Serjeant Maynard, Jeremiah Whichcott; and with many physicians, such as Dr. Wilman, Dr. Hulse, Dr. Horseman (of Newark), Dr. Bates (of Canterbury), Dr. Walker, Dr. Howe, and his half-brother, Dr. Grew. In one passage of the Table-book, he mentions the name of a Mrs. Fryer, and adds, "with whom I table." Possibly he boarded at the house of this lady between the time of his first wife's death and his second marriage. His second wife bore the name of Anna, as his first did that of Elinor. One of them perhaps belonged to the respectable Nonconformist family of the Woolleys, connected with an ejected minister of that name, who lived at Hackney. Sampson speaks several times in his notes of his "brother Woolley."

Digitized by Google

A son, who died young, was the issue of the second marriage. Mrs. Sampson survived her husband.

His library is mentioned with respect by Mr. Howe, to whom some of its treasures seem to have been willed.

It is much to be regretted that, with the exception of the Preface to Parker and the short account of Framlingham Castle, Dr. Sampson committed nothing to the press. He had made large historical collections, and begun some biographical and historical works illustrative of the religious history of England; but nearly all of them are unhappily lost to the world. The best account of them is that given by Dr. Calamy in the Preface to his Abridgment of the Life of Baxter:

"It is well known to many that Dr. Henry Sampson, who at first designed for the ministry, and was afterwards an eminent physician for many years in this city, had taken a great deal of pains in collecting materials for a history of Nonconformity, and memoirs concerning the ancient and modern Nonconformists. Several of his papers having been kindly put into my hands, and of use to me in this work, especially in the second part; and among the rest having by me a plan of his design, I shall here communicate it to the world. It was to be entitled, *An Essay of the History of Puritanism and Nonconformity; declaring what the Men of those Characters have done and suffered since the Reformation of Religion in England.*

"It began with the Introduction or a Preface, shewing what were the things contended, and the points of difference as well in doctrine as discipline, government, liturgy, &c., wherein they desired reformation.

"The work was to be divided into 26 chapters, the first treating of the Reformers in the time of Henry VIII., and the last giving an account of those 2000 Nonconformists that were deprived and silenced after the restoration of King Charles II., exhibiting a list of their names, some short account of the actings, writings and sufferings of several of the most eminent amongst them, and the characters of such of them as Anthony Wood hath injuriously reflected on and falsely represented, modestly vindicated."

Of the nine concluding chapters of this work, extending from the meeting of the Assembly of Divines in 1643 to the persecution of Nonconformists in the latter years of Charles II., Dr. Calamy made large use. Dr. Calamy further remarks:

"Had this work been finished and appeared in the world, it might have been a means of convincing some, that Nonconformity hath all along had a closer connection with our civil and religious interest than they are willing to allow. And that the present Nonconformists (as much as they are inveighed against) act in the main upon the same principles with those who have been most eminent for serious religion ever since the Reformation. But he did not live to accomplish his design, and his papers have since been scattered."

Thoresby, who saw the papers when in the possession of Dr. Calamy (1709), speaks of them as incomplete, and reports that "the characters of the Assembly of Divines seemed the most

Digitized by Google

perfect." They were about the same time in the hands of Mr. Tong (the biographer of Matthew Henry), whose connection with Coventry would account for their being submitted to him.

There is abundant occasion for regretting the suppression and dispersion of historical collections and memoirs designed to do justice to the principles, characters and sufferings of the champions of Nonconformity and religious liberty. The labours in this department of Roger Morrice and Jeremiah White are, it is to be feared, hopelessly lost. Little encouragement has hitherto been given to those who have sought to elucidate this page of English ecclesiastical history. May we indulge the hope that in this matter the Nonconformists of England will begin from this Bi-centenary year to pursue a more just and generous course towards the advocates of their principles?

We must hasten to notice the closing years of Dr. Sampson's life.

We have some traces of him in the Diary and Correspondence of Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary. In 1695, the latter visited him, and commends "his courteous demeanour." In the same year, the Dr. describes himself in a letter as "good for little in summer, but for nothing in winter." Asthma was the ailment which added to the infirmities and pains of age.

The last time he was sufficiently well to join the public service at Silver Street, was marked by an affecting incident. Just before his beloved pastor entered on the communion service, he received this note:

"Sir,—It is my request to you that you will please to acquaint the congregation with the great sense I have of the mercy of God, that hath afforded me communion with them and their ministry for thirty years together.

"But now being by the providence of God deprived of my health in the city, I am to seek relief thereof in the country air, and shall thereby be in a great measure deprived of these blessings; yet I earnestly desire their prayers for me and my family, that in some sort of such intercourse our communion may continue, if not in body, yet in spirit.

"Your servant, HENRY SAMPSON."

The pastor, himself broken in health and strength, would give utterance to the desired prayers with deep emotion, feeling that his own course, as well as that of the beloved physician, was nearly run.

Dr. Sampson, struggling with age and asthma, first sought relief in the quiet and purer air of a suburban village. Presently he had a strong craving for his native air, and resolved to pay a visit to his brother William, then rector of Claworth, a village in the county of Nottingham, and but a few miles distant from South Leverton.

The sequel is best told in the words of Mr. Howe:

"That journey brought him into the better, even the heavenly coun-

Digitized by Google

try, God so ordering it that near the place where he drew his first breath he should draw his last, and end a very holy, useful life not far from the very spot where he began to live. In reaching the seat of a reverend brother of his, near to that of his birth, he there found for a very few days a *temporal*, and there entered upon his eternal rest. So, falling a little short of the *patrias sedes*, the place that had been the dwelling-place of his earthly parents, by a joyful anticipation he sooner arrived at his Heavenly Father's house, and found his place amongst the many mansions and everlasting habitations where was to be his proper and perpetual home."

Dr. Henry Sampson died July 23, 1700, in the 72nd year of his age. His remains were interred in the south chancel of Claworth church. A long Latin epitaph was placed over his tomb by his widow, and was probably drawn up by his brother. It makes no mention of the Dr.'s Nonconformity. In little more than two years another grave was opened in the south chancel, and it received the body of the rector. We may indulge the thought that both are alike happy, where ecclesiastical oppression and Nonconformity are unknown. Perish the bigotry which would doubt of the welfare of either on the ground of faith or forms of worship! Of the integrity and piety of Henry Sampson who will doubt? Let us in the absence of knowledge hope that William was not less honest or less pious in his conformity, and that both have been welcomed as good and faithful servants of their common Lord!

Mr. Howe, when he heard of the death of his friend and hearer for twenty years, gratified his friendship and piety alike by preaching and publishing a noble sermon from Hebrews x. 34, "On the Expectation of Future Blessedness."

Dr. Sampson died a wealthy man, his fortune being estimated at £8000 or £9000; a proof that Nonconformist patients were not few in number or niggardly in their fees. Some of his brethren were scandalized that of this huge estate, as it seemed to those frugal and self-denying men, nothing was left "to pious and charitable uses."

Mr. Stretton, writing to Oliver Heywood, gave utterance to the feeling of disappointment; but attributed all to the influence of the wife, who, resolving to "be made a lady,"* forced the dying man before he left London "to make a new will." But this was possibly mere gossiping scandal; and the worthy Dr., shrewdly foreseeing the gross perversions which after times would witness of funds left for pious and charitable uses, might think it better to leave his money to those who, if they used it unwisely and selfishly, should not therein add to their responsibility the sin of unfaithfulness to a declared trust.

* If the second Mrs. Sampson did not fully share her husband's *Nonconformist* sympathies, we may comprehend the harshness of Mr. Stretton's remark, and also understand how it came to pass that Dr. Sampson's histories did not see the light of publicity.

Digitized by Google

MEMOIR OF THE LATE REV. S. F. MACDONALD.

The obituary pages of this Magazine have recorded the death, at Rochdale, on Jan. 9, 1862, aged 39, of Simon Frederick Macdonald, minister of the Unitarian congregation assembling in Blackwater-Street chapel,—greatly esteemed by his own congregation, and by a wide circle of friends outside the Unitarian body. He was born in Aberdeen in 1822, of parents who, except a good example and a spotless name, had little else to bequeath to their children. His education he received partly at Aberdeen and partly at Bonn. In 1846, he married Miss Fannie Elizabeth Stallybrass, of London. He was minister successively, and with acceptance, at Dorchester, Shepton Mallet, Diss, Chester, and Rochdale. In 1849, he removed from Shepton to Diss, spending seven happy years of ministerial usefulness with a most kind and attached congregation, and leaving only because he desired a wider field of labour. For three years he was minister at Chester, and two years at Rochdale,—where he died full of hope, in the midst of his work, and when looking forward to still many years of useful activity.

The decease was sudden and unexpected; for just within one short week he had attended a congregational meeting at Todmorden, feeling only, as was supposed, the effects of a cold, which he did not allow to detain him from fulfilling a promise to his friends. Returning to Rochdale on Friday, Jan. 3, his indisposition rapidly assumed a serious form. The best medical advice and attendance were around him. Dr. Cox did all that skill and unremitting attentions could accomplish; but in spite of a vigorous constitution, the attachment of friends and kindred, and the imploring helplessness of a dependent family, inflammation of the lungs, and subsequently congestion of the brain, did their final work.

It is probable that he may have imposed too much labour upon himself, in what he conceived to be the conscientious discharge of his public and private duties. For he was no mere cumberer of the ground, doing listless hand-work where no heart is, but an earnest worker; and he went among the people exemplifying a practical Christianity in the sweetness of his temper and the unostentatious integrity of his life; endeavouring to spread truth and pure religion by week-day meeting, as well as by the more formal and studied services of the Sunday. In the sister congregation of Clover Street, he was almost as much at home, and perhaps as much valued, as in his own congregation; and he conciliated respect from men of other denominations by the urbanity of his manners, his fairness in dealing with opponents, and the quiet energy which he threw into his public proceedings. The numbers that lined the streets and crowded the chapel, on occasion of the funeral, testified to the estimation in which he was held. And

Digitized by Google

there are other and better evidences, that he did not labour altogether without result. His usual good health and vigour seemed to foreshow a long career of usefulness, and he was of those who would rather do too much than too little,—rather wear out than rust out. He has been removed at comparatively an early age, in the midst of useful labour, full of promise of far greater usefulness, and with intellectual and moral powers which were destined never to ripen under *our* earthly sky. Without setting up extravagant claims to intellectual superiority, and to an eminence which he never attained, he was unquestionably a man of varied accomplishment, cultivated literary taste, versatile powers, strong social and domestic attachments, unbounded good-nature, deep religious feeling, and high moral principle. A worker and also a thinker, he strove to do well whatever he undertook. Even his ordinary epistolary correspondence disclosed the man of taste and order, who could bear to do no sloven's work. Deeming the office and service of a Christian minister to be of highest honour,—invested with intrinsic sanctity,—he gloried in his work, and was willing to spend and be spent in it. Idolizing and idealizing his profession, he aimed to be a scientific theologian; and his sympathies were with the men of progress, both in our own body and in other denominations. He possessed in an eminent degree a catholicity of feeling, which prepared him to work with all good men and true of every name and sect, and of no sect, to make the world better. And this catholicity of spirit did not evaporate in indefinite vagueness, as if liberality consisted in having the mind swept and emptied of all strong convictions and sharply-defined beliefs. We have occasion to know that his own principles were never ambiguous, and never far to seek; though he was always prompt to give the right hand of fellowship to all earnest men of every creed. A native of Aberdeen, he had been brought up in the strictest tenets of Scottish Calvinism according to the Established Church; and his accession to the free and benevolent theology of Unitarianism, was not merely the result of a calm balancing of evidence, and a logical working out of his own emancipation from that most tremendous and well-linked system of theology which is laid down in the Westminster Confession; but it was the warmest dictate of heart and reason and ideality all conjoined; and with no hesitating acceptance he rose to the faith whose leading principle is God our Father. In common with so many others among us, he felt that the wants of our day demand a varied and growing culture on the part of the clergy, and he aimed to keep abreast with the spirit of the age, made incursions into many fields of literature and science, and strove after systematic self-culture as an indispensable instrument for effectively acting on others. History, poetry, politics, the physical sciences, but chiefly the moral sciences and the philosophy of religion, were his chosen studies; and he had made in

Digitized by Google

some of them no contemptible acquisitions. Having some poetic taste, he occasionally amused a leisure hour in translating from the German poets, or in attempts at original composition. But there was nothing into which he entered with so much relish, or continued with such unabated and growing delight, as the performance of his ministerial and religious duties. Adopting the practice recommended by Professor Ware, of America, and also by the Professors of Manchester College, London, he was in the habit of giving both written and unwritten services,—a practice which conduces to the lucid order and compression of the one method, with the freedom and animation of the other. Always ready to help and conduct week-day classes for mutual improvement, among the younger part of the congregation, he had also some ambition to be an occasional lecturer on literature, &c., as well as preacher; and in all discussions, public or private, his manner was bland, and his bearing uniformly courteous in expressing difference of opinion. A recent lecture and discussion in Rochdale with a lady of Secularist views, gave indication of the tone and temper in which he was prepared to meet such occasions. He had purposed, we believe, to embark somewhat largely into the inquiries and discussions connected with the religious views and alleged heresies of the working classes; and perhaps by the production of some work on the Philosophy of Religion directed to those deeper problems implicated with Christian theology, which lie beneath the surface of sectarian controversy, he hoped that he might be a humble co-operator with some of the more advanced thinkers of the day, in the effort to settle men's minds on the rock of true and everlasting religion, while so many are drifting away from the old moorings and seeking new havens of refuge.

Words could hardly tell how much he was prized and endeared to the family of which he was a member, as well as to those of his own household. A wife and seven children, the eldest under fourteen years of age, were left to lament his loss; but on Jan. 29, within three weeks of the father's death, the youngest nurseling was consigned to the same grave which contained the father's remains. Funeral services have been conducted at Rochdale and at Chester, by Revds. L. Taplin, of Todmorden, J. Wright, of Bury, J. K. Montgomery, of Chester, to deeply interested and sorrowing audiences, who grieved as for a departed friend and brother. And both the congregations of Rochdale and Chester have evinced their benevolent care for the surviving family, by a prompt and generous munificence; and many of the Unitarian body throughout the country have worthily responded. The hand of friendship and of kindred can scarcely hold an impartial pen while speaking of one so dearly beloved; the needful deductions will be made; but to those who knew him best, he seemed indeed to be one of the excellent of the earth, one of God's own

Digitized by Google

nobility, a true and worthy man struggling bravely to fight life's battle; and not soon will the void of the heart be filled to those to whom he was dear,—to some of us never. Peace be with his memory; it will be green in our souls after months and years have fled! A. M.

February 8.

UNITARIANISM IN TRANSYLVANIA.*

Our readers will need an interpretation of the title-page which we have placed at the foot of this page. It is, "Church Prayers and Sermons delivered on the occasion of the Meeting of the Synodical Consistory of the Transylvanian Unitarians at Torda, June 29 and 30, and July 1 and 2, 1861." The pamphlet has been transmitted to us by the newly-elected Transylvanian Bishop.

It is an interesting fact that this Unitarian volume is printed by the kind aid of the Roman Catholics, as the Unitarians have not at present the command of a press of their own. It will interest our readers to know how their brethren in Transylvania talk and write, and we therefore present them with specimens, kindly translated, at our suggestion, by the intelligent Transylvanian clergyman who is at present studying our language, institutions and theological literature, at Manchester New College, under the auspices of his own Consistory, aided by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.

Our first extract is taken from the third part of the sermon, "The Kingdom of God," by Rev. Joseph Ferenz.

"My brethren! it is not either the multitude of nationalities, or the multitude of sects, which keeps far from us the kingdom of God, but that these are not all equally inspired by the spirit of the gospel, which teaches that they should be *every one members one of another* (Rom. xii. 5); that all of us have not the token of discipleship of Jesus, *having love one to another* (John xiii. 35); that there are many who put their religion on a basis of mere policy, who use it as a means of worldly advantage, and who make it an object of merchandize. They seek to manifest it in outward ordinances rather than in good works, in dogmatic forms rather than in piety, and so they *give that which is holy unto the dogs* (Matt. vii. 6). If, therefore, we desire to complete the glorious work of building up the kingdom of God, we must take care that we do not fall under this heavy accusation. We must shew that the truths of the gospel exercise a vital influence on our souls. As the love of man dwelt in the heart of its Founder, so must it in ours. We must shew that we not only know the moral teachings and laws of Jesus, but that we follow

---

* Egyházi Imák és Beszédek. Elmondattak az erdélyi Unitáriusoknak 1861-ik évi junius 29-töl julius 2-káig bezárólag Tordán tartott. Zsinati Főegyháztanácsa Alkalmával. 8vo. Pp. 74.

Digitized by Google

them also, *and herein do we exercise ourselves to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and men* (Acts xxiv. 16); we must shew that our thoughts, sentiments and works are in agreement with the precepts of our religion, that we love God with all our heart and with all our strength, that we love our neighbours as ourselves without any distinction, and that *whatsoever we would that men should do to us, so even should we do to them* (Matt. vii. 12).

We must take a passage from the speech with which Rev. Móses Székely opened the Synod.

"Let some even at this day, who do not know the principles of our faith, or who wish to misinterpret and denounce them, call us Christ-denyers, because we Unitarian Christians do not acknowledge Jesus Christ to be co-equal with the Father and a second person in the Godhead. We believe and confess him to be a Mediator between God and men, as we are taught in the Scriptures. We do not make any account of such men at all, because, according to sober philosophy or the religion of the mind, that church alone dedicated to his Father can stand on a secure foundation and unshaken, which has this seal or motto: *The Lord knows who are his own;* or, *As the Searcher of hearts and reins, He alone knows who honour him in spirit and in truth.*"

We proceed with a passage from the first part of a sermon, "The Necessity of the Progressive Element in Religion," by Rev. Lewis Nagy.

"There are clear proofs that the human soul is called to make continual efforts to attain perfection. The want of knowledge in men is not a hindrance in the way of this perfection. The naturalist studies the phenomena and products of the earth to make himself acquainted with those truths and principles which are latent in the elements. With what admiration does the astronomer investigate the heavenly bodies! Neither the Inquisition, nor the wrath or punishment of any other power, can make Galileo and Copernicus stop in their study of heaven and earth. I ask you, the members of this Synodical Assembly, is it right for us not to feel the need and desire of a purer knowledge of the Lord of nature and the God of heaven and earth? Is it right that God's holy laws pertaining to the freedom of the soul shall remain obscured by ignorance, trammelled by fetters of selfishness and prejudice, of blindness and superstition? It is, indeed, not right, for it is in opposition to the nature of the soul, which is called to continual efforts after perfection. . . . . Shall we not seek more abundantly for truth in the knowledge pertaining to religion? Must we stop at the point which Luther, Calvin or Socinus reached? I know the objection of those who say that pure science has its origin in men, and that, as such, it is imperfect and needs to be developed and modified; but that Christian theology has its origin from God, that God himself revealed it through His chosen, who wrote infallibly, that in this progress is impossible, that these are the limits of our faith. I also believe, my brethren, in those eternal truths which are not contradicted but affirmed by that first and continual revelation in nature, which do not contradict the nobler feelings and thoughts of my heart and mind, but yet make them nobler and more lofty. But I rather believe in truth

Digitized by Google

itself, which is engrafted into visible nature, into the living heart, than in the imperfect expression of truth. I would also make a distinction between essence and form in the science of religion. God is the essence of religion; biblical representations, descriptions, different dogmas, historical views and interpretations, are its form. Science affirms this essence, and seeks to make perfect the form also. And, my brethren, I have no desire to weaken, by any means, the authority of the sacred writers and the holy memory of reformers. They were men who rose above the multitude, of pure character, and they deserve our gratitude. They have recorded what they saw, they depict the impressions made upon them, they describe the period in which they lived, and represent what they believed. But that period differed from ours: the difference does not weaken their statements, only we must take them at their true value. Viewing from the present stand-point of science, they erred, and might err here and there in their descriptions; for perfect truth is only with God: however, they were not liars, because they were convinced of the truth they had written. Now if we, from the present view of human perfection, when we can see the truth in clearer light, accept for truths even those words in which they have erred, the fault rests not with them, but us. They delivered their experiences, convictions and belief to the age that succeeded them, and by this they did good service to humanity. If we hand over also the result of our learning, our conviction, we are only promoting the work of God in the education of the human race.

"Indeed, members of the Synodical Assembly, I dare to say, that if Jesus himself or the Apostle Paul were to appear amongst us, they would even at this time carry on to perfection the science pertaining to religion. For neither of them asked their followers to come to a dead stop, to content themselves with unconditional literal belief in the outer form of his teaching. On the contrary, Jesus himself in many places subjoins illustrations to the Old Testament and to his teachings; he says, *Be ye perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect.* Does this saying suppose a stop to progress? Does it not rather indicate perpetual advancement? The Apostle Paul says to the Corinthians, *Though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day.* And this renewal is in the continual perfecting of the human soul.

"I have heard an opinion expressed that Unitarianism is the religion of the future. I confess I rejoice in thinking it is so. It is because Unitarians inherited a free spirit from the founders of their faith, that they do not fear giving light to others. Hence it is our English brethren take the pains they do in diffusing their faith both among Christians and Heathens. That the kingdom of God may come, we must do all we can to make advances in the science pertaining to religion."

We next give a passage from the speech delivered at the ordination of five young ministers, by the Right Reverend John Kriza, the newly-elected Bishop.

"Very honourable Synodical Assembly, dear brethren! it seems to me as if the present days were like those holy days of the effusion of the holy spirit, like that first pentecost at Jerusalem, when, as it is written, *suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting,—and there appeared unto them*

Digitized by Google

cloven tongues like as of fire, and sat upon each of the disciples. And they were all filled with the holy spirit, and began to speak with other tongues, as the holy spirit gave them utterance. And what influence should this memorable place, the heart of this city so honourably distinguished in our ecclesiastical history (because glorified by the spirit of freedom), have upon us, and induce us to speak with other tongues than those of our every-day life, and to dwell on the marvellous facts connected with this pentecost of our ecclesiastical life! As in the olden times the son of Israel remembered the words of the law on the pentecost inscribed on stone by Moses, his national creator, on Mount Sinai, so we at the present occasion of our great ecclesiastical assembly cannot help remembering the glorious law* of religious liberty brought forth in this town, in consequence of which our religion and community took deep root in this country, and as the youngest child of the century of the Reformation went forth to its glorious work. I feel myself here at this moment as if the great Reformers of our religion were waving around me, whispering approving words into my soul with their spiritual lips, rejoicing that the brave spirit of free inquiry and proving all things has not deserted their successors; I think I hear the proposition of our first immortal Bishop, Francis David, about the 'communis prophetia,'† and the earnest discussions that ensued respecting articles of faith, ecclesiastical discipline and other matters; I feel as if I were looking on the troop of inspired and earnest-minded young men called out for church examination and for consecration to ministerial office, whose hearts glow with the holy fire of Christian zeal, and are prepared to go forth to many St. Peters from this town to preach everywhere the glorious doctrine of the Unity of God, the sublime conceptions respecting the person and works of the Mediator, to preach the holy precepts of strict morality, a worship free from ceremonies, and seconding their teachings by their examples, so as to raise the people to a higher degree of moral perfection. Yes, the Ecclesia of this city—according to the expression of one of our eminent theologians—has been the great heart-chamber of our ecclesiastical life since the origin of our faith; and I cannot wonder that when we, descendants of zealous brethren of old, though decreased in number yet not crushed in strength of soul, assembling on this memorable spot, feel our hearts beat with a quicker pulse,—I cannot wonder that our sentiments and opinions manifest themselves with a great freedom and power, so that, as it is written of that first pentecost, *they were all amazed and were in doubt, saying one to another, What meaneth this?*"

After this eloquent exordium, the worthy Bishop proceeds to dwell, as became the occasion and his own distinguished position, on the duties that befitted the minister of Christ's holy gospel, taking as his text the words, "But watch thou in all things, endure afflictions, do the work of an evangelist, making full proof of thy ministry" (2 Tim. iv. 5).

* Unitarianism was acknowledged by the Diet held at Torda in 1568, under the reign of John Sigismund II.

† The "communis prophetia" was an act passed by the Diet held at Torda in 1578, by virtue of which everybody obtained full freedom to discuss, without any danger, those articles of faith which had not been settled by the Diet.

Digitized by Google

JUSTICE TO PRIESTLEY.

SIR,

HAD you not very properly interdicted the discussion of merely metaphysical topics in your Magazine I should have felt no disposition to argue the points raised by Mr. Read in your last number, as they are either beside the mark or were long ago sufficiently settled, and as I did not write to you with any desire to commence a controversy. What I wish is "justice," alike to Priestley and myself; a justice which should consist in serious and impartial examination of our respective writings, instead of ignoring the one and condemning the other, in the self-same style that Unitarianism is treated by those Trinitarians who denounce without inquiring, and who approach everything heterodox with simple assertions of what orthodoxy has concluded to be true, thus saving themselves the trouble of understanding what they are determined not to believe. My letter amounted to this:—Priestley, who in everything saw beyond his compeers, enunciated a doctrine of the nature of man as body and soul one homogeneous substance (or subsistence), which at the time excited much attention, but which has been since quietly buried by his warmest admirers, even by those who hailed with so much satisfaction the decision that he should "have a statue." From his time the proofs have been daily growing that he was as right in his theory of man's simple unity as in his scientific discoveries, physiology in particular having established facts which he would have hailed with unqualified delight, seeing in them the strongest confirmation of his opinions. And yet his doctrine is never so much as hinted at: a physiologist of pre-eminence has himself told me he never read Priestley's book; and less distinguished writers of his class, while noticing phenomena which, if induction from facts can prove anything, must prove the correctness of Priestley's grand principle, grow alarmed at the necessary consequences of their own statements, and deprecate their readers' idea that they are becoming materialistic! At length a continental Professor of note puts forth an essay, intended to be *against* Materialism, in which he tells us that the very doctrine of a duality in man which Priestley set himself to controvert, is "demonstrated" to be false by no less a philosopher than Kant, and denied by "the best psychologians of the day," whom he proceeds to name. And this same worthy Professor seems not to know that the dualism which he disallows, and which he admits to have provoked all the gross conceptions on the contrary side that are so injurious to man's moral nature, is exactly what an English philosopher disallowed nearly a hundred years ago, and wrote his "Disquisitions on Matter and Spirit" to disprove. I ask, Sir, if all this is "justice to Priestley"? Or is it justice to truth, in men of the first mark for philosophical research and scientific attainments, to say, as one of such does in a letter now before me, "I doubt whether there is much difference between us in regard to the general nature of mental operations," and go on to shew by their writings that the difference is indeed almost infinitesimal, without at once frankly confessing that their doctrine of the mental functions amounts to neither more nor less than what is popularly understood by Materialism? The truth is that the mere word "Materialism" is a bugbear which neither the philosopher nor theologian of these times appears to have the courage to

Digitized by Google

face. I question not that many learned and conscientious men have honestly convinced themselves that the human being *is* a duality, and not a unity; and if they have fully and impartially considered the arguments on both sides, I should be the last to judge them for the conclusion they have arrived at. But I have as yet met with no condemners of my views who have fulfilled these conditions, or whom I might not properly address in the wise man's words, "Blame not before thou hast examined the truth: understand first, and then rebuke."

THOMAS CROMWELL.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Dutch at Home: Essays from the "Revue des Deux Mondes." By Alphonse Esquiros. Translated and edited by Lascelles Wraxall. 2 vols. London—Chapman and Hall. 1861.

THE series of essays on Holland now collected and translated attracted considerable and well-deserved attention on their first appearance in the periodical which was then the organ of the freest and most thoughtful minds in France. The author, a political exile, after three years of ennui in Belgium, following the advice of an English friend, betook himself to Holland, and in that quaint land of canals and fogs, and in the character of its industrious and worthy citizens, who in speech, figure, pleasures, religion, present so singular a contrast to the countrymen of Alphonse Esquiros, found most attractive subjects for his eye and pen.

The spirit in which he entered upon and followed up his task was the right one, both for securing his own and his readers' enjoyment. Disdaining to approach it in the spirit of a caricaturist, from conscientious scruples against ridiculing what is good, he entered frankly and seriously into the spirit of the civilization of the Netherlands. That spirit he found to be "serious, positive, simple and minute." He speaks of the mental pleasure to be found in identifying oneself with the life of another nation. He has, we think, in these admirable volumes illustrated the still higher *moral* pleasure of that process. As an exile, denied his rights as a citizen at home, he naturally looked with admiring eyes on the free institutions of Holland and the intense love of liberty which pervades its people.

"Their history is glorious, for they conquered at an early hour liberty, and have known how to defend it; and their present condition, though obscure, is worthy of envy; for with the slight resources of a country which they have constantly been compelled to draw from the deluge, they have forced nature to open her reluctant hand, and have learned to be rich by contenting themselves with little."

In the same spirit he describes Holland as

"— a society offering unique and enduring features, which after creating its territory, its navy, its laws, its representative government, its powerful municipal institutions, and its family life, retains an energetic resolution of living at home, without fearing or disquieting others."

These essays offer a chapter to almost every taste. It is not our

Digitized by Google

purpose to dwell long on them, or to attempt an analysis or even a slight description of the account of the physical features of the country, or the ingenious hydraulic apparatus by which its inhabitants turn their natural enemy, water, into their trusty servant. Nor shall we be tempted by the picturesque descriptions of M. Esquiros to linger on the canals, or to master the mysteries of Dutch trading, or to behold its fisheries either at home or abroad. Our chief object in naming the "Dutch at Home" is to survey, by the aid of this accomplished Frenchman, the peculiarities of the people in respect to education, morals and religion.

In our own country, before the great battle of religious liberty was fought and won, Holland was perpetually reproached, alike by dull divines and sparkling wits, as the country most tainted with an infinitude of heresies, and all its evil characteristics were supposed to be concentrated in Amsterdam, that "synagogue of sects."

In a rare folio poetical tract of the seventeenth century, entitled "The Character of Holland," we find utterance of the wonder of the poet at the miscellaneous character of the religion of the country:

> "Sure when Religion did itself embark,
> And from the East would westward steer its ark,
> It struck; and splitting on this unknown ground,
> Each one thence pillaged the first piece he found:
> Hence Amsterdam Turk, Christian, Pagan, Jew,
> Staple of sects and mint of schism grew;
> That bank of conscience, where not one so strange
> Opinion, but finds credit and exchange.
> In vain for Catholics ourselves we bear,
> The Universal Church is only there."

When licensers and other agents of intellectual oppression had put fetters on the press of England, our best books (including at one period the Bible itself) were generally printed in Holland. The first folio collection of the prose works of Milton bears the imprint of "Amsterdam." Many of the books of the early English Unitarians issued from the free press of Holland. Thus does our author speak of this characteristic of Holland:

"Holland, almost entirely surrounded by water, isolated from Europe by her language, and nearly forgotten in a corner of the continent, was to some extent predestined by nature as a place of asylum for all the victims of religious and political persecution. In this country, whose existence was incessantly menaced, a toleration based on gentleness of manners, the need of mutual assistance, and the fear of a common danger, was developed. Holland, amidst the deluge of blood which covered the world towards the close of the 16th century, was the ark of salvation. There all those whom the mother country had rejected found once more temples, a home and certain civil rights. The philosopher must revere this land, which has received the footsteps of all free thinkers; where Bayle the sceptic could live in peace, and Spinoza himself was not burnt. Respect for all strong and honourable convictions, and for all unmerited misfortunes, was allied in the Netherlands to a natural feeling of benevolence. The Protestants of Belgium and France, driven away by the hangman of Philip II., by the massacres of St. Bartholomew, and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, found in Holland a Church, whose language, organization and religious edifices still exist in the Walloon Church. Most of the strangers waited for the rigour of the persecution to be relaxed, and entered Holland as a haven; but they remained there. Last of all came the Jews."

Digitized by Google

When our author speaks of the strangers who resorted to Holland in the first instance as a temporary haven, and says they generally stay after the storm of persecution has ceased, he should perhaps except our countrymen. Kindly as the Pilgrim Fathers were treated at Leyden and elsewhere in Holland, they did not take root, but shipped themselves for the then savage shores and frightful climate (in the winter at least) of the New World. The Marian exiles and the political refugees under the Stuart dynasty, who found an asylum in Holland during their time of trouble at home, all returned to England as soon as the occasion for alarm had passed. John Bull is an awkward linguist, and would rather be where he can speak and hear his mother tongue, though spoken with the worst accent and tone, than listen to the purest French or the sweetest Italian. But our author continues:

"There is a justice inherent in human things and actions. He who, according to the language of the gospel, has rewards for every act of charity, even for the glass of cold water given to a poor man, would not allow this religious toleration to pass without results for Holland. England owes her industrial prosperity to the strangers who flocked to her shores through the wars of the Reformation; and the Netherlands owe, partly at any rate, the splendour of their commerce to the Portuguese Jews. The banner of religious liberty attracted thither all those whom the old Catholic world would no longer have, and this has proved a source of intellectual and moral development for Holland. In the scale of physical life animals rise by the addition of new organs; in the same way, in the scale of social progress, the constitution of races is elevated by becoming complicated. Each of the adjoining groups brings, as it were, a new member to civilization. In Holland the accession of foreign elements was therefore a piece of good fortune for the country; liberty was fecundated by its own strength and by the auxiliary forces it assimilated. It is from the amalgamation of special faculties with the different gifts derived from strangers, that the greatness of Holland emerged in the 17th century.

"This religious liberty has remained one of the characteristic features of the Netherlands. Here Protestantism, though dominant, abstains from any external manifestation of worship; the streets are to a certain extent atheistical. Still it must not be concluded from this that there is no faith; on the contrary, Holland is one of the most religious countries on earth, but religion is there an affair between God and man. Regarding the size of the country, no other has so many sects as the Netherlands; but at the same time the religious communities nowhere live on a better understanding. They have taken seriously St. Paul's expression, *oportet hereses esse*—it is necessary that there should be dissenters. The Catholics, for a long time regarded as overthrown, at the present day enjoy all civil rights in Holland. Still no mistake must be made: under this toleration the national sentiment remains Protestant. Holland loves the religious Reformation as mothers love the child they have engendered in suffering."—I. 95—98.

Not unwisely has M. Esquiros devoted much attention to Dutch sailors and fishermen. They exhibit the essential features of the Dutch character. His picture of the hardy fishermen of Scheveningen is admirable. We can only extract a single passage.

"Strangers to social conventialisms, they will be neither regulated nor protected; and this feeling of independence is visible on their faces. The sailors and fishermen are distinguished from other men by the way in which they carry their heads erect in walking. It was for them, we might say, that the Ovidean line was written: *Os homini sublime dedit.* This love of liberty extends even to their religious belief. The fishermen of the coast, as we have

Digitized by Google

seen, are nearly all Reformers; they only recognize two books as having a right to speak to them of duty, the Bible and the Sea. It seems as if ocean exerts a moral and sanctifying influence over them, for intoxication is rare among the fishermen of Scheveningen, and those even who drink gin to excess on land, abstain from all intemperance when aboard. When at sea oaths are unknown, for maritime life exalts in these simple and ignorant men the religious feeling. When a fly-boat sets out, each fisherman generally takes his Bible with him; no meal is eaten without prayer, and it also ends with returning thanks. On Sunday, if the men are at sea, they abstain from fishing; if ashore, psalms may be heard from their little houses at an early hour."—I. 238, 239.

M. Alphonse Esquiros digresses widely, going from Holland to all places in Europe and America on which the Hebrew race have put their mark, in his disquisitions on the Jews. But his observations are so full of well-conveyed information, and are couched in a spirit so mild and genial, that we make no complaint. We cannot forbear giving more than one extract on this subject from the second volume.

"The Jews who stand aloof from this Pharisaic and Talmudist direction, draw singularly close to Christianity. They do not actually form a party; they are merely distinguished from the other Israelites by a more philosophical tendency and a wider interpretation of the Scriptures. The majority of them regard the spread of the gospel as a great Providential fact; they listen, as to an echo of their past and a foreboding of their future, to those national hymns which the different Christian Churches have borrowed from them; and they rejoice at an event which must pave the way throughout the world for the reign of their Messiah—the unity of the human race. On what motives, however, do they base their objections to join the Christian religion? They say that the Christ announced by the Scriptures must be a man, and not a God, or member of the Trinity; the promises made by the prophets from the beginning of the world, and which must be realized in the advent of the Messiah, are not all accomplished yet, because the human race has not vitally changed, because enmities and inequalities among men are not yet extinct, and because the universal peace has not yet set in."—II. 187, 188.

"The gratitude of the Jews to Protestant nations which sheltered them at a period when they were proscribed and wandering over the whole earth, has something touching and profound about it. The good understanding is not based solely on a service rendered, but on a conformity of religious belief and a common notion of duty. Israel is pleased to recognize in reformed Christianity its own doctrines as to the unity of God, the immortality of the soul, the inspired nature of the Scriptures, and the practice of domestic virtues. Both creeds proscribe graven images, and nothing so much resembles a Protestant temple as a synagogue. The Jews appeal to the authority of Christ as confirming the bond that unites them to the Anglican Church; for the gospel says salvation comes of the Jews. The three great creeds that cover the world with their influence, Catholicism, Protestantism and Mohammedanism, issued from Judaism as a common origin. A river must not deny its source, or a tree despise its roots."—II. 212, 213.

Not the least remarkable portion of the second volume is that in which M. Esquiros describes the several Dutch Universities. His is no mere surface view; and whether at Leyden, the seat of orthodoxy, or at Groningen, where a rational but so-deemed heretical theology is in the ascendant, his descriptions are equally instructive and striking.

After a powerful description of the siege of Leyden, the gallant resistance of the inhabitants to the Spaniards, and to still more terrible foes, famine and pestilence, and the relief of the apparently doomed city by the cutting of the dykes and the operation of a storm, which blew

Digitized by Google

the waves of the sea over the submerged land, and drowned the besiegers or drove them away in terror, M. Esquiros thus proceeds:

"The Prince of Orange had been prevented by illness from proceeding in person to Leyden. He was at Delft and had hardly recovered, and was at church when the happy news of the siege being raised was brought to him. He handed the despatch to the preacher, who read it aloud, and all burst into tears and thanksgivings. Although the plague still carried off its victims in the unhappy city of Leyden, William the Silent did not hesitate about proceeding thither. Surrounded by the inhabitants, who forgot their misfortunes on seeing in this man the living rampart of re-conquered liberty, he asked them which they preferred, an exemption from certain taxes or the foundation of a Protestant University. The citizens of Leyden did not hesitate on *(in)* their choice; the general cry was, 'A University.'"

A people like these patriotic citizens of Leyden deserved their freedom. But we must hasten to profit by M. Esquiros' description of the less orthodox institution at Groningen, where the liberal and progressive party are strongly entrenched. Our author writes as a Catholic, but he is evidently one of the more tolerant and philosophical of that Church.

"Messrs. De Groot, Pareau and Muurling, men well versed in the history of Christianity, share among them the different branches of instruction. Their ideas are not very clear, or at least very precisely defined in their works. ..... The Groningen theologians defend themselves against the charge of undermining the edifice of the Reformation, but they pronounce themselves against synodal Protestantism. Their starting-point is the formal negation of all human authority in religious matters. They certainly accept the Synod of Dort as an historical fact; but it could not, according to them, in any way pledge the faith of future generations. The Groningen theologians accuse their opponents, who stand up for an official church and religious tradition, of desiring Papistry less the Pope; while themselves no more recognise a flesh and blood Pope than they do a paper Pope. Going back to the origin of the religious Reformation, they declare themselves for the doctrine of private judgment. The source of all light they find in reading the gospel interpreted in thorough good faith, but at the same time with all the independence of individual reason. Revelation, according to them, is only the education of the human race in Christ, and it is a fact that is still continuing. The epoch of the Reformation was one of the glorious phases of this historic initiation; but what the Reformers began must be carried on. The Groningen school itself gives an example of this incessant revision of the Christian dogma, by rejecting the mystery of the Trinity, no trace of which they say is be found in the Holy Scriptures; by denying predestination, that fundamental idea of Calvin, which supposes a cruel God, who enchains the human liberty; and by even setting aside the mystery of the Redemption, at least in the way of ordinary theology, which they call *the theology of blood*, comprehends it. In order to give this bold doctrine a local colouring, the Groningen theologians have exhumed from the archives of the Reformation a certain Wesselus Granafortius, whose opinions agree with their own ..... The voice of this philosophical or heterodox school finds echoes in the pulpits of the Protestant National Church. The influence is not based on the lower classes, among whom, on the contrary, the narrow, but firm and precise, formulas of orthodoxy count numerous adherents; the moral strength of this doctrine of liberty is derived from the middle classes. Young and ardent preachers agitate throughout the Netherlands the flag of the new Protestantism, which they assert to be in conformity with the national history of religious ideas. To hear them, it is not they who are turning from the right path, but it was the Synod of Dort that departed from the spirit of the Reformation. Science has at any rate progressed since that assembly, celebrated in the annals of Europe, and society must move on with science. At the head of

Digitized by Google

the movement are Mr. Meyboom, pastor at Amsterdam, and Mr. Zaalberg, pastor at the Hague. Their election met with a lively resistance on the part of the consistory of both cities, but they were eventually appointed. On the day of their installation, both delivered at the same hour and on the same text, a sermon beginning with the words, 'We come to announce to you Christ, and nothing but Christ.' The two brothers in arms had evidently come to an understanding, and they continue marching nearly in the road. Some time ago, the King of Holland happened to be in Amsterdam on Sunday when it was Mr. Meyboom's turn to preach. The King hesitated about going to church, and thus encouraging to a certain extent by his presence heterodox teaching; but he speedily decided in the affirmative. This homage, rendered less to the doubtful doctrines of the preacher than to religious tolerance and the sovereignty of the opinion that had summoned Mr. Meyboom to the Evangelical pulpit, was regarded in Holland as an act of some gravity. The old National Church was crumbling away with its fundamental dogmas before the principle of election, and the respect that the chief of the state himself had testified to the liberty of belief. The Word and the Conscience, twin immortal sisters, thus emerged victorious from the contest, although it is true that they had been subjected to the sanction of their age. . . . . .

"There is a grave and delicate point on which the orthodox try to close with their opponents—the divinity of Christ . . . . . Christ is to them (the heterodox party) the most perfect type of humanity, the envoy of the Most High, the image of God; but is he God in person? . . . . . Some of them believe in the Divinity, but not in the Deity, of the Son of the Virgin. . . . . They evince a pride in evangelical morality, they testify an historic respect for some men of the Reformation, but between their ideas and those of Calvin, for instance, there is the distance of several centuries."—II. 127—132.

We have been tempted to make large extracts from these very interesting volumes, and have little space left for further remark. But we must say a word or two respecting their learned and liberal countryman, whom these able professors hold up as their forerunner in speculative freedom and theological reform. John Wesselus, according to the best account of him on which we can at once put our hands (the Abbé Ladvocat's Historical and Biographical Dictionary), was born about 1419 at Groningen. He attained during his life such celebrity as to be called by some "The Light of the World;" while others, in consequence of his want of reverent loyalty towards Aristotle, styled him "The Master of Contradiction." Having accompanied the General of the Friar Minorites to the Council of Basil, the latter, after his elevation to the Papal Chair with the title of Sixtus IV., holding him in the highest esteem, offered him any ecclesiastical promotion in his gift. Wesselus astonished the Pope by asking for a copy of the Bible in the two original tongues. The Pope remonstrated, and asked him why he did not ask for a mitre. The reformer replied, Because he did not want it. Taking with him the precious volumes, received in reply to his request, from the Vatican Library, he returned to his native country and died at Groningen, Oct. 4, 1489. Some of his MSS. were after his death burnt, but others were collected and printed, 1617, in quarto, at Marpurg. His countrymen regard him, with good reason, as one of the Reformers before the Reformation, — the forerunner of Luther. There was published at Amsterdam, in 1840, a treatise concerning his principles and virtues, which the writer declared to be even at this day deserving of approbation and imitation. Should any of our readers have access to this essay, they would greatly oblige us by transmitting some account of it for insertion in our pages.

Digitized by Google

Dedication Service at the Church of the Messiah, Broad Street, Birmingham, on New Year's Day, Wednesday, January 1, 1862. 8vo. Pp. 28. London—Whitfield.

THE publication of this interesting service is in compliance with the request of many friends who had the privilege of joining in the opening service of the Church of the Messiah. Mr. Madge's sermon is entitled to take its place with the best of those he has committed to the press. It will be scarcely correct to say that this discourse will make the same impression on those who read it, that it made on those who heard it in the varied and animated (but always melodious) tones of the preacher, with the accompaniment of his simple dignity of manner. But the solid thoughts that strew every page, expressed in a beautifully lucid style, not deficient in those ornaments which are consistent with a pure taste, will make this sermon instructive and pleasing to every intelligent and cultivated reader. The subject was happily chosen—*The Immutable Nature of Christian Truth.* The occasion—the removal of one of our most important congregations to a new house of prayer, and the day—the first of another of the greater revolutions of our globe, suggest the thought of what is transient and changeable. It was well to remind those assembled that all is not transient or given to change,—that God's revealed truth is eternal and immutable. It also well became Mr. Madge, occupying his vantage-ground of talent, age and position, to separate the faith of Unitarian Christians from the vague declarations of those who, in illustrating the progressive character of religion, sometimes appear to forget that, however men may change and human institutions disappear, the gospel of Jesus Christ is *the same yesterday and to-day and for ever.*

We shall, we believe, more profitably use the space we have in offering one or two extracts, than in attempting an analysis of the whole sermon.

After alluding to the proof which the condition of the heathen world afforded of the necessity of some authoritative declaration of religious truth, "published by a messenger with credentials to attest his authority," the preacher proceeds to characterize Lord Herbert's attempt to construct a religion of Nature.

"Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, one of the earliest and most respectable of the English Deists, lays down five principles which, he says, God has inscribed upon the minds of all men, and which render all revelation unnecessary. They are these:—1st, that there is only one supreme God; 2nd, that he is chiefly to be worshipped; 3rd, that piety and virtue are the principal part of his worship; 4th, that we must repent of our sins, and if we do so, God will pardon them; and 5th, that there are rewards for good men and punishments for bad men in a future state. Lord Herbert, if he had never heard of Christianity, if his thoughts had not been early imbued with Christian principles, would not have been able to write thus. He bathed his mind in this great fountain of light and knowledge, and these very words of his bear witness to the efficacy of its power. It is easy for us to imagine that reason might have done as well without Christianity as with it, but where is the proof of this? Where the probability? All experience is against it, decidedly and unequivocally. Where is the nation, unvisited by the light of revelation, that ever worshipped one only God? Or, where did the worship of uninstructed man consist chiefly of acts of piety and virtue? In what heathen land was repentance of sin ever made the means of averting the divine displeasure? It is

Digitized by Google

notorious that the very publication of such a doctrine on the part of the first Christians, at first subjected them to ridicule and reproach. Yes, it was by the gospel alone that the bonds of idolatry were broken. It is by the gospel alone that the standard of a pure morality has been set up among men. It is by the gospel alone that earth and heaven, time and eternity, have been shewn to be connected together as seed-time and harvest, as the river and the ocean into which it flows. Should the period ever arrive when man shall look upon himself as all sufficient for himself, when he may trust to his own intuitions as all that he needs for a light to his feet and a lamp to his path, when reason may dispense with faith and nature with hope, the value of the gospel may be disregarded, and its guidance and aid rejected; till then it will continue to engage the minds and interest the hearts of all who are conscious of ignorance which seeks to be removed, and of wishes and wants which need to be satisfied."—Pp. 14, 15.

In the unmistakably plain and equally reasonable words that follow, did the preacher put himself in opposition to those who would regard the gospel as one of many institutions, useful for its day, but designed to pass away and be succeeded by something better:

"It is, as it appears to me, a great mistake to suppose that on the subject of religion we should be like those who are ever seeking but never coming to a knowledge of the truth. The mind is weary of being tossed to and fro upon the sea of conjecture. It demands something that is stable and sure; something upon which faith can rest; something around which the affections can gather, to which the soul can cleave, and from which it may derive the support and the comfort of which it stands in need. This, however, is not the lesson which is taught in some modern schools of theology. According to them it would seem as if we were never to rest in any conclusion; as if no religious doctrine, however clearly it may present itself to our minds, should ever be held by us as what is unchangeably good and true. Now this, I conceive, arises from a mistaken view of the nature and character of religion itself; from confounding, in fact, the two distinct provinces of philosophy and religion. In philosophy, or I should rather say, in human science, we look for change; we look for new discoveries. The invention of yesterday is improved by the invention of to-day, and that again is followed by still further improvements on the morrow. But it is not so with Christianity, with the gospel of Christ. That embraces truths and doctrines which are not to be affected by time or chance. It cannot be said of them, as may be said of the arts and sciences, that there is no limit to the changes which they may undergo. They are more fixed and durable than the everlasting hills."—Pp. 19, 20.

At the same time Mr. Madge protects himself from the charge of abetting a stagnant and unprogressive spiritual condition.

"By this I do not mean that Christianity, in all its aspects, in all its relations to human life and duty, is so fully and perfectly understood that no further light can be thrown upon it. I do not suppose that the great idea of God is exhausted; or, that our views of his perfections are all so clear and comprehensive as to admit of no enlargement; or, that there are no parts of scripture into the import of which we may not gain a deeper insight. By reflection, by the aid of a more instructed reason, by the light of a purer spirit, we may rise to higher conceptions of God's truth than we have yet attained to. All I would maintain is, that though this may be the case, the truth itself remains the same, yesterday, to-day and for ever. Christianity, in all its essential features, is to me the expression of the most absolute and perfect religion. The language, however, which we sometimes hear in reference to this subject, would seem to imply an expectation that, after outgrowing the present dispensation, a new dispensation is some day to come down from heaven, better

Digitized by Google

adapted to man's estate in this world, and to his preparation for another. On what grounds such an expectation is entertained, by what signs or promises it is indicated, I am wholly at a loss to surmise. For when we look at Christianity and become acquainted with its true nature and character, what nobler principles, I ask, what greater or more precious truths can be unfolded to us than those which lie plainly before us in the records of Christ's teaching and life?'—Pp. 20, 21.

The preacher elucidates this thought in reference to man, as ignorant and needing knowledge, in doubt and wanting light, a sinner and panting for assured forgiveness; and thus closes this portion of his subject by reference to man as liable to death:

"Is man mortal and does he pant to live again? Does the light of nature but faintly illuminate the dark valley of the shadow of death? Is the eye of reason alone unable to pierce through the gloom which surrounds the precincts of the grave? Again is the voice of Jesus heard saying, 'I am the resurrection and the life. He that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall not die for ever.' Here, then, is the rock on which we may securely rest. When, in faith, I see Jesus rising triumphant from the tomb, and treading again, in company with some of his beloved disciples, the very ground which he had trodden before, then I am assured that death is swallowed up in victory and that this mortal shall put on immortality. So felt that wise and good man, the late Dr. Arnold, who said, in reference to the loss of one of his family, 'Nothing afforded us such comfort, when shrinking from the outward accompaniments of death, as the thought that all these had been around our Lord himself, round him who died and rose again, and is now alive for evermore.'

"It is this and the other great truths of the gospel to which I have adverted that are stamped with the impress of imperishable value. From generation to generation they remain the same. I can hardly imagine any thing more glorious, as respects the character of God, any thing more welcome and satisfactory to the heart of man."—Pp. 22, 23.

The value of this pamphlet is increased by the addition of Mr. Bache's solemn prayer of dedication. We observe, too, that for the instruction of those who are not familiar with our religious principles and habits, a statement, with well-chosen scripture vouchers, is prefixed of the worship at the Church of the Messiah and its GREAT OBJECT, and the SPIRIT in which it will be conducted.

Could this pamphlet be printed in the cheapest form and a copy be placed in the hands of every householder in Birmingham, it would, we believe, dispel much prejudice, and bring many inquiring worshipers to the Church of the Messiah.

The Hallowed Spots of Ancient London. Historical, Biographical and Antiquarian Sketches, illustrative of Places and Events made Memorable by the Struggles of our Forefathers for Civil and Religious Freedom. By Eliza Meteyard (Silverpen). 4to. Pp. 291. London—Marlborough and Co., Ave-Maria Lane. 1862.

THIS elegant volume is well-timed. It will, we think, prove not the least welcome of the works (two or three of which await a notice on our editorial table) which give the kind of information that people need to make their celebration of this Bi-centenary year intelligent and hearty. Not, indeed, that Miss Meteyard has treated her subject in a narrow or sectarian spirit. She writes as a liberal and tender-hearted

Digitized by Google

Englishwoman, ready to give her admiration, her love and her tears, to all persons of noble and pure character and to all innocent sufferers. She treats of London as "a central spot on which the great battle of civilization has been fought." Her book is not, and does not pretend to be, a perfect history of London. It is a selection of sketches of many long-past scenes and of the mighty dead, all executed in a picturesque manner and in a commendable spirit of impartiality. The enumeration of the subjects of the several chapters will illustrate their variety and interest. After a brief introductory sketch of ancient London and its site, we have—1. Smithfield, its Monastery and its Martyrs. 2 and 3. The Tower and its illustrious Imprisoned. 4. York House, Strand, and Gray's Inn. 5. The old Fleet Prison—the Sufferings of the Nonconformists. 6. The Temple and Lincoln's Inn. 7. St. Stephen's Chapel and Whitehall. 8. Bread Street, Aldersgate Street, Petty France and Cripplegate. 9. The Thames, Lambeth and Southwark, the Church of the Pilgrim Fathers. 10. Bunhill Fields. 11. The Bull-and-Mouth Meeting-house, and White Hart Court, Gracechurch Street. 12. Hampstead, Acton and Oxendon Street. 13. Stoke Newington and Freeman's Court, Cornhill. As illustrative of Smithfield, Miss Meteyard narrates in some detail the cases of Sautre and of Anne Askew. In respect to the latter, she might, if her work had been a little later in composition, have benefited by Mr. John Gough Nichols' valuable work, entitled "Narratives of the Days of the Reformation," in which the story of the racking of this gentle lady by the hands of Wriothesley the Chancellor and another is, notwithstanding the incredulity of modern historians, proved beyond all reasonable doubt. We hope to return to this subject when able to notice Mr. Nichols' volume.

When speaking of Lambeth, Miss Meteyard mentions the fact that, prior to the erection of the Lollards' Tower, the Archbishops of Canterbury had a prison at Lambeth. A prison was in the then state of ecclesiastical affairs an important and necessary adjunct to a Bishop's palace.

When treating the history of the Pilgrim Fathers, Miss Meteyard might have given greater exactness to her statements had she consulted the late Mr. Hunter's admirable book on their early history. Some of the results of his inquiries she has attained, but probably at secondhand.

Miss Meteyard makes an interesting chapter out of Bunhill Fields, the great burying-place for nearly two centuries of the Nonconformists. We extract a part of her account:

"The Plague of 1665 raged, as we have seen, more fearfully in Cripplegate than elsewhere. It began there with the first outbreak of the pestilence, and only ceased at its close. There were reasons enough, we think, for this. The miasma of the great fen still lingered there, and does in a degree to this day. Any intelligent person, or one at all acquainted with a fen country, could at once tell, if passing through Finsbury Square or the City Road, that both had been built over a morass; the atmosphere is so totally unlike that of all other parts of London. We have constantly observed this. At the time of the Great Plague, therefore, matters must have been much worse, as many open ditches, and other nuisances complained of by Stow, still undoubtedly remained.

"The inhabitants of Cripplegate thus dying by hundreds, the ordinary churchyards were soon filled, and it was found necessary to form a common receptacle for the dead. A spot was therefore chosen to the north of the Artillery

Digitized by Google

Ground, and a huge pit dug, known as the Finsbury Pit. It was this probably that Pepys, whose curiosity was astounding, went to see, under the date of August 30th, 1665. 'I went forth and walked to Moorfields, to see (God forgive my presumption) whether I could see any dead corpse going to the grave, but, as God would have it, did not. But, Lord, how everybody looks and discourses in the street of death, and nothing else; and few people going up and down, that the town is like a place distressed and forsaken.' It was of this pit, 'then lying open to the fields,' that De Foe tells the horrible story of a dead-cart slipping in, dragging with it the horses, and overwhelming the wretched driver, whose whip could be seen sticking out from among the dead. In this, as in the other plague-pits, the infected came in their delirium and threw themselves. As there was no possibility of rescuing them, it was found necessary to watch the place both day and night.

"As soon as the dire pestilence was over, the pit was covered and walled in, 'at the sole charge of the City of London,' as an inscription over the western entrance still shows. For a time it may have been left to its solitude, for the associations connected with it were of a very painful kind; yet for this reason of being disliked or avoided, it probably was, that many of those who in life had been imprisoned and persecuted for conscience' sake, and when dead often denied burial in the ordinary churchyards, were brought to find a grave. To us there is something touching in the thought that those who in life had nobly asserted that liberty of faith, liberty of opinion, liberty as citizens and subjects, were the right of *all* men, mingled their dust at last with the unrecognized dust of countless thousands. Thus willing, even in the grave, to let the Christian law of equality prevail!

"At length, after the corporation of London had permitted the burial of many Dissenters, the ground was leased by a person of the name of Tindal. It then became known as 'Tindal's Burial Ground,' as previously it had been called the 'New Burial Ground.' Dunton, in his 'Life and Errors,' speaks of it by this latter name. It thus became what Southey terms it, the 'Campo Santo of the Dissenters,' being devoted to the burial of Nonconformists only. Its present appearance does exceeding credit to the Dissenters of London. It seems well kept and well cared for; and, seriously speaking, has a more *cheerful* aspect than all else beside in the dull regions of Finsbury. As jewels are worth keeping in fair caskets, so is the dust of Bunyan and De Foe amidst pleasant greenness and reverent and comely order."—Pp. 219, 220.

There is a melancholy fact connected with this sacred spot, in which lie the ashes of Bunyan, Goodwin, Owen, George Fox, Defoe, Dr. Watts, and a long roll of worthies. In rather more than five years' time it will lapse, by the termination of the lease, to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who will have the temptation of letting it afresh on building leases, and rows of cottages and shops may obliterate sites sacred to the hearts of multitudes. The circumstances of this case will need rigid inquiry. If necessary, an Act of Parliament must be sought, and in good time, to prevent the sacrilege, as all good men would regard it, of turning this memorable spot into common building land.

Acton and Oxendon Street are of course introduced into this volume to enable the authoress to do honour to Richard Baxter. She speaks enthusiastically of the portrait of this great man in the keeping of Dr. Williams's Trustees. Could a more interesting memento of this Bi-centenary year be produced from Dr. Williams's Library than an engraving in the best style of modern art of this beautiful portrait? As a speculation it would be perfectly free from risk if well executed, and if the fact of the possibility of procuring it were made sufficiently public.

Digitized by Google

INTELLIGENCE.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH.

Meeting, at the Library in Redcross Street, of the Presbyterian Ministers and the Lay Deputies (Feb. 1).—Brief, but in some respects different reports of this meeting have appeared in the *Inquirer* and *Herald;* and strictures on the proceedings have appeared in both papers. The body of Presbyterian ministers and the lay deputies are, we may observe, not much accustomed to meet. Neither body has funds or officers with the leisure necessary to carry on any considerable public work. As to the ministers, their number is not large, and only a portion of them attend the meetings. Most of those who do attend are already burthened with heavy public and personal duties. The lay deputies constitute a body which has fallen into desuetude; and we believe we are justified in the statement that in some of our London and other neighbouring congregations no nomination of lay deputies has been attended to for several years. Now to persons who understand the requirements and difficulties of public business, it will be sufficiently evident that two bodies thus imperfectly constituted and without definite organization are not fitted to undertake any business requiring long periods of effort and large combinations. To entrust, under these circumstances, to such a society of gentlemen any large plan of philanthropic action would scarcely have been wise. But it did appear to some of our friends (and those the men that are cheerfully working in other ways) that the ministers and the lay deputies might successfully set on foot a scheme of a social celebration of the sufferings and heroic virtues of the 2000 confessors of 1662. Separated as the Nonconformists and liberal Churchmen are in respect to theology, a common religious service is impracticable. One, though we still hope not the only ground of common action open alike to Nonconformists of all shades and to the lovers of religious liberty, seemed to be a social celebration of the approaching anniversary. It was, and with reason, believed that for such a purpose a gathering of eminent and good men of all religious parties, but united in the love of freedom and in honouring those who make sacrifices for conscience, might be got together under the presidency of a distinguished and venerable nobleman, whose whole career has been a continued service to the cause of freedom, civil and religious.

The object of those who were the means of calling together the ministers and lay deputies at Redcross Street, was to forward such a mode of celebrating this Bi-centenary year. Other modes of celebration had previously and by other bodies been deliberately chosen; and many of those who formed part of the meeting at the Library are, it is well known, giving their attention and aid to plans not unworthy of the interesting anniversary. It is desirable that those plans should be carefully matured and prudently started before the details are made public. The only scheme as yet ripe for official announcement, is the delivery in London and the neighbourhood of a course of lectures explanatory of the history and principles of the ejected clergy. We hope that the announcement will appear in our advertising page this month. Other and more important plans are still under consideration, but we do not feel yet at liberty to speak of them. A premature discussion respecting them in our weekly organs would, we fear, looking at some precedents, neither promote the unanimity of our friends nor the success of the plans.

The meeting at the Library gave its deliberate sanction (not indeed unanimously, for two gentlemen present expressed their dissent) to the proposal, and appointed a Committee to carry it into effect. *Before that Committee could meet, and of course long before they could communicate to the public their plan of action, the whole proceeding was condemned in a series of newspaper articles and letters.* We can have no wish to fetter the liberty of our press, but we may question the judgment displayed in this matter. Some of the criticisms of the writers hostile to the social celebration, would, we think, have appeared unnecessary even to themselves had they kept before them the words of the resolution which they condemn. The propriety of a social celebration of this or any anniversary, is confessedly a matter upon which persons differing in taste will necessarily hold different opinions. We can to some extent sympathize with those who express some repugnance to public dinners. But however disliked or ridiculed, the public dinner is one of our recognized English institutions. It is the mode sanctioned by the habits of men of all classes of calling together those who are animated by common principles, and who wish to strengthen or educate public opinion upon any important question. The celebration by a dinner affects no great principle, and

Digitized by Google

opposition to it need not be made matter of conscience. They who dislike it will of course keep away, and their absence will be a sufficient expression of their nonconformity. We cannot help thinking that the limits of useful criticism have on this occasion been exceeded by more than one of the writers who have opposed the dinner celebration.

It is not a very high effort either of logic or of wit to dispute the connection between a principle and a dinner, or to fix on men, and especially ministers of religion, the charge of undue aptitude for dining. What course the Committee will take, we cannot pretend, not belonging to it, to say. We shall neither wonder at nor blame them, if, under the circumstances, they decline to accept the trust imposed on them. The time of gentlemen possessing the not common talent for public business is very valuable to them. They may be willing to give time and money for a public object, in securing which they are not only free from captious criticism, but assisted by a fair proportion of sympathy. But they may well hesitate, if, before they can proceed to action, they must fight their way in public newspapers, and again refute objections which when originally stated failed to make any impression. Men liberal of time and money, and brave enough for a Crimean campaign, may without any imputation on their courage decline a newspaper controversy. We have felt it a duty to make these observations, because we think an error of judgment has been committed which is likely to endanger the public interests. For we hold that those who do, simply from a sense of duty, the work of the public are entitled to the largest courtesy; to frank support when they are right, and to considerate forbearance even where they unintentionally go wrong. If a different practice is allowed to prevail, we fear that the number of those both able and willing to work disinterestedly for the public, small as it is now, will become inconveniently smaller.

The Unitarian Young Men's Christian Association.—The newspapers sometimes give us interesting glimpses of the working of this useful Society in the town of Belfast. The Rev. J. Scott Porter has been, and we believe still is, giving a course of lectures, which have been as instructive as interesting, on Early English Literature. Great good may be done by efforts of this kind. They bind our ministers and the younger members of our body by intellectual and personal ties. Even if the lectures do not tread on religious ground (though this can be but rarely the case), they will extend the lecturer's moral power. Where persons of other sects are hearers, it is not easy to calculate the beneficial influences which Unitarians of culture and taste may diffuse around them.

Conference of former Students of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board.—This annual meeting, though held on Jan. 23, was not reported till the *Herald* of Feb. 8 appeared. The proceedings included the reading of an essay by Rev. Geo. Fox on the "Ministry and Missionary Work." Rev. W. W. Robinson read an essay on "Some Departments of Ministerial Labour;" and Rev. William Mitchell one on "The Relation of the Principles of Unitarian Christianity to the Spirit of the Age." All three essays were discussed with freedom and candour. Some of the opinions, as briefly reported, seemed crude and vague, but the needed criticism and correction were promptly applied by one or another of the speakers who took part in the discussion. The whole proceedings did credit to the earnestness and intelligence of the ministers. They were presided over by Dr. Beard, who must have felt not a little gratified by these living proofs of the success of the Home Missionary Board.

The Rev. Arthur Penrhyn Stanley.—The best book in the English language on Sinai and Palestine is that of the Canon of Christchurch, whose name heads this note. It displays learning, taste and a deeply religious spirit, without any tincture of fanaticism. The picturesque local descriptions are made more impressive by a careful enumeration of the historical events connected with each locality. It is with pleasure, therefore, that we observe that this accomplished clergyman is attached to the suite of the Prince of Wales, and will accompany him in his visit to the Holy Land and the East. What increases our satisfaction at this appointment is, that it adds another to existing proofs that the Court of Queen Victoria holds itself aloof from all narrow ecclesiastical influences and prejudices, and exercises its right to choose the best man for an important office without regard to the diversities of "orthodox," "evangelical" or "broad" Church. We only hope that the better qualities of Canon Stanley may not be too soon *mesmerized* by the drowsy influences of a mitre. Let bishoprics be kept for men who may be improved but cannot be injured by their narcotic influence. They have spoilt good men enough.

The Islington Unitarian Congregation (Jan. 29).—The first annual meeting was held in the school-room, now, we are pleased to observe, eclipsed by the new

Digitized by Google

Unitarian church rapidly hastening to a completion, and which promises by its beautiful architecture to be a conspicuous ornament to the district. There were 150 persons present, including several of the ministers of other congregations. Mr. Ierson, the much-respected minister of the church, alluded to the notorious threat of certain orthodox persons, that in Islington a Unitarian church should never find a place, and the disappointment to which those persons were now doomed. He spoke of the freedom and other attributes of the Unitarian church, and wondered that men of liberal instincts, driven out of the Church of England by intolerant creeds and contradictory articles, should hesitate to join the Unitarians. He pleaded for greater cohesion in the Unitarian denomination. Would that his advice on this point were taken to heart by them! Why should the centrifugal force be generally the stronger in a body like ours? Without compromise of individual independence, there might be much more hearty co-operation than exists. If there be a craving for a silent but effectual Act of Uniformity in our church, it is an inconsistency that must engender weakness and entail disappointment. Let each man speak out fearlessly his honest thought, and having done so be prepared to greet in kindness and act heartily with any whose *principles* accord with his, though in many *opinions* they may differ. We have strength enough for the great work we are called upon to do in vindicating religious liberty and purifying Christian doctrine, if it were wisely directed and applied with united spirit. The more "orthodox" Dissenters, notwithstanding differences as great as any that affect us, set us an example of union in action which we might advantageously copy. Is there not something morbid in the Nonconformity which expends its whole strength in opposing the plans of others, without proposing any of its own? With respect to the Islington meeting, we may add that some excellent addresses were given by Mr. Alderman J. C. Lawrence, Mr. S. Sharpe, Rev. J. C. Means and Mr. J. T. Preston.

The Carter-Lane Mission.—The Unitarian newspapers contain an appeal on behalf of this benevolent Christian agency that well deserves the attention of our friends. The excellent day-school for girls, the large Sunday-school and their associated institutions (including a Library, Benevolent Fund, Savings' Bank, &c.), are happily not to be dispersed by the removal of the congregation from Carter Lane to Islington. A large room has been secured in Sermon Lane for Sunday use, in which the Sunday-school will be continued, and an evening service will be added. When such names as those of Warren, Preston, Nettlefold, Lawrence, Chamberlain and Clarke, appear among the laymen directing this important effort, its success may be foretold with tolerable confidence. The day-school is carried on as before in the premises in Cobb's Court. The Rev. Robt. Spears will act as pastoral visitor, and some of the Stamford-Street congregation (of the increase of which under his able and vigilant pastorship we hear cheerful tidings) will aid as teachers. Of the £200 per annum which this Mission will cost, a large portion is already raised. The aid of the friends of education and of Unitarian Christianity is earnestly desired.

How we manage our internal Controversies.—After spending an hour in looking through some recent Unitarian writings, we feel it to be a duty to jot down a note respecting the spirit of controversy. We have recently spoken of Unitarian Christianity as the religion of common sense and goodnature. We should be sorry just now to have to justify this definition in relation to the mode into which we seem to be falling of conducting our controversies. The old rule of theological controversy was, as Dr. Jortin sarcastically observed, not to allow an adversary to have either common sense or common honesty. The early English Unitarians pursued a different course, and won from Archbishop Tillotson this commendation: "To do right to the writers on that side, I must own that generally they are a pattern of the fair way of disputing, and of debating matters of religion without heat and unseemly reflections upon their adversaries. . . . They generally argue matters with that temper and gravity, and with that freedom from passion and transport, which becomes a serious and weighty argument; and for the most part they reason closely and clearly, with extraordinary guard and caution, with great dexterity and decency, and yet with smartness and subtility enough, with a very gentle heat and few hard words." Compared with their Unitarian opponents, the Archbishop pronounced some of the Protestant and most of the Popish writers of his day "mere scolds and bunglers." We fear that the impartial observer of to-day will think us sad bunglers in comparison with our forerunners. We have no disposition to question the smartness, subtility or dexterity of our writers, whether in leading articles or in the letters of correspondents; but we could have wished that their "heat" had been "gentle," and their "hard words" fewer. It is a matter of some importance to begin with a clear understanding of the opinion we propose to

Digitized by Google

confute, and to be quite sure that what we deny, the person whom we criticize is disposed to maintain. We once knew a worthy man who was a model of fair dealing in argument, and who seldom failed at least to modify his opponent's views. Being asked what his process was, he said he seldom liked to speak on matters on which he had not previously thought, and that in thinking out a subject his mode was to make for the time his opponent's case his own, and then to think how he could best reply to every argument brought against it. By thus pleading from the opponent's brief, he came thoroughly to comprehend, without the hindrance of personal feelings, the merits of both sides. If it should be suggested that such a process would nip in the bud many of our controversies, we may reply, If it should, so much the better!

Installation of Rev. John Jellie (Feb. 5). This gentleman, lately of Moneyrea, was installed by the Presbytery of Antrim to the charge of the York-Street congregation, Belfast. The several parts of the service were conducted by Rev. Hugh Moore, Rev. David Gordon, Rev. S. C. Nelson and Rev. John Porter. The minister installed on this occasion made a solemn declaration of his being a Christian in faith, and of his being recognized as such by the Presbytery and the congregation.

Meeting of Parliament (Feb. 6).—The assembling for another session of the great Council of the Nation was marked by an almost startling quietude. The dark cloud of sorrow which throws its shade over the throne hushed party strife into silence. Eloquent as was the tribute paid from both sides of each House to the memory of the late Prince Consort, the most expressive token of the nation's sympathy with the Queen in her bereaved condition was in the wish and intention, implied if not directly expressed, that no needless party struggles, possibly involving an early change of the administration and imposing new anxieties and toils on the Sovereign, should mark the session. Such expressions must not in the close balance of parties in the Lower House be interpreted too strictly; but they unquestionably indicate the strong feeling of the hour of what is due to the Queen. The smoothness with which our constitutional government works, with a parliamentary opposition numbering nearly half the present House of Commons, is a satisfactory proof of the good sense and loyalty of our representatives. Tories and Whigs, Conservatives and Liberals, are as Englishmen at one in loyally honouring Queen Victoria and our happy Constitution, in the maintenance of which her whole reign has been conspicuous. There are some causes of national anxiety; but look where they may, whether across the Channel or the Atlantic, to Vienna or Petersburg, Englishmen may well devoutly thank the God of the nations for their privileges and blessings.

Birmingham District Unitarian Association (Feb. 10).—We welcome into the wide field of missionary effort this latest born Unitarian Society, the idea of which was created by the religious services begun and carried on at Spon Lane by the Unitarian ministers in and around Birmingham. The report of the Committee recommended the appointment of a paid agent to carry on the work of the mission. A beginning has been made of a theological library, and a theological class has been formed and instructed by Rev. Charles Clarke, the class consisting of lay preachers and those that desire to fit themselves for preaching. A favourable report of the church and school at Spon Lane was presented. Unitarian worship has also been conducted at Redditch, where a secession of some intelligent persons from the Methodist body had opened a door for Unitarian preaching. It is hoped that a chapel will be built here. Eight persons had been appointed by the Council as local preachers. A friend had contributed £100 to the funds of the Association. Some excellent addresses were given by Rev. Samuel Bache and others, both laymen and ministers. We regret to observe that illness prevented Rev. Chas. Clarke from taking a part in this meeting.

New Education Minute (Feb. 13).—Lord Granville in the House of Lords and Mr. Lowe in the Commons stated what concessions they proposed to make to the objections brought against the proposed New Minute. These are numerous, and shew either conscious weakness in the plan or undue deference to the objectors. The Minute is not to be applied to Scotland, nor to training colleges. The examination test is not to be applied to infants under six,—Mr. Lowe admitting that they have "carried a good principle a little too far in proposing it." And while repudiating the claim of "vested interests," he yields something in behalf of the present certificated teachers, by giving them the first lien upon the Government grant paid to the managers of each school. Lord Granville rebuked with severest ridicule the "religious objection" which has been brought to bear upon the new Minutes. He quoted a Law Lord as having once said that lawyers in the courts used all their arguments, but in Parliament only their best; and these *religious* objectors were

Digitized by Google

like the lawyers in court. His Lordship also recited a current story of a recent discussion at a diocesan board, where it was agreed that the religious difficulty would be removed if the capitation grant were raised from a penny to twopence.

In alluding to these explanations, the *Times*, we observe, charges upon the Council of Education the same grievous fault which we have repeatedly pointed out, and which these new Minutes do not in any degree repair, though the Commission in their late Report had drawn attention to it: "It did not select rather the poor and leave those who were able to pay for their own schooling, but went on the precisely opposite principle, giving its best aid to the children of an independent class, and neglecting the utterly destitute." (*Times*, Feb. 14.) This is still a true description of the operation of the Education grant.

Abolition of Church-rates (Feb. 19).—Talk, if not action, on this subject has begun both in and out of Parliament. Sir John Trelawney, undismayed by the equal voting on the third reading of his Bill last session and the Speaker's casting vote against it, has again introduced his Bill for the simple abolition. This is of course a matter of Parliamentary tactics, as he can have no expectation of inducing Parliament in its present Conservative temper to sanction the alteration he proposes. Mr. Alcock has placed on the table of the House of Commons a Bill for the voluntary commutation of Church-rates. Mr. Newdegate has his Bill to establish a charge in lieu and for the commutation of Church-rates, and to afford facilities for the provision of other funds applicable to the purpose. Mr. Sotheron Estcourt proposes to put an effectual block to Sir John Trelawney's Bill by an amendment to be moved on the second reading of the Abolition Bill: "That it is unjust and inexpedient to abolish the ancient customary right, exercised from time immemorial by the ratepayers of every parish in England, to raise by rate amongst themselves the sums required for the repair of their Church, until some other provision shall have been made by Parliament for the discharge of those obligations to which, by custom or statute, the churchwardens on the part of the parish are liable." In the face of this complication, the Abolition Committee has met, under the presidency of Sir Charles Douglas, to consider the best course of action for those who seek to put an end to compulsory church-rates. It was announced that Sir John Trelawney intends to test the sincerity of the numerous professions from the Conservative side of the House last session of a desire to settle the question by some fair and moderate compromise, by deferring the second reading of his Bill until ample opportunity has been given to its opponents of proposing their scheme and taking the sense of Parliament thereon. The Committee approve of Sir John Trelawney's proposed course, and have passed a resolution to the effect that it is the duty of those who brought about the Speaker's casting vote last year—a vote expressly given on the presumption that the House desired to deal with the subject in some other way—to produce without delay a scheme which will give effect to their expressed desires. We have no expectation that any legislation will result from the threatened Conservative movement. Churchmen will be as hard to please in this matter as Dissenters. The clergy generally (there are some honourable exceptions) are like children who wish both to eat their cake and have it. They will not abandon the sweets of a rate, but they would like to get rid of the bitter condition of giving Dissenters the opportunity of disputing it. We are not unwilling to admit that the subject has serious difficulties. We have no wish to see our venerable parish churches fall into dilapidation and ruin; and so sadly has the Church system enervated private generosity, that in many retired rural districts no rate depending on the voluntary principle would be raised. If a Parliamentary battle comes on on Church-rates, so equal are the two parties and so difficult is the subject, the probability is that the attacking army will be worsted. With this opinion, we think the Abolition Committee are wise in leaving the field clear for their opponents to take the initiative. Nonconformists can afford to wait, and in the mean time they must rigidly scrutinize every proffered Bill, and resolutely oppose any plan which, while perpetuating the burthen of church-rates, would in any degree interfere with the right of parishioners to determine whether or not they will tax themselves for Church purposes, and to what amount.

The scheme embodied in Mr. Newdegate's Bill is one of an extraordinary kind, considering that it is offered as a sort of compromise. It proposes to shift the burthen of a church-rate from the tenants to the proprietors, and to make it a perpetual charge on real property. It does away with the right of the parishioners to decide whether or not they will tax themselves for Church purposes. By way of simplifying the collection, he provides that (dropping the obnoxious term Church-rate) a new impost, to be called a "Church charge," shall be assessed in the same manner as the county or borough rate, and

Digitized by Google

shall be received by county or borough treasurers. To save these officers the trouble of dividing the amount so collected amongst the parishes entitled to it, he proposes that they shall pay the whole amount to the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, by whom it shall be repaid to the respective churchwardens. He stipulates that no parish, or ecclesiastical division of a parish, shall be assessed to any rate excepting for its own purposes; and he is willing to grant entire exemption to those parishes in which church-rates have been refused thrice consecutively within the last seven years. Finally, he proposes to erect the incumbent and churchwardens of every parish into a Corporation, for the purpose of receiving "grants and gifts of land, buildings, and rent-charges in fee simple, and sums of stock in the Three Pounds per Centum Consolidated Bank Annuities, upon trust, to apply the net annual income derivable therefrom for the same purposes as the Church charge for such parish."—Although we are not sanguine in the expectation that the House of Commons will consent at present to abolish church-rates, we do not entertain the fear that a measure like Mr. Newdegate's will be accepted by either side of the House as a safe or just measure. It would be a boon to the clergy, but to no other class in the community could it be an acceptable measure.

OBITUARY.

Jan. 12, the Rev. JACOB BRETTELL, late minister of the Unitarian chapel, Rotherham. Mr. Brettell, son of the Rev. Jacob Brettell, many years minister of the Presbyterian chapel at Gainsborough, was born April 16, 1793. He studied for the ministry at the Manchester College, then stationed at York, the Tutors at that time being Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, Rev. John Kenrick and Rev. William Turner. His studies at York, which began in his sixteenth year, were interrupted by a painful summons to the dying bed of his excellent and much-loved father. After the death of his father, he remained at home for a short time; and all the consolation and sympathy that the most warm-hearted filial affection could offer to his bereaved mother was not wanting from her sorrowing and most affectionate son. He then resumed his studies at York; and having successfully completed his course, first began his ministerial duties at Ainsworth, in Lancashire, July, 1814. He afterwards became pastor of the Unitarian congregation at Rotherham in the year 1816; he continued minister of that congregation until from declining health he felt compelled to resign his charge in June, 1859.

The late Mr. Brettell was allowed by competent judges to have attained a very fair rank among scholars, being well read in the Latin and Greek classical authors, with a competent knowledge of some of the modern languages; and he was possessed of very just taste and great critical skill in English composition.

He published "The Country Minister," together with a few smaller poems and translations from some of the Latin and Greek poets; followed some time after by "Poetical Sketches from the Historical Books of the Old Testament." These works, which on their appearance were highly praised by critics and reviewers, shew his poetical taste and power. "The Country Minister" was declared especially to exhibit, in very fine versification, pure, lofty and patriotic thoughts, inspired by simplicity and truth, combined with extreme tenderness of feeling. The character of his mind being perhaps rather more imaginative and ardent than strictly logical, he delighted in finding and exhibiting truth in the impassioned tones and ornamented forms of poetic expression; yet in whatever related to biblical and philological criticism, he never seemed to betray a want of clearness, acuteness or precision.

The earlier portion of his career in Rotherham was brighter than that of his later years. It was in the earlier period that the "Country Minister," &c., were produced. He was then eagerly sought after to take a prominent share in the social and religious assemblies connected with the Unitarian denomination, to which he was ardently and affectionately attached, and at other more public meetings he sometimes appeared. His speeches on these occasions, enunciating high principles and generous sentiments in eloquent and fervent words, always elicited, what they well deserved, the warm approbation of his audience. He had then youth, with all its hopes and aspirations, on his side.

His later years were not so happy. He had, like most men who are advanced in life, outlived most, if not all, the friends of his earlier days. Many depressing events happened to him, some of them of a most afflictive character; his pecuniary

Digitized by Google

means, never large, became still smaller; yet he held bravely on, and was much less depressed by these trying circumstances than many other men would have been. This no doubt was attributable in some degree to his mental firmness, but to a much greater extent was it due to strong faith and confidence in the goodness and providential care of his Father and his God.

The writer of this very imperfect notice has been on very intimate and friendly terms with the late Mr. Brettell for more than thirty years—has seen him during some of his most trying hours; but never did his trust in the paternal love of God appear to give way or waver. His faith was abiding, sincere and heartfelt, and he derived from it the rich consolation he so much needed. This faith, which could not possibly arise from any other source than the sincerity of his religious convictions, was accompanied by a large-hearted charity, embracing all sects and parties in the Christian church, believing all things, hoping all things good of them and for them. No man could have more of the feeling; it was ever present, always consistent, manifesting itself not merely in words, but in acts,—his benevolence often taxing his slender means far beyond what Prudence might have permitted had she been much consulted in the matter. He was not blessed with too large a share of worldly wisdom, and may sometimes have thought and even acted in a way that wise people might say was not wise; yet never did one ungenerous, sordid or vulgar thought appear to have found even entrance into his mind.

Mr. Brettell, we may well suppose, has been unable to leave anything for his sorrowing family other than a most poetical legacy, consisting of some hundred volumes of books, and his good name. His widow survives to mourn his loss. Of his children living, two sons continue to reside in Rotherham; they have had for some years to struggle with adverse circumstances, but they have done so most meritoriously; and all acquainted with their peculiar situation will readily allow that they are ill provided with weapons for carrying on the hard warfare of life in which they are engaged. May they never want the helping hand of kind friends; may their way be made more easy and prosperous, and their exertions be crowned with the blessing and protection of their father's God!

He is now laid in his cold grave, gone from among the living. There remains for us the hope that the gates of the infinite Light are open to him, and admit him to a new phase of existence, in which he will meet with "the spirits of just men made perfect," in which his highest earthly aspirations will fall infinitely below the truth, and his most brilliant imaginings grow pale and obscure before the splendour of reality—where his adoration of the High and Lofty One that inhabiteth eternity, and his love of the Lord Jesus Christ, will be the result of knowledge, no longer of faith.

May God in his infinite mercy grant that so it be!

Jan. 15, at Gregville, Illinois, U.S.A., GEORGE FLOWER, Esq., late of Hertfordshire, England, aged 76; and on the same day, ELIZA JULIA, his wife; also, on Nov. 13, of wounds received at the battle of Fredericston, Missouri, RICHARD, their son, aged 29.

Jan. 29, at White Lodge, Standey, near Chesterfield, the residence of her nephew, the Rev. Alfred Turner Blythe, B.A., MERCY, widow of the late Rev. William TURNER, Jun., M.A., for many years minister of Northgate-end chapel, Halifax, and previously Mathematical and Resident Tutor at Manchester College, York.

Feb. 15, at her residence, Springfield, Upper Clapton, Miss SARAH WARREN, in the 83rd year of her age.

Feb. 16, at the Limes, Roslyn, Hampstead, HANNAH, wife of the Rev. John James TAYLER, Principal of Manchester New College, London, and eldest surviving daughter of the late Timothy Smith, Esq., formerly of Icknield, near Birmingham,—tenderly beloved for rare qualities of heart and mind which only those who knew them best could adequately appreciate, and which are now gone to bear their genuine fruits in that higher life with God, where human commendation is alike presumptuous and vain.

MARRIAGES.

Jan. 5, at Northgate-end chapel, Halifax, by Rev. R. L. Carpenter, B.A., Mr. WILLIAM HORSFALL to Miss ANN BERTWHISTLE.

Jan. 14, at Christchurch chapel, Banbury, by Rev. J. M'Dowell, JOHN CHIDLEY, millwright, to MARTHA PRESCOTT, all of Nelthrop.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCVIII.] APRIL, 1862. [VOL. XVIII.

AIDS TO FAITH.*

THE second paper contained in this volume, "On the Study of the Evidences of Christianity," is by Dr. Fitzgerald, the new Bishop of Killaloe. Although coincident in title with Mr. Baden Powell's contribution to "Essays and Reviews," it corresponds in matter much more with Mr. Pattison's historical survey of the literature of Christian Evidence. It begins by expressing in the words of Coleridge a tendency of thought now prevalent. "Evidences of Christianity! I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the want of it, and you may safely trust it to its own evidence." But whence and from what causes did this tendency arise? is the question which the author next proceeds to answer, in a brief summary of English Church history from the time of the Deistical controversy to the present day—a summary which would be censured by Evangelical and Methodist critics as wofully distorted and incomplete. We cannot pause upon Dr. Fitzgerald's estimate of the influence of Wesley and Whitfield: his assertion that they threw themselves into a movement which they did not originate, and which, he at least insinuates, would have come into existence without them, needs to be supported by evidence which he does not deign to give. But as their predecessors had laid undue stress upon those external and metaphysical evidences of Christianity, which have this in common, that they are capable of being reduced to logical form, the leaders of the new and active party in the Church ran into the opposite extreme of relying too exclusively upon the inward witness of the Spirit, and consequently of neglecting and disparaging sacred learning. The philosophical speculations of Germany have had, from very different causes, a somewhat similar effect: imagination has usurped the throne of reason; feeling has been substituted for fact; and "thus it has come to pass, that without any open controversy, but silently, as it were, and while men slept, the old matter-of-fact faith has died out in many minds, and religion has come to be regarded as an affair of sentiment, that should be disentangled as soon as possible from its historical elements."

* Concluded from p. 141.

Digitized by Google

"It would not," Dr. Fitzgerald goes on to say, "I think, be very difficult to meet the patrons of such views, even on their own high philosophical ground. I think it would not be hard to prove that, even if we took the moral wants of man as the sole measure of religious truth, the Gospel which these persons preach is inadequate to meet the moral wants of man. We *require* not merely an ideal of human excellence, but to see that ideal *realized;* and to see further that the issue of that realization has been a triumph over all the ills of life, and over all the menaces of death. We require to be shown *in fact* that man can truly serve God, and that the end of that service is everlasting life. We *need* a basis of fact, an historical basis, for our religious faith; and without such a basis that faith is a mere castle in the air—a splendid vision, as practically inoperative to resist real temptation as every other ideal picture has ever proved."—P. 60.

The main argument of this passage is, as far as it goes, valid; but its author himself abandons it in the frank declaration that "after all, this would be only answering a fool according to his folly." "Our supposed wants or wishes" have nothing at all to do with the matter. No wise man will trust to anything less than solid evidence of fact. Why should we rely upon our moral nature, which, if the doctrine of immortality be true, is only in a state of infancy, and as little competent to judge of eternal truth and right, as a child to anticipate the conscientious judgments of its manhood? "A prudent man, then, will not only inquire what it is that his heart seems to want, but also how far those wants are in point of fact supplied. He will not only consider what he wishes to be true, but what he has reasonable evidence for believing to be true. He will treat the truths of religion as matters of fact, and seek for the appropriate evidence of matters of fact,—that is, in other words, for historical evidence." (P. 62.)

Having thus ordered the internal evidences of Christianity out of court, the Bishop proceeds to make some true and forcible remarks (in which, however, the stoutest stickler for the value of internal evidence would agree) as to the advantage of regarding Christianity as an historical religion. He encounters a little difficulty in the case of unlearned believers, who cannot pursue the path of investigation which must be trodden by one who relies on historical evidence alone; but he gets over this, partly by telling them to believe as they are taught by those who know better than themselves—partly by referring them, in another form, to the very kind of evidence which he has just pronounced to be inadmissible. And he concludes with a pæan of exultation, that after all infidelity has nothing to say for itself, and that orthodox Christianity rests, from the lowest foundation to the topmost pinnacle, upon an immovable basis of revealed truth.

There are many parts of this essay which would provoke, in detail, a sharp critical remonstrance. We have already alluded to Dr. Fitzgerald's strange reading of the religious history of the

Digitized by Google

last century. He surely forgets, in speaking of the tendency of the Evangelical party to overvalue internal evidences, their almost fanatical bibliolatry, which supports itself on that very historical ground which he labours to exalt and to strengthen. But the great defect of the paper is, that it is manifestly written, not in the interest of scientific truth, but to serve a theological purpose. The author sees clearly enough that to admit the validity of the moral evidences of Christianity leads, by a certain process of argument, to the recognition of an ethical criterion of its truth. If conscience is to be allowed to confirm religious truth, it will be impossible to object when it claims the right of judging, of sifting, of rejecting. Suffer yourself to find an argument for Christianity in its adaptation to the natural religious wants of men, and presently these indulged and petted instincts will rise up in rebellion against a theory of atonement. And so to suit the exigencies of orthodoxy, a whole series of facts is ignored, a whole side of religious evidence is treated with contempt. Every writer on such subjects lies under the temptation to lay disproportionate stress upon the kind of evidence which is most fruitful of conviction to his own mind: one indulges in a little harmless sarcasm on "intuitions," while another professes to hold himself proudly above the influence of miracles. But an essay on the Evidences of Christianity, which at one blow disallows the force of half the considerations which have hitherto passed under that name,—which aims to strengthen the edifice of faith by narrowing its foundation, and to conciliate opponents by insisting that not only the results but the process of belief shall be in every case the same,—is a singularity which we hardly expected to see even in these days of strange heresy and still stranger orthodoxy.

From Dr. Fitzgerald, then, as from most of the other authors of "Aids to Faith," we have received a far less complete treatment of a great subject than we had a right to expect. There is much in the relation of the human mind to religious truth which still requires elucidation. A careful à-priori investigation of the kind of evidence which really produces religious conviction; of the method in which that conviction is called into being; of the difference, if any such exist, between the reception of religious and of other truth, with which, in the first instance at least, the conscience and the heart have nothing to do; of the element of diversity introduced by the fact, that all religious truth, rightly apprehended, carries with it an obligation, and is at once operative upon the will;—all this would have been of the greatest possible value. And if the writer had gone on to apply his general conclusions to the special case of Christianity, he might perhaps have been able to draw a just boundary-line between the provinces of external and internal evidence, and so have quieted heartburnings, which now consume a strength which

Digitized by Google

would be employed to far better advantage in a united defence against aggression. But from such a picture, faint in outline and dim in colour though it be, of what an essay on the Evidences of Christianity might be made, the reader of "Aids to Faith" can only turn away in vain regret.

Dr. M'Caul's essay on "Prophecy" is one upon which, from its very nature, we cannot enter at length. Like his second essay upon "The Mosaic Record of Creation," and Professor Rawlinson's on the "Pentateuch," it contains a sufficient number of hardy assertions to necessitate a volume (were their refutation worth the trouble) to refute them. He speaks little of the moral and spiritual, much of the predictive, function of the prophets. He brings forward many instances of the fulfilment of prophecy, and is very severe upon rationalistic critics. But his main point is one to which we have already referred in a former part of this paper. Christ and his apostles are the great witnesses to the orthodox theory of prophecy. The choice which we have to make is between German criticism and the New Testament. The student cannot, we are told, "adopt the new and contradictory criticism without admitting either that Christ knowingly accommodated himself to the errors of the times, or that he was mistaken, or that his discourses have been incorrectly reported,—*any one of which admissions is equivalent to a renunciation of Christianity.*" It is the old story once more: there never was a form of orthodoxy which admitted the existence of a halting place between itself and infidelity! But with an ingenuity for which we should give Dr. M'Caul greater credit, were it not, as we have already seen, shared by Mr. Rawlinson, our Lord is brought to the bar, and made to give evidence in a case of literary criticism. He quotes the book of Daniel; therefore "the question of the genuineness and authenticity of Daniel cannot be separated from that respecting the fallibility or infallibility of the Saviour." In the same way, "it was not till men had ceased to believe in Christ, that they began to question the latter prophecy of Isaiah." If this be true, how utterly useless are the learned arguments which not only Dr. M'Caul, but other orthodox critics expend, to establish these disputed points! They have referred the difficulties to an authority from which, in their own view, there is no appeal: they have got a decision in their favour: why waste words in the display of carnal erudition?

Mr. Cook, who has lately succeeded the editor of this volume as preacher at Lincoln's Inn, writes in a very different strain on "Ideology and Subscription." The latter half of this double title will have a more attractive sound in our readers' ears than the former: we have fought our battle with Strauss so long ago, that even the echo of the fight has died away. Of all forms of unbelief, scepticism—call it what you will—that to which we are least prone is the evolving of Christian doctrine out of our

Digitized by Google

own consciousness. It is indeed a defect in Mr. Cook's essay, that though he has some pretext in Mr. Wilson's paper on the National Church for coupling together ideology and subscription, there are many important practical questions suggested by the latter phrase which can hardly be brought into natural connection with considerations involved in the former.

For these reasons, we shall pass briefly over the first (though in many respects the ablest) portion of this essay. After some general remarks, which are both acute in thought and vivid in expression, Mr. Cook devotes several pages to an "historical inquiry into the origin and development of Ideology." This is an exceedingly interesting account of the academical training and gradual mental growth of D. F. Strauss, the author of the celebrated "Leben Jesu." The preparation for the work made by the rationalistic critics, as well as the personal influence of Baur, Schleiermacher and Hegel, upon the author's character and opinions, are fairly and calmly narrated. The effect produced by the book—the subsequent development of Pantheistic principles in the work on Christian Doctrine—the consequences of Hegelianism pushed to its logical extreme in the works of Richter, Rothe, B. Bauer and Feuerbach—form a transition to the subject of Ideology in England. Here our author is less happy. He has to shew that ideology is, amongst us, a living principle of thought, not a hard name, somewhat less hackneyed than scepticism and infidelity, flung at unwelcome innovators in theology. He makes the most of Mr. Wilson's heresies; he tries to involve his fellow-essayists in a like condemnation; but the reader, turning with relief to the section on Subscription, fancies that the author is not unconscious of a similar feeling. Either half of the essay is stronger than the link of fact and logic which binds them together.

The questions as to subscription are thus expressed: "Whether the Church has at present, and has had from the beginning, safeguards to preserve her doctrines from corruption—whether she has a right, and has exercised the right, to exact from all her ministers a pledge that so long as they retain her commission they will deliver those doctrines in their integrity to the people—whether the act of subscription by which the ministers give such pledge involves a moral or a mere legal obligation." And from this Mr. Cook goes on to investigate the practice as to creeds and confessions of faith in the apostolic and patristic ages, being much more successful, it need hardly be said, in proving their existence in the latter than in the former period. Thence he descends to the theory and usage of the English Church, laying down principles in which the orthodox Churchman and the conscientious Dissenter will alike agree, but which completely cut the ground from under the feet of Essayists and Reviewers, who, remaining within the pale of the Church, claim a right of fearless

Digitized by Google

inquiry into doctrines which she regards as necessary and fundamental. Subscription is not "a promise that a man will believe —a promise which it is not in his power to fulfil"—but a *declaration.* "Whatever promise is implied concerns not our convictions but our acts. We pledge ourselves simply to this, that, so long as we hold an office of trust, we will not contravene the purposes for which it was instituted." The moral is far greater than the legal obligation of subscription. But let Mr. Cook describe the obligations of clergymen in his own words. It is only necessary to inform the reader that the "Oxford Tutor" to whom he alludes is none other than Mr. Wilson himself.

"The existence of the moral obligation does not, however, determine its exact nature and extent. The question still remains, how far the act of subscription implies conformity between a man's inmost convictions and the doctrinal formularies of the Church. That the conformity does not necessarily extend to an absolute and entire acceptation of any human formularies, as exhaustive or perfect representations of Divine truth, may readily be conceded. Such a demand would, in fact, be tantamount to an assumption of verbal and plenary inspiration, which the compilers of the documents and the imposers of subscription would be the first to disclaim. The conformity must, however, amount to as much as this. Taking the articles of religion in their natural and obvious meaning, as upon the whole with singular unanimity, and in the most essential points with absolute unanimity, they have been understood and interpreted by our great divines, the subscriber recognizes in them a faithful exhibition of Christian doctrine, the rule of his public teaching, the authoritative expression of the faith once delivered to the saints. On two points especially, an explicit and unhesitating act of adhesion is demanded—the canon of Holy Scripture, and the Creeds which present its fundamental doctrines in a concentrated form. Short of this conformity, it is certain that a minister cannot sympathize with the spirit, or give effect to the purposes, of the Church. Common sense, in this case fully in accord with the highest reason, is a sufficient guide to the most cautious and scrupulous inquirer. Nor can I forbear from quoting the words of one whom no man will suspect of any tendency to dogmatic intolerance, any disregard of even exaggerated sensitiveness. In a letter to one who had felt much perplexity about subscription, after alluding to difficulties formerly experienced by himself, Dr. Arnold writes thus:—'The real honesty of subscription appears to me to consist in a sympathy with the system to which you subscribe, in a preference of it, not negatively merely as better than others, but positively, as in itself good and true in its most characteristic points. Now, the most characteristic points of the English Church are two: that it maintains what is called the Catholic Faith as opposed to the early heresies, and is also decidedly a Reformed Church as opposed to the priestly and Papal system.' Such must have been the feelings of the Oxford tutor who some twenty years since bore this testimony to our Church, with especial reference to its safeguard of subscription—'I know not where free scope may be found for the feelings of awe, mystery, tenderness, and devotedness, when they struggle for utterance in the breast of the spiritual man, more freely than in our own com-

Digitized by Google

munion: where our sons are taught, *without adding thereto, or diminishing aught from it*, the great mystery of godliness: God manifest in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory.' No one holding those principles could feel any difficulty in subscription. Such a man is satisfied, not because he is safe from legal consequences, but because he feels himself in harmony with the spirit of his Church, because he knows that he is offering an honest act of fealty, and is willing, without subterfuge or equivocation, to carry out her intentions to the best of his ability. Should it, indeed, unhappily be the case, that in after years his mind should be so affected as to reject not merely a word here and there, the meaning or application of expressions about which the most learned and candid writers have differed, or even positive determinations upon questions of subordinate importance, but the great truths, the objective facts, the fundamental doctrines set forth plainly and unmistakably in those formularies, then surely the moral obligation is positive. It leaves but one alternative. He cannot do the work which he has undertaken, cannot preach the doctrines, cannot proclaim the facts which are the very foundation of the Church: how can he retain the trust? If people did not understand this to be our feeling as ministers, they would speedily seek for some other guarantee. If it were generally believed that, when called upon to clear himself from 'odious imputations,' a minister might put a stop to all further inquiry by simply renewing his subscription, with a clear understanding that thereby he means no more than that he recognizes a legal obligation, retaining the right of explaining away, or even denying privately and publicly, the very statements to which he puts his hand, the whole body of the laity would scout the very notion of subscription, would reject it as illusory, as a mere sham. The only light in which they look upon subscription is, that it is a means of ascertaining what truths a man holds, and what he holds himself bound to teach,—not surely upon what terms he may consider himself justified in retaining office or emoluments in the Church. They will be prepared to allow time for consideration to any man harassed by perplexing doubts: no man would be regarded with more entire sympathy and tenderness than one whose spirit might be overwrought in its struggles with storms which haunt the higher regions of intellectual life: but so long as he works, prays, preaches, administers the sacraments of the Church, or discharges the kindred and no less responsible duty of forming the character of youth under the sanction of the ministerial office, laymen presume, and would be scandalized to hear it doubted, that he holds substantially the convictions which he professed, when formally, publicly, deliberately, at a most critical moment of his life, he signed his name in token of unfeigned assent to the Articles of his Church."—Pp. 178—181.

We are not called upon in this place to discuss, what is, at least for us, the exhausted question of Subscription. We need hardly say that, tried by the true principles of church communion, the eloquent statement of our essayist will be found invalid both in theory and in practice. Before ever the Broad Church took shape and name, the existence of High and Low Church in one ecclesiastical fellowship was conclusive proof that creeds and

Digitized by Google

articles are powerless to ensure unanimity of theological belief even in those who heartily and *ex animo* subscribe them. But we are not to suffer our theological to carry away with them our ecclesiastical sympathies in relation to this important matter. If as Unitarian Christians we are powerfully attracted to Mr. Maurice and Mr. Wilson, as honest Dissenters we cannot but assent to the reasonings of Mr. Cook. They are, in truth, the only vindication of our position. If, after all, subscription means little or nothing, and not only social and ecclesiastical advantage, but liberty of speech and inquiry, are best secured within the pale of the National Church, we were indeed fools and blind to remain in the miserable isolation which we have been wont to think was a sacrifice demanded of us by allegiance to truth. We have not a word to say against the conscientiousness of the leaders of this new movement. They are men of deep moral earnestness, and have already given up enough to be clear from the charge of being cowards in self-sacrifice. A desire to preserve the unity of the Church, as far as may be, unbroken (a desire in which we sincerely share)—not a mean and sordid grasp upon the emoluments of an Establishment—keeps them where they are. And yet to observers from the outside, especially to observers whose spiritual ancestry can be traced up to a noble act of renunciation such as these men yet shrink from making, the fatal weakness of their position is clear. All unconsciously they strive to serve two masters, union and truth, and can love neither with undivided heart. Presently the time may come when they will learn that to abandon all, even unity itself, for truth's sake, may be the way to a nobler church fellowship than can be constituted upon a basis of uniformity of belief.

We will conclude our notice of this essay by quoting one passage more, in which Mr. Cook justly points out that the abolition of subscription would necessarily involve a re-construction of the Liturgy:

"In a church where the doctrines taught in the Creeds find an expression in every prayer, the contradiction between the sermon of a rationalist and the words which he is constrained to utter in his ministerial functions, will always be, and ought always to be, fatal to his influence. If the congregation have good reason to suspect that, in reciting the Creeds, the minister looks upon himself as subjected to the hard bondage of uttering what he inwardly disavows, or regards as an 'unhappy' form; that in the petitions of the Litany he uses expressions touching the 'Divine personalities' which are to him little more than metaphysical abstractions, or speculative conclusions of the schools; if they believe that, from the opening prayer to the final blessing, there has been a constant struggle, a series of inward protests, jesuitical reservations or interpretations, going on within the mind of the reader; whatever else may be the effect upon their hearts, one effect is sure, their moral sense will be shocked, they will recoil in indignation from such hypocrisy. Even supposing he should have communicated to them

Digitized by Google

his own unhappy doubts and repugnances, they will feel that it is a bad and evil thing for them to share in acts of such glaring and flagrant inconsistency. They will soon desert the church altogether, or testify their contempt for the ordinances or the minister, by their demeanour when he preaches, or by their expressive silence in the acts of common worship. One thing must be looked in the face. The abolition of subscription to those doctrines which find expression in our Liturgy would be utterly futile unless that Liturgy itself were entirely reconstructed. No partial reform, not the widest reform which has ever been suggested, or would be tolerated by the most indifferent and sceptical congregation in this land, would free from intellectual bondage the conscience of those who are now calling for the relaxation of subscription. It is not a mere phrase here and there which would change their position; it is the very spirit of Christianity, full of the recognition of its most special and characteristic truths, which drives the minister to the alternative of speaking as a believer in each and all essential doctrines, or of standing self-convicted and self-condemned in the presence of Him whom he mocks by the utterance of prayers which he inwardly disavows."—Pp. 182, 183.

Of the next essay, Dr. M'Caul's, on "The Mosaic Record of Creation," we have not much to say. Our readers would hardly be interested were we to put before them the last form which the defence of the scientific infallibility of the book of Genesis has assumed. It may be enough to remark, that Dr. M'Caul disdains all compromise between Science and Scripture, and boldly claims for Moses an absolute accuracy of statement. Had the great lawgiver desired to express in the most precise terms the latest results of modern discovery, he could not have chosen his words more happily. For the facts and arguments upon which the essayist bases this wonderful conclusion, we refer our readers to his own words. Even to state, and much more to examine them, would occupy by far too large a portion of our limited space.

One passage, however, which refers to a point not of science but of criticism, is too characteristic to be passed over. Dr. M'Caul has been speaking of the so-called Elohistic and Jehovistic documents,—the passages at the commencement of the book of Genesis, distinguished by the use of a peculiar name of God, and therefore supposed to be the work of different authors. He enumerates the differing opinions of nine critics, who, every one believing in the separate existence of these documents, are unable to agree as to their number and limits; and then triumphantly goes on to say,—

"This enumeration is far from exhausting the varieties, but is sufficient to show the want of unity. The reader will perceive that some assert one Elohistic document—others, two—others, three. In like manner some make one Jehovist; some more. Some make the Jehovist identical with the compiler; others make him a different person. Some make two, others three, others four, Ewald seven documents by different authors the materials of Genesis. Now every one can understand that there is a great difference whether the Elohistic and Jehovistic portions be assigned to one or be divided amongst two, three, or more persons.

Digitized by Google

He who says that there is only one Elohist must believe that in the whole Elohistic portion there is unity of style, tone, spirit, language. If there be two Elohists, then the former is mistaken as to the unity, and there must be two diversities of style; but if there be three Elohists, then both first and second critics are mistaken, and there must be three different styles. The portions assigned to each must also be smaller. Let the three Elohists be A, B, C. The first critic says that the whole belongs to A. The second critic says, No; part belongs to B. The third critic says part belongs to A, part to B, and part to C. And thus the most celebrated critics convict each other of false criticism. Hüpfeldt condemns Knobel; Ewald condemns Hüpfeldt and Knobel; Knobel condemns Ewald and Hüpfeldt. If Knobel's criticism is correct, Hüpfeldt's is worthless. If Ewald be right, the others must be deficient in critical acumen. They may all be wrong, but only one of the three can be right.

"But take into account all the other differences enumerated above, one supposing that the documents are pre-Mosaic, another that they were written in the times of Joshua or the Judges, another in the time of David, another some centuries later; and how uncertain must the principles of their criticism appear,—how valueless their conclusions! With such facts can any sane person talk of the results of modern criticism as regards the Book of Genesis? or be willing to give up the belief of centuries for such criticism as this?"—Pp. 192, 193.

We have quoted this passage as a good example of a device not uncommonly used by orthodox controversialists. A number of critics agree to differ from the popular opinion, but, differing from it, differ also in minor points among themselves: let their theories be held to be mutually destructive, leaving the old belief standing the more firmly because of their fall! Now more than one paralogism is involved in this reasoning. It is assumed, in the first place, that there is something in the received opinion which sets it upon a height of safety, whence it can look down upon newer theories, unaffected by the forces which sweep them away. Why should it not be on a level with the conclusion of any learned and candid inquirer, to be tried by the same tests and subject to the same perils? In all probability, the very antiquity which is its sole merit shews that it has come down from an unlearned and uncritical time: it may be the offspring of ages of ignorance, and any one of the theories which impugn it, in like manner, the result of a long period of accumulating knowledge and progressive inquiry. And if opinions are to be set up to destroy one another, there can be no reason why any one should be excluded from the process, and so survive to claim the rewards of victory. But then—and we are willing to take the present case as an example—it is false to represent the newer theories as mutually destructive. If in a mosaic table the various stones be so artfully put together, or their lines of junction so obliterated by age and use, as to leave room for irreconcilable difference of opinion as to the number and size of the gems of

Digitized by Google

which it is composed, are we on that account to deny the evidence of our senses, and to insist that it is all one particoloured mass? So here, Knobel and Ewald and Hüpfeldt, differing in much, agree in much more. Their difference tells against their respective theories; their agreement tells against Dr. M'Caul. It may be hard to choose between their various statements of the fact, and yet impossible to deny the fact itself. No theological theory can be better supported by able witnesses than that of the existence of Elohistic and Jehovistic elements in the first chapter of the book of Genesis; and we thank Dr. M'Caul for having clearly shewn us how no less than nine competent critics agree in impugning the orthodox opinion on which he pins his own faith.*

Professor Rawlinson's essay on "The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Pentateuch," evades our criticism by the nature of its subject. We have no space in which to follow the windings of his argument, to estimate the value of his reconciling and explaining theories, or to point out the weak places of his analogies. But even if it were not so, the task would not be worth the necessary labour. The essay adds absolutely nothing to the literature of the subject. The "Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford" has only to treat Herodotus and Livy as he has treated the books of Moses, to cover both himself and his office with deserved contempt.

The Bishop of Gloucester's paper on "The Death of Christ" "is directed to those who profess to attach to the sufferings of the Redeemer some preternatural efficacy beyond that of mere example, yet who would substitute for the received account of their effect some other doctrine." It is eloquent in style and orthodox in matter. No new fangled doctrines of atonement are here, but a straightforward statement of the theory of substitution. There is nothing strikingly novel either in the scriptural arguments upon which it is based, or the moral reflections by which it is sought to be justified. To scientific students of theology, the most interesting part will be that in which the Bishop, marshalling his scriptural evidence, admits that different types of Christian doctrine exist side by side in the New Testament. And they will probably think that he is more successful in proving the existence of the "four types," than in shewing how they really coalesce in what he regards as the central and archetypal truth.

"Inspiration"—perhaps the most important question attempted

* A similar argument is constantly being used in regard to the text of the New Testament. Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, often disagree; *therefore*, abide by the Textus Receptus. As if, in the first place, the Textus Receptus were not of less authority than any one of the new critical editions; as if, in the second, the fact of their all differing from it in any particular passage, even while they differ from one another, were not almost a conclusive proof that whichever of *them* is right, *it* must be wrong!

Digitized by Google

to be discussed in this volume—has, in proportion to its importance, suffered the worst fate. The Rev. Edward Harold Browne, B.D., Norrisian Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, and Canon Residentiary of Exeter Cathedral, seems, if we may judge from the present specimen of his powers, to possess few but official qualifications for the performance of the delicate task which he has undertaken. His is an essay in the old and literal sense of the term. He takes all the essayist's privilege of inconsequence, and goes round and round about his subject without venturing to touch it. A full third of his space is taken up with a history of opinions on inspiration. A large part of the remainder is occupied with a somewhat rambling criticism of other men's theories, and a long digression upon miracles. More than once he tells us that there is necessarily a divine and human element in the process of inspiration, but offers no criterion by which the boundary-line between them may be even approximately marked out. The question of inspiration is one "*internal* to Christianity." "There is a degree of latitude which must be fatal to faith; but within certain limits men may differ and yet believe." And then again: "It seems pretty generally agreed among thoughtful men at present, that definite theories of inspiration are doubtful and dangerous." Yet—after much more of loose talk such as this, which leads to no conclusion, and leaves upon the reader's mind only the impression that the author is trying hard to be both liberal and orthodox—Mr. Browne all at once says: "We want to be assured that we have an *infallible* depository of *religious* truth. And if we are satisfied that the apostles were accredited messengers for delivering God's message and communicating God's truth to the world, clearly we have this assurance." We assure our readers that the suddenness with which this orthodox statement comes upon them here, is not greater than that with which it presents itself in Mr. Browne's pages. We have in vain tried to discover the chain of reasoning by which it is connected with what precedes; it stands, unsupported by evidence, alone in its native reasonableness. And before the page is turned, Mr. Browne goes on to qualify it once more, and faces round, as if about to desert to the enemy whom he has enlisted to repel. "Scripture was not given to teach us science, but to teach us religion; it may not have been needful that the inspired writers should have been rendered infallible in matters of science, nor is it at all likely that they should have been directed to teach to the ancient world truths which would anticipate the discoveries either of Newton or of Cuvier. It would have been almost as strange if they had not used popular expressions in writing on such subjects, as if they had written, not in the tongue of their own people, but in a new dialect more refined and philosophical." No wonder that orthodox critics are profoundly dissatisfied with Mr. Browne's theory of inspiration, which is yet—such is his

Digitized by Google

hard fate—far too loose and timid and vacillating to win the respect of any thoughtful heterodoxy.

The last and most elaborate of the essays in this volume is that on "Scripture and its Interpretation," by Mr. Ellicott, Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, and Dean of Exeter,—which, it is hardly necessary to say, answers to Mr. Jowett's admirable contribution to "Essays and Reviews." It is written in a clear and manly style, is interspersed with passages of considerable eloquence, shews a very considerable acquaintance with the minutiæ of scriptural criticism, especially as applied to the New Testament, and is pervaded throughout by an earnest religious spirit. If in the brief analysis of his argument which we are about to give, he seems to fall into inaccuracy of statement and inconclusiveness of reasoning, it will not be unfair to infer that the failure of so able an advocate is to be accounted for by the weakness of his case.

After some preliminary remarks, he begins by controverting the statement that scriptural interpretation has hitherto been various in its methods and uncertain in its results,—a statement which, one would think, was sufficiently established by the fact that every church and every sect that has hitherto existed has been able to read the documents, to which they all appeal, in its own sense. Catholic, Greek and Protestant, Arminian and Calvinist, Trinitarian and Unitarian, Baptist and Swedenborgian, all find in scripture sufficient warrant for the differences which keep them apart. The principal argument with which Mr. Ellicott attempts to meet this fact is, that there is a substantial agreement among the ancient versions. Who denied it? Can he be ignorant of the distinction between translation and interpretation, a distinction which, varying greatly in the case of different books, is never so wide as in the case of writings which profess to impart philosophical or moral or religious instruction? Is he not aware that it is the express duty of translators of such writings to translate and *not* to interpret,—to reproduce a difficult passage in such a state as to put the original difficulty before the mind of the reader of the version? Does he not know that to have done this is in many places one of the merits of our Authorized Version; as, e.g., it is the easiest thing in the world to translate 1 Cor. xi. 10, and an insoluble problem of biblical criticism to know what it means when it is translated? But when he proceeds from the agreement of the ancient versions, which proves nothing, to allege the substantial agreement of all interpreters, ancient and modern, which would prove a great deal, we find ourselves upon what appears to be very unsafe ground of assertion. Chrysostom and Theodoret agree in all essentials with Meyer and De Wette; Origen does not allegorize; the Schoolmen have left behind them "a large amount of reasonable and intelligent interpretation of the word of God." In one word,

Digitized by Google

the method and the results of biblical interpretation have been in all Christian ages substantially the same. Then, if this is so, why should the church be divided into sects innumerable, each convinced that the propositions of its own creed best express the essential sense of scripture?

Nevertheless, Mr. Ellicott goes on to admit "the existence of diversity of interpretation, especially in individual passages and details," and assigns three causes of this diversity: 1st, the Bible is different from any other book; 2nd, the words of scripture have in many places more than one meaning; 3rd, the Bible is inspired. Under the first head, he turns round upon Mr. Jowett, and reproaches him with the absurdity of declaring that the Bible is to be interpreted like any other book, "when in the merest rough and outside view the Scripture presents such striking differences from any book that the world has ever seen." And then, with an almost amusing unconsciousness of the *personal* inapplicability of his argument, he proceeds to remind Essayists and Reviewers that the Bible is not one book, but many, of different ages and the most various contents; missing, as it would appear, almost wilfully, that he might gain an easy and contemptible word-victory, the plain meaning of Mr. Jowett's statement of principle—that the methods by which we are content to ascertain the signification of every other form of human language, are applicable in the case of the books which compose the Biblical volume.

We cannot pause to criticise Mr. Ellicott's declaration that it is often right to assign more than one meaning to a passage of scripture, as to enter upon the subject, with any prospect of good result, would necessitate an examination of the general relation between thought and its expression, which would lead us too far afield. We must be content with reporting the results at which he arrives. He believes, for instance, that in Matthew xxiv. our Lord *intended* to refer both to the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world. He finds in the words of Christ and his apostles a sufficient warrant for the theory of type and antitype. He adduces instances of simple historical statement, in which a deeper truth inheres than is apparent upon the surface: "Is it possible," he says, "to deny that our Lord himself discloses, in what might have been deemed a mere title of Jehovah under his aspects of relation to favoured worshipers, a meaning so full and so deep that it formed the basis of an argument?" Matt. xxii. 31, seq.; Mark xii. 24, seq.; Luke xx. 37, seq. Nay, when Paul to the Ephesians (iv. 8) not only quotes a Psalm in a strange sense, but quotes it wrongly, substituting for "Thou hast *received* gifts for men," "and *gave* gifts unto men,"—Mr. Ellicott finds, in what to ordinary apprehension is a mere slip of memory, a case in which "the apostle rightly assigned to a seemingly historical passage ... a deeper meaning than the words

Digitized by Google

seem to bear, ... and that he altered the form of the words to make more palpable and evident *the meaning which he knew they involved.*" Upon which he goes on to say, "We have no anxiety as to the decision in the case of any calm-judging and unbiassed reader." No more have we.

Nor can we now enter upon Mr. Ellicott's views of Inspiration, which are themselves stated in so compendious a form as to make the task of further compression not easy. His doctrine is orthodox and yet guarded. He does not shrink from professing a belief in a very high theory of inspiration, and yet he will not absolutely assert that the Scriptures are in every minute detail infallibly accurate. He has not quite succeeded in satisfying orthodox critics of the soundness of his own faith, while he yet secures only an infinitesimal portion of the liberty which a less rigid creed would give him. But the main point in this section of his essay to which we direct attention, is a habit of unfair statement, which he shares in common with many of his brethren. Listen to them, and you shall be told that all the difficulties proposed by thoughtful students of the Scriptures are old and long ago cleared up; that the number of them is very small; that the progress of science is all in the direction of orthodox belief; and that if we will only wait awhile, every contradiction and discord of scriptural statement will be satisfactorily set aside. What can be more unfair, not to say false, than the following passage? If the discrepancies between the first chapter of Matthew and Luke were explained 1400 years ago, why do many critics still maintain that it is impossible to construct a single connected narrative from the double statement? What theologian does not know that the explanation of the genealogies on which so much stress is laid, is an hypothesis absolutely unsupported by evidence, to which, had the list of names occurred in Josephus, no sane critic would have dreamed of resorting? How meagre the list of difficulties, intended, as we cannot but suppose, to convey the impression that when these *four* cases have been candidly brought to light, those which still remain behind are of small account!

"The second class of alleged errors is, at first sight, of more importance and plausibility. It professes to include oppositions to science, oppositions to received history, and cases of direct mutual contradiction. Of these three forms we may again briefly say that instances of the first kind, far from increasing, are steadily decreasing under a just comparison of the true meaning of the words of Scripture with the accredited conclusions of science. Recent discussions of the subjects of controversy by men of acknowledged scientific attainments have tended to show that the oppositions of Scripture and science are really far more doubtful than they are assumed to be, and that though they still hold a very prominent place on the pages of the charlatan, they one by one disappear from the treatises of men of real science who have scholarship sufficient to extract the real meaning of the language of Scripture in the passages

Digitized by Google

under consideration. . . . . Much the same sort of remark, *mutatis mutandis*, may be made on alleged oppositions to received History or Chronology; many of the supposed oppositions held in former times to be inexplicable have now entirely passed away from the scene, and have alike ceased to stimulate the sceptic or to disquiet the believer; others, like the case of Cyrenius (Luke ii. 2), are all but gone; and as to what remain there is a growing feeling among unbiassed scholars and historians that if we could but obtain the knowledge of a few more facts relative to the various points at issue, the oppositions of Scripture and History would wholly cease to exist. . . . . In regard of mutual contradictions, it might be thought a better case has been made out. Writers from whom we might have looked for more guarded comment have done much to exaggerate the so-called discrepancies of the Scripture narrative, and have somewhat too emphatically denounced modes of explanation that, both from their simplicity and, not unfrequently, their antiquity, have very great claims on our consideration. Sceptics have not been slow to take advantage of this ill-advised course. When, however, all these so-called contradictions are mustered up, they are but a motley and an enfeebled host. We survey them, and we observe some as old as the days of Celsus, and as decrepit as they are old; others vainly hiding all but mortal wounds received in conflicts of the past, and now only craving a *coup de grace* from some combatant of our own times; some of a later date, and a more aspiring air, recruited from Deistical controversies of a century or two back, but all marked with uncomely scars, and armed with nothing better than broken or corroded weapons. There they stand; the discrepancy between two Evangelists about the original dwelling-place of Mary and Joseph, explained and well explained fourteen hundred years ago; the two genealogies, fairly discussed in ancient times, and in our own explained in a manner that approaches to positive demonstration; the blasphemy of the *two* thieves, disposed of very reasonably by Chrysostom, and since his time on the same or a similar principle by every unprejudiced commentator; the narrative of the woman who anointed our Lord's feet, first prepared for the occasion by the assumption that the narratives in all the four Gospels relate to the *same* woman,—an assumption regarded even by Meyer, and apparently De Wette, as plainly contrary to the fact. And so on. When we survey such a company, and are told that, at any rate, we should respect their numbers, their aggregate authority, their cumulative weight, an uneasy feeling arises in the mind that those who parade them must really be aware that there is something amiss with each case, that, however numerically strong they may be, it is disagreeably true that as individual instances they are disabled or weak. If so, is there not a great responsibility resting on those who bring forward catalogues of such instances, and yet do not apprize the simple and the inexperienced that each supposed difficulty has most certainly been met over and over again, and with very reasonable success; that this array, so to be respected for its numbers, is really strong in nothing else,—a mere rabble of half-armed or disarmed men?"—Pp. 415—417.

From these prolegomena, Mr. Ellicott passes on to lay down the general principles of interpretation. And for a time we find no difficulty in accompanying his steps, even though we may be inclined to complain that he conducts us into none but familiar

Digitized by Google

regions of thought. He recommends a prayerful spirit. He would have the interpreter "be seduced by no timidity or prejudices from ascertaining the true text." He enforces the necessity of a fearless statement of the results of investigation. And then he proceeds to lay down four rules of interpretation, upon which he dilates at some length, illustrating his meaning by a series of interesting and instructive examples; all four being summed up in the single general canon—"Interpret grammatically, historically, contextually and minutely."

So far well; though, as Mr. Ellicott admits, "we have really to a certain extent been agreeing to interpret Scripture like any other book." "The real point of interest has yet to be discussed."

"There are at least three large classes of passages in which they fail in ascertaining for us the true mind of Scripture; and these very failures, it will be observed, force upon us additional rules, gradually more and more of an unique character, till we find ourselves at last frankly accepting the yet lacking general rule of true Scriptural interpretation. But let us not anticipate. We have said there are at least three classes of passages for which the above rules are not sufficient. These may be defined roughly, as (1) passages of *general* difficulty, where the context gives us no means of deciding between two or more competing translations, of equal correctness in point of logic or grammar; (2) passages of *doctrinal* difficulty, where either the tenor of the declaration is doubtful, or where opposing deductions have been made as to the doctrine actually conveyed; (3) passages of what may be termed *theological* difficulty, *i.e.* where the fact specified or the principle referred to involves mysterious relations between things human and Divine which are at best very imperfectly known to us. In all these three cases, especially the two last, the rules we have discussed, though of the greatest use in clearing away preliminary difficulties, often leave the main difficulty untouched."—Pp. 439, 440.

By an induction of examples, upon which we cannot pause, our author arrives at a new rule: "Let the writer interpret himself;" or, in other words, in cases of a certain kind of difficulty, much light may be obtained by considering the *usus scribendi* of the writer, and so comparing him with himself. But even this step does not raise us above ordinary levels of interpretation: the new canon is as applicable to Sophocles as to Paul. So, by shewing how the New is dependent upon the Old Testament—how, for instance, the Man of sin in 2 Thessalonians, and the Antichrist of 1 John, are to be elucidated by the book of Daniel—we arrive at the further rule, "Where possible, let Scripture interpret itself;" or, in other words, "Interpret according to the analogy of Scripture." Still, this is not enough.

"What is the true meaning of the words πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως (Col. i. 15) in their reference to the Eternal Son? Here we have two interpretations, widely different, yet both grammatically tenable, and one (the second) considered merely with regard to grammar, perhaps

Digitized by Google

even obvious and plausible. According to the one interpretation, our Lord would be represented as 'begotten before every creature,' and the reference would be to the eternal generation of Christ; according to the other, it would be 'first-begotten of every creature,' or, as in the Syriac, 'of all creatures,'—prior to them in origin, yet a created being like themselves. Which view are we to take? Grammar is silent, the context difficult and not decisive (the following ἐν αὐτῷ is probably not '*by* Him'), the reasoning deep and mysterious. The answer of every calm and attentive reader of Scripture will probably be promptly given,—'Undoubtedly the former.' But why? 'Because the whole tenor of Scripture is opposed to the latter view.' But how can this tenor of Scripture be confidently stated? on what does the assertion rest? Is it the result of actual and rigorous investigation of the whole of Scripture, or mere reliance on the opinion of the safe side? 'No, neither the one nor the other.' Then on what is the adoption of the former of the two views really based? 'On the teaching of the Creeds, as the authoritative expositions of the true tenor of Scripture.' In other words, the example has at last led us to the full expression of the rule that has been gradually disclosing itself. Scripture itself has at length taught us, by the gentle leading of its own difficulties, the true and vital principle of all really Scriptural exegesis,—*Interpret according to the analogy of Faith.*" P. 443.

Then, in the third place, this notable principle, thus evolved, is to be applied to the interpretation of what Mr. Ellicott has called "passages of theological difficulty." It could nowhere be of more use. There is at once a happy end of all controversy, if the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds are to be erected into a standard, to which, by every device of interpretation, the indefiniteness and almost changefulness of scriptural statement are to be stretched or narrowed.

We do not propose to follow Mr. Ellicott into his concluding section on some of the peculiarities of New-Testament Greek, which, however interesting and valuable it may be in itself, hardly affords fit matter for discussion in these pages. The main points of his argument are already before the reader.

Nor is it necessary to add to what has been already said any general remarks upon the character of the volume which we have thus hastily analyzed. Its contents are so varied, both in character and value, as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to speak in a way that shall be applicable to the whole of it. If our remarks have appeared to the reader somewhat discursive, if not disjointed, let a part at least of the blame lie upon the nature of the subject. To discuss thoroughly the controverted points involved in any one of these essays, would be the work, not of a single fugitive paper, but of a volume elaborately thought out and carefully composed. One conclusion, not altogether without its consolation, the critic of the Christian Reformer may draw from a general survey of "Aids to Faith,"—that its arguments are strong in proportion as they deviate from

Digitized by Google

a strict standard of orthodoxy; that a defence of orthodox faith is *now* necessarily accompanied by admissions, and compromises, and modifications, which a few years ago would have been deemed fatal to its efficiency; and that modern learning and ingenuity can do little more in support of ancient error than furbish up the old weapons, and seek to effect in a new form the familiar substitution of empty assumption for assured fact and sound logic.

RAMMOHUN ROY ON RELIGIOUS WORSHIP.

Sir,

The following translation of a small Bengali tract on Religious Worship, written by Rajah Rammohun Roy, is offered to your readers. The original (printed in 1829) is with the books presented by William Adam, Esq., to the library of University College, London. It contains nothing new or profound, nor is it characterized by the author's usual vigour of reasoning; but its chief merit consists in this—it shews clearly for what form of religion the Rajah was preparing the minds of his countrymen.

With regard to the translation, it may be mentioned that no verbal rendering has been attempted. I have, besides, omitted the authorities from the Sástras, which Rammohun Roy had quoted in support of his statements. Faithfully yours,

Rakhal Das Haldar.

University Hall, Gordon Square, January 18, 1862.

Question. What is worship?

Answer. The attempt to gratify another is called worship; but with regard to the Supreme Being, it is the exercise of our intelligence respecting Him.

Q. Who is the Object of worship?

A. The Creator and Preserver of the universe, which is full of infinite varieties of things and persons, so incomprehensibly arranged, and so well adapted to each other, that nothing whatever is unnecessary; and which consists of the sun, the moon, the planets, and the stars, moving in their appointed paths far more wonderfully than clock-work.

Q. What sort of person is He?

A. I have told you before that the Object of our worship is the Creator and Preserver of the universe. Neither scripture nor reason is able to affirm anything more about Him.

Q. Is there any means of ascertaining His nature?

A. Both the Vedas and the Law repeatedly say that His nature transcends our comprehension and description, an affirmation which reason confirms; for if the nature and extent of the universe, which is within our perception, cannot be known, how

Digitized by Google

can the nature of God be known, who is only inferred as the Creator and Preserver of the world?

Q. Can any one reasonably object to this mode of worship?

A. None can do so consistently, because we worship only the Creator and Preserver of the universe; and to such a worship there can be no objection. Different sets of worshipers have different gods, but each set worship their peculiar god as the Creator and Preserver of the universe; and, according to their own belief, they must acknowledge our worship as the worship of their peculiar gods. In this way, those who call time, or nature, or buddha (intelligence), or any object whatever, the Providence of the world, cannot reasonably object to the worship of Providence, simply as such. The various religious worshipers in China, Thibet, Europe and other countries, acknowledge their respective objects of worship as the Creator and Preserver of the universe; and, according to their own belief, they must acknowledge our worship as the worship of their respective gods.

Q. In some passages of the Vedas, God has been termed imperceptible and incomprehensible; and in others, cognoscible; how do you reconcile these contradictions?

A. Where God is said to be imperceptible and incomprehensible, His nature is alluded to; i.e., His nature cannot be known by any means. And where He is said to be cognoscible, His existence is implied; i.e. the admirable arrangements and laws observable in the universe imply that God exists. The functions of the body argue the existence of the intelligent soul in it; but the nature of that soul which pervades the whole body and which guides it, i.e. what sort of thing it is, can by no means be known.

Q. Are you opposed and inimical to other worshipers?

A. Never. Whatever object men may worship, they worship it as God, or at least as the manifestation of God; consequently, why should we be opposed and inimical to them?

Q. If you worship the same God as well as they, wherein do you differ from them?

A. The difference between them and us is of two kinds. First, they ascribe to Him peculiar forms, and acknowledge certain localities as the places where He exists; whereas we worship the intelligent Cause of the creation, without attributing to the same Cause any form or any particular location. Secondly, we find that the different sets of worshipers of the particular forms of God quarrel with each other; but no set of worshipers can consistently quarrel with us, as has been said in answer to the fifth question.

Q. How is this worship performed?

A. To contemplate, according to scripture and reason, that the Creator and Preserver of this perceptible universe is God, is the worship of Him. Self-control and the study of the Vedas &c., are the duties of the worshiper. By self-control, is meant

Digitized by Google

an attempt to apply our mind and the organs of sense and action in such a way as will produce good to ourselves and others, instead of evil; in fact, the worshiper is required to do to others only what he wishes they should do to him. By the study of the Vedas, is meant that the worshiper should contemplate God by employing words which imply His existence and attributes, as laid down in the Scriptures, since by habit we cannot comprehend meaning without words. Such words also should be used which signify that the benefits we are constantly receiving from fire, wind, the sun, the vegetable world, &c., are derived from God; and such sentiments should be confirmed by the exercise of reason. The Vedas repeatedly say that truth is the basis of divine knowledge; so truth is to be depended upon, and thereby the worship of God, who is truth, is performed.

Q. According to this mode of worship, what are the rules regarding eating and the ordinary usages of life?

A. Eating and the ordinary usages of life should be regulated by the Scriptures. If any person does whatever he likes, without adopting any one of the recognized Sástras, he may be called a man of impulse. To be such is both against scripture and reason. The Scriptures repeatedly forbid one to follow one's own inclinations only. Reason also says that if every one were to follow his own inclinations, and not the authority of the Scriptures, society would soon come to an end. To the followers of inclination, there is no distinction between propriety and impropriety of conduct; their conduct is justified by their inclinations. Now, the inclinations of all men are not of the same kinds; and in the fulfilment of various contrary inclinations disputes must frequently arise, and such frequent disputes may soon destroy society. The truth is, it is unworthy of man to spend his time in judging between the purity and impurity of food, instead of cultivating sciences and the knowledge of God. Whatever we may eat, it is changed within an hour and a half to what is called impure; this again is changed into articles of food, such as grain, &c.: so the wise endeavour to purify their minds rather than their bodies.

Q. According to this mode of worship, are there any rules with regard to place, direction and time for worship?

A. Good time and place are desirable, but there is no special rule. Wherever, in whatever direction, or at whatever time, the mind is fixed, worship may be offered to God.

Q. Who is worthy to be instructed in this mode of worship?

A. All men are fit to receive instruction in this mode of worship; but our supreme felicity depends upon the degree of faith derived from purity of heart.

Digitized by Google

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN 1640-1.*

THE two periods in our national history during which the Church of England exercised its power with the fewest hindrances and restrictions, were the ten years in Charles the First's reign that preceded the calling of the Long Parliament, and the quarter of a century that followed the Restoration of the second Charles. In the first period named, the policy of Laud was all-triumphant; and the Puritans were harried with a savage zeal of which modern Churchmen happily feel little. There was no Parliament to which the wretched victims of ecclesiastical courts, none to which they who suffered from the mean, petty and malignant violence of some of the clergy, could appeal. But we greatly question whether even an enthusiastic admirer of the Church of England would wish attention to be particularly directed to these periods, or would consent to accept the results of either as a specimen of the fruits of Church power. One of our living bishops (Dr. T. Vowler Short, Bishop of St. Asaph), when describing the state of England at this time, says: "The court of ecclesiastical commission had frequently exercised severity and sometimes cruelty on those who were called before it; and the people had indistinctly mixed up the idea of the Church government under which they groaned with episcopacy and the higher offices in the Church."

With the kind of wisdom which Churchmen sometimes shew, Laud chose the period when the people were driven by his ecclesiastical agents to a state of madness to introduce and pass in convocation a body of canons, which may be called Laud's masterpiece. The Bishop of St. Asaph shall describe them:

"The canons themselves are such as prove the violence of those who framed them, who must have been actuated by despair or fatuity to select such a time for their publication. They enact that every officiating minister shall, on some one Sunday in every quarter, insist on the divine right of kings and on their prerogatives, in which the power of taxing was indirectly implied. That the day of the king's inauguration shall be carefully observed. They were very severe against Papists, Socinians and all sectaries. In order to support the Establishment, an oath was imposed against innovations, in which every clergyman or person taking a degree was to swear 'that he would not consent to alter the government of the Church by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c.;' a form sufficiently equivocal, and which acquired for the oath the name of the '*et cætera* oath.' It was ordered that the communion table should stand as in the cathedral church; that it should be railed in, and the people approach the holy table when they received;

* Proceedings, principally in the County of Kent, in connection with the Parliaments called in 1640, and especially with the Committee of Religion appointed in that Year. Edited by the Rev. Lambert B. Larking, M.A., from the Collections of Sir Edward Dering, Bart., 1627—1644, with a Preface by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. Printed for the Camden Society. 1662.

Digitized by Google

and that on entering and quitting church they should do obeisance. Every preacher was directed to enforce in his sermons twice every year conformity to the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England."

Were the clergy in the diocese of Exeter or Oxford consulted, half of them would perhaps aver that these canons are still binding on Churchmen as well as the clergy.

When the Long Parliament met in Nov. 1640, it required no great prophetic skill to foresee that either constitutional liberty or the power of the ecclesiastical body was about to have a fall. One of the first acts of this Parliament was to appoint a Committee of Religion consisting of the whole House. This presently subdivided into several sub-committees. Each had its chairman. White, Corbet, Sir Robert Harlow and Sir Edward Dering were the appointed presidents. The interesting volume of which we have given the title at the foot of this article, contains minutes and documents relating to the proceedings of one of these committees. We owe them to the diligence and care of Sir Edward Dering, of whom a short account, founded on the preface by Mr. John Bruce, is due to our readers.

Sir Edward Dering, of Surrenden, was descended from a good and ancient Kentish family of Puritan tendency. This appears from an incident in the history of a clerical ancestor of Sir Edward in the time of Elizabeth,

"— a popular preacher in London, a man of distinguished eloquence and zeal, and successively Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, a preacher at Paul's Cross, the holder of the family living of Pluckley in Kent, and a prebendary of Salisbury. These promotions did not suffice to keep him out of trouble. He was plain-spoken to excess. Even the Queen did not escape his lash. In a sermon which he preached before Her Majesty in 1569, he warned her lest she who had been, *tanquam ovis*, as sheep appointed to be slain (Ps. xliv. 22), should come to be chastised, *tanquam indomita juvenca*, as an untamed and unruly heifer (Jeremiah xxxi. 18). Her Majesty deemed the allusion a little too forcible; and Dering was forbidden to preach any more before the court.* Some time afterwards he was persecuted for Puritanism before the High Commissioners; and, after a long suit, was suspended from the exercise of all his clerical functions."

Sir Edward Dering was the son of Sir Anthony, a nephew of the Elizabethan preacher. His mother was a daughter of Chief Baron Bell. Sir Anthony Dering held the office of Deputy-lieutenant of the Tower of London. In that building, whose history is intertwined with that of England, Sir Edward was born, January 28, 1598.

"Named after his relative the eminent preacher, who was the first Edward in the family, he inherited a considerable share of his great uncle's peculiar gifts; an eloquence that was unquestionable and most

* This statement is questioned by the intelligent authors of Athenæ Cantabrigienses in their valuable life of Edward Dering the preacher, I. 355.

Digitized by Google

persuasive, a natural tendency of his mind towards religious subjects of inquiry, a strong dislike of Rome, an aversion from ceremonialism, and an anti-prelatic feeling in reference to the titles, wealth and worldly occupations of the hierarchy."

He studied at Magdalen College, Cambridge, and then betook himself to the pursuits of a country gentleman and the study and collection of antiquarian remains. He was knighted by King James in 1619, and married towards the end of the same year Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Sir Nicholas Tufton. By this alliance he connected himself with the powerful family of the Cecils. She gave birth to a son, named Anthony, but died before she came of age. By a second marriage, Sir Edward allied himself to the Ashburnhams of Sussex and the Buckingham family. This alliance opened his way to court preferment, and he became a gentleman of the privy chamber. Again his domestic prospects were doomed to be obscured by the death of his wife, who was hurried to the grave by consumption in her twenty-fourth year. A baronetcy had graced the knight of Surrenden in 1627. Then follows a somewhat long but amusing account of Sir Edward's wooing of a well-dowered city widow, the pretty and affected relict of one Bennet, a mercer. After many hopes and fears, and many bribes to all about her, the Kentish baronet had the mortification of seeing the coy and wealthy widow become the bride of Sir Heneage Finch, Recorder of London.

The jilted baronet did not break his heart, but presently tendered his hand to a daughter of Sir Ralph Gibbes, of Honington, in Warwickshire. This proved a happy alliance. He bought the office of Lieutenant of Dover Castle, and with it a succession of inquietudes and troubles. He had many painful dealings with pirates, privateers and smugglers, who harassed him with never-ending litigation. Transferring the costly office to Captain Wentworth, Sir Edward Dering now enjoyed some years of peace; and his correspondence with Dugdale, Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Thos. Shirley, shews how devoted he was to antiquarian studies. But he was presently tempted from the happy quietude of his study, and embarked on a stormy sea in which he was presently engulfed.

"During this time, the state of public affairs grew more and more unsatisfactory. People of Sir Edward's way of thinking were especially displeased at the changes introduced into Church and State under the influence of Archbishop Laud. The anti-ceremonial and anti-hierarchical spirit of his namesake of the reign of Elizabeth revived within him. Conscious of talent, and anxious for an opportunity of its display, old stirrings of heart after distinction and power began to make themselves felt."

His ambition was gratified in the autumn of 1640 by his being returned, in conjunction with Sir John Colepeper, a knight of

Digitized by Google

the shire for Kent. He became at once, though but for a short time, a conspicuous member of that Parliament of which Lord Macaulay observes, that in "spite of many errors and disasters, it is justly entitled to the reverence and gratitude of all who in any part of the world enjoy the blessings of constitutional government."

Mr. Bruce thus describes his early parliamentary career:

"It was chiefly as a Church Reformer that Sir Edward had been returned, and he instantly put himself forward as a leader in this important scrutiny. Within a very few days of the commencement of public business, he presented a petition from a Kentish minister whom Archbishop Laud had sent for by a pursuivant, and in the course of his speech on that occasion publicly expressed his hope that ere the expiration of a twelvemonth, 'his Grace would have more grace, or no grace at all.' He presented a petition from the county of Kent, in which it was prayed that the hierarchical power might be totally abrogated; and on that occasion he declared himself the representative of the opinions of the petitioners, and avowed his belief that it might be said of the hierarchy of the Church of England, as a Pope Adrian said of the clergy in his time, *a vertice capitis ad plantam pedis, nihil est sanum in toto ordine ecclesiastico.* He delivered a learned argument against the recent canons, which he averred that the prelates desired to obtrude on the people on the ground of the pretended divinity of episcopacy and the temporal power granted by princes. He was active in reporting from the Committee of which he was the Chairman. . . . . He was looked up to as an acknowledged leader upon all questions relating to the Church; and his acquaintance with the theology of the points in dispute, the clearness with which he stated his arguments, and the eloquence and learning with which he enforced them, secured him not only the attention of the House, but a high degree of popularity out of doors."—Pp. xxxvi, xxxvii.

In May, 1641, Sir Edward Dering astounded the House by proposing, without notice and from the gallery, a Bill for the acceptance of the House, for the utter abolishing of archbishops, bishops, deans and chapters, with all their officers. This was a hasty and ill-considered step, which he took at the suggestion of Sir Arthur Haselrig, Vane and Cromwell. He thus apparently committed himself to the "root-and-branch" section, the Anti-State-Church party of that day. Sir Edward Dering quickly saw his error, and tried to recede from the position he had rashly taken. He endeavoured, with little success, to persuade the House that he had not aimed at the destruction, but simply the reform, of the Church of England. He was looked upon with suspicion and aversion, as a traitor to a great cause. Each day the gap between himself and his former friends became wider, and he was constantly in opposition to the movement party.

Desiring to vindicate himself in the face of the country, he put out a volume of his speeches, with notes. The volume pleased the King, but in the same degree offended the Parliament. Its

Digitized by Google

publication was voted a breach of privilege. The book was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and its author was sent to the Tower. He was presently released; but taking an active part in his county on the Royal side, he was impeached for a treasonable conspiracy. After a period of concealment in Kent, during which he is said to have escaped detection by putting on clergyman's robes and reading prayers in one of the churches, he joined the King's friends at Nottingham on the occasion of setting up the Royal standard, in August, 1642. He received a regiment. But his heart went not with the Royal cause, and his physical strength failed him in military toils.

His estate at Surrenden had been sequestered and plundered. He retired after six months' military command, and began to seek to make his peace with his former friends. He took advantage of the declaration of Parliament permitting persons who had been in arms against them to return to their homes on taking the covenant, and paying a fine as composition for the restoration of their estates. Before the fine was settled, Sir Edward Dering had sunk under his accumulated disappointments and griefs. An imposthume in the head terminated his wretched career, June 22, 1644.

The strange vacillations of his political course gave countenance to the estimate of his character by Lord Clarendon, as a man of levity and vanity, easily flattered by being commended. His fate is a warning to others than politicians, that they can seldom (however sincere their convictions may be) serve two opposite parties. Those whom they quit brand them as renegades, and some of those whom they join dislike them more as rivals than they had previously done as enemies, and suspect and malign their whole conduct. From the days of Dering to those of Burke, experience has proved this. The fate of Dering was extremely severe; but, in a modified degree, it is probable that all political weathercocks are exposed to his annoyances and griefs. As an historical antiquary, Sir Edward Dering may retain the reputation which his tergiversation as a politician squandered.

The volume before us is a valuable contribution to our historical knowledge, and brings into strong light those ecclesiastical abuses which in the seventeenth century maddened brain and heart of thousands of our ancestors.

The sub-committee appointed by the Committee of Religion consisted of twenty-four members. They set themselves to discover the sufferings of ministers by ecclesiastical proceedings; to consider the several tests propounded to them; and to examine the violations of liberty in relation to books, licences, printing, and suppressing them. Of this sub-committee Sir Edward Dering, its author, was appointed Chairman. Among the members who served were Mr. Cromwell, Sir Henry Mild-

Digitized by Google

may, Sir Anthony Ireby, Sir Roger Palmer, Sir Wm. Masham, Mr. Corbet, Mr. Knatchbull, Sir Robert Harley and Sir Wm. Brereton. The documents which now for the first time see the light through the press, illustrate in a very remarkable manner the ecclesiastical condition of our provincial towns and villages under the evil influence of Laud and his party. With some few exceptions, the petitions and letters are grave and temperate documents, which authenticate themselves by their minuteness of statement. In some few cases, we have statement and counter-statement, and are able to judge for ourselves respecting the merits of the case.

We will give as briefly as we can the substance of some of the principal petitions, which throw no little light on the character of the Church of England before its fall, and will help to account for the animosity which the patriots of the seventeenth century felt towards prelacy.

In 1660, the parishioners of Marden brought to the notice of the Committee the shameless way in which the Court of Prerogative at Canterbury abused its functions in respect to the granting of marriage licences. One question eagerly agitated in our day was rife then; and the people of Marden were scandalized at one Robert Waterman being able by a Canterbury licence to marry the sister of his deceased wife. Worse still, John Batherst, a man lacking chattels and land alike, was enabled to contract a marriage with Alice Medhurst, *not quite nine years of age*, but an heiress on a small scale.

At Minster, the inhabitants petitioned against their vicar, Dr. Meric Casaubon (son of the more celebrated Isaac Casaubon).

Dr. Meric was a well-beneficed pluralist holding three livings, zealous for the innovations in respect to the altar and service which characterized the Laudian party. A more distasteful innovation was raising the tithe of marsh land 50 per cent., and thinking to add another 100 per cent. The good people crave the services of some "able and godly-minded minister," and an absolute settlement of the tithe-rate.

Against the same pastor, the people of Monkton prefer similar complaints; and add that, while the vicar seldom visits them, "he keeps a curat there, a weake and an unable man, unworthy of imitacion eyther in life or doctrine." The tithe on marsh land was advanced fourpence an acre; but the advance was equally distasteful to the people.

The people of Little Chart complain that their rector, Samuel Keame, is non-resident during six years; the church unserved, or the duty discharged by drunken and incapable ministers.

At Smarden, the people allege that the incumbent was non-resident, and that the curate, John Terry, was negligent in the performance of his duties; that when the dead awaited burial at the church, "he hath bene so distempered with beere" that he

Digitized by Google

could not read the service; that he was sometimes of necessity led home by two men; and that he was a breaker of the peace, striking and fighting men and women at the church door. The remonstrances of the parish were treated with indifference by the vicar, and by the court of Canterbury, to which complaints had been forwarded.

At Crayford, Dr. Vane wounded the religious susceptibilities of his parishioners by preaching in behalf of the confessional and against predestination; by administering the elements only at the rails of the altar, to which he forced the people to come up.

The very heart of the diocese of Canterbury was under Puritan influence; for one Richard Culmer writes to Sir Edward Dering, informing him that a petition would presently be forwarded from Canterbury against the Archbishop. The Puritan minister tells his correspondent that in Canterbury "the tyranny of prelacy and the cathedral darkeneth the whole city." Richard rehearses his own personal wrongs:

"I have had very ungracious dealing from the Lambeth patriarch, by whom I have been deprived of my ministry and all the profits of my living three years and seven months, haveing myselfe, my wife and seven children to provide for; *such is the prelate's tyranny for not consenting to morris dauncing uppon the Lord's day.*"

Mr. Larking has failed, as editor of this book, to notify that this Richard Culmer lived to be one of the ejected clergy, and was dispossessed of the valuable living of Minster. He was the subject of many angry charges, some of them probably frivolous; but we fear he cannot be absolved from the crime of breaking the great window of the cathedral at Canterbury. In their dread of superstition, the Puritans sometimes ran into gross superstition. This letter exactly confirms some of the statements in Calamy respecting Richard Culmer.

Mr. Edward Broughton, the minister of Woodchurch, stands charged with Popish doctrine and practices; such as walking the parish at Easter in surplice and hood, reading prayers and psalms at divers crossways, and digging crosses at boundary places. He affronted the orthodoxy of his parish no less by preaching that bishops come next in the ecclesiastical roll to God and Christ, than by asserting the Arminian doctrine of general salvation.

At St. Mary Cray, the parishioners take exception to Bishop Bancroft, their impropriate rector, who, though receiving £150 from the parish, does little for it, excepting paying five or six pounds a year for a man to read the service. A sermon is preached at times but once in two months.

At Shoreham and Otford, the people complain that though they pay £160 and 200 marks per annum to the clergyman, he starves a painstaking curate, allowing him but £20 a year for the double duty, though he has a wife and family to maintain.

The people of Hoath complain that for three years the parson,

Digitized by Google

Mr. Barnaby Knell, did neglect service in their church, forcing the people to travel four miles to Reculver, where he had another cure. They say that the common highway between Reculver and Hoath is in winter time foul and all but impassable to those on foot. On the other hand, the parson alleged that Hoath never was a cure of souls, that the chapel had been erected only for mass and other superstitious ceremonies at the burial of the dead.

At Goudhurst, the people lament the suspension of Mr. Edward Bright, a "painefull" minister, who for £24 a year did the duty for which Dr. Horsmonden received £100, but did nothing. Here we find another of the ejected clergy. Of poor Edward Bright's "patience," Calamy makes honourable mention. He had other troubles besides in the ecclesiastical courts at Canterbury. He had a sharper thorn at home, "a very froward and clamorous wife." Calamy does not often attempt a smart saying, but he remarks here—"On this account many thought it an happiness to him to be dull of hearing."

The parishioners of Leeds and Broomfield, having no preaching in their own churches, resorted to other churches; and then they were, for this schismatic style of worship, "cited, troubled and molested, to the saddening of their hearts and wasting of their estates."

The people of Capel record a strange complaint made against them by their minister. "He says that if he be ever so far from his text, yet if he keep but talking on it will serve our turn." Many modern divines follow the practice of the parson of Capel, but we never heard one complain on this head. This same divine offended his people by two antipathies which soon broke out against Scotchmen and Puritans. "He doth raile against the Scots in his pulpit and out of his pulpit, calling them dogs and devills; and says he knows not how to call them bad enough. He says that if ever Scots goe to heaven, the devil will goe too. He says there is more hope of a Papist than there is of a Puritant."

The parishioners of Oure had for twenty years but one parson, and his stipend being but £8, and having wife and children, took to stealing meat, was arraigned and condemned for felony, to the scandal of religion and the reproach of the Reformed ministry.

At Ivy-church, the old story is repeated, of a well-to-do non-resident parson, and a painstaking curate starving on £30 a year.

The parson of Leysdown, in Shepey, is described by his neighbours as an unfrequent preacher, commonly putting them off with a homily; but what skill he lacked in divinity, he possessed in abundance in ecclesiastical law, and loved to cite poor men into the courts, and extorted tithe on working horses and on fish. If any parishioners affronted him, he threatened to have his revenge by making them churchwardens.

Digitized by Google

Against the parson of Boughton Blean the indictment is long. One of the counts charges him with haunting ale-houses and playing at tables; another, with drinking of healths and singing of idle catches.

Edward Barbet, of Chistlet, affronted his parishioners by what is now too common to attract remark—"Touchinge his reading of divine service, he reads soe false and with such ill gesture."

At Biddenden, where were 1200 communicants, the people were aggrieved by "scandalous and offensive curates placed by the Bishop of Oxford."

Mr. Jeffery Amherst called those of the Horsmonden people who would not come to the rails for the communion, "Puritans and itching Puritans."

Many of the pastors were accused of denying their people the well of water springing up to eternal life; but at Sevenoaks, Dr. Gibbon, the rector, forbad the people of Sevenoaks using a spring on the glebe land to which they had previously had free access.

Mr. Chase, the parson of Stone and a bishop's nephew, seems to have gained the repute of the most litigious and unscrupulous incumbent in all the county. The history of his "brabbleing suites" fills many pages. There were several of the Chase family living together: there was Matthew Chase the father and Matthew Chase the brother. The suits of the parson were commonly taken up by Matthew Chase, and if costs were won against him, the poor suitor knew not from whom to seek his costs.

Thomas Vahan, the curate of Chatham, had some singular ideas respecting interpretation. "Being urged by the apostle's words that his dutie did consist in preaching, and to be instant in season and out of season,—'In season,' he saith, is to preach upon Sundaies in the forenoons, and 'out of season,' in the afternoons."

Dr. Peake, of Tenterden, is charged with neglect of duty. On a Fast-day he sent a minister "who preached one sermon little more than half an houre." The good people of Tenterden were scandalized at this short measure, and alleged that "the exercises of the Fast not being continued a competent and convenient time as hath been heretofore used, a good part of the day was by the rude sort spent in the ale-houses, to the great dishonour of Almighty God."

The documents which this volume contains are creditable to the sagacity and literary aptitude of the writers. It is a question whether from the secluded hamlets of Kent at the present day, letters and petitions equally skilful and correct could now be obtained. It is certain that, under the stimulus of Puritanism, an amount of intelligence had in the 17th century diffused itself amongst the mass of the people in this country, and especially in the agricultural districts, such as had never before developed

Digitized by Google

itself, and such as we should in the same places now look for in vain.

As to the complaints made against the clergy, and respecting the kind or amount of religious instruction given to the people, different opinions may exist. In some cases we may see reason to suspect the inflaming influences of religious partizanship, and detect inconsistencies and exaggerations. But after making some deductions on this account, we shall still have left a solid foundation of facts which will justify the feeling of admiration of the earnest religious spirit of the country. The people were, in fact, in advance of many of their teachers.

If wisdom and charity and a pure love of religion had influenced the hierarchy of the English Church during the early part of the critical century in English history, how different would the results have been! Wise and good men, instead of thwarting and irritating the religious zeal and spiritual earnestness of their countrymen, would have put themselves at their head, won their confidence by sympathy, and then prudently and by degrees amended their faults and moderated them in those things wherein they were running to excess. When the Puritans of England asked for the ministrations of an earnest, vital religious faith, the clergy and their leaders offered them instead a mere ritual and a hard ecclesiastical policy. The people hungered for the bread of life, and their priests gave them rubrics, canons, genuflections before the altar, bowings at the name of Jesus, and citations into ecclesiastical courts. Never was a glorious opportunity so lost as that which the Church of England then threw away.

Laud, and those that followed his desperate leading, cared comparatively little for doctrinal conformity. On some points they exhibited latitudinarian tendencies; but they seemed to act on the principle that in everything Puritanism must be resisted and put down. To this policy they were instigated by a craving for irresponsible and unlimited clerical power. For the sake of this they were ready to peril not merely the civil institutions of their country, but religion itself. Puritanism had many and serious faults; but compared with the selfish and ruthless ecclesiasticism to which it was opposed, it had elements of greatness and power that should commend it to the esteem of all religious men.

Digitized by Google

THE REV. H. B. WILSON IN THE COURT OF ARCHES.

WHILE judgment upon Dr. Rowland Williams is deferred, another ecclesiastical offender is brought up for trial. And in his case also judgment is deferred. No wonder that Dr. Lushington is at a loss to know what the law in matters ecclesiastical really is. No wonder that the rules of ordinary evidence should fail him in the court ecclesiastical. It is understood that he waits till Mr. Heath's appeal from his sentence of deprivation shall have been decided by the Privy Council. This hearing was to begin on the 26th of March. Writing as we do before the case is opened, we can only remark on the whimsicality of the idea that the Privy Council is in this land the supreme theologian, and hazard the opinion that if that most learned and orthodox body should succeed, to their own satisfaction, in settling all points of theology that are concerned in Mr. Heath's case, it will not follow as matter of logical necessity that Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson will be likewise disposed of. Should Mr. Heath's deprivation be confirmed, it would not carry the deprivation of the other two clergymen, whose alleged heresies are perfectly distinct from his. Nor, if the judgment against Mr. Heath be reversed, will it necessarily relieve the other two from an adverse sentence on perfectly distinct grounds. Such a decision might indeed serve to shew that our Gallios care for none of these things; that they care neither to make Churchmen conform to the law, nor to bring the law to the requirements of the age; but only choose to bolster up a hollow truce between theology and science, between the church and the age, which may last out their own time. "After us the deluge," if it must be so; but in our time stagnation, compromise, suppression, expedients to keep things as they are! This is the result that we most of all deprecate,—the slurring over of difficulties, the evasion and postponement of that *revision* of the constitution of the Church of England which has been postponed and evaded time after time these three hundred years past, till the required alterations are truly formidable, and the diversity of opinion that prevails respecting them seems almost to defy the hope of a satisfactory solution. Yet it must be taken in hand.

The Rev. H. B. Wilson, B.D., is the son of Dr. Wilson, for many years rector of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, in the city of London. He was educated, according to Cockford's "Clerical Directory," at St. John's College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1825, taking a second class in Classics. He was for many years Fellow and Tutor of St. John's; Public Examiner, 1836 and 1850; Select Preacher in 1835 and 1842; and Bampton Lecturer in 1850. In 1850 he was presented by the President and Fellows of St. John's College to the vicarage of Great Staughton, near St. Neot's (value £480 with residence), and that

Digitized by Google

living he has held up to the present time. He is the author of the following works: "Letter to Churton" (a pamphlet); "Independence of Particular Churches" (a sermon); "Communion of Saints" (Bampton Lecture), 1851; "Letter to Lord Derby on University Reform," 1854; "Schemes of Christian Comprehension," in Oxford Essays, 1857.

Before reciting the articles of accusation against him, we think it well to refresh the reader's mind with an abstract of his *Essay or Review* which forms the groundwork of the charge. It is the fourth in the volume, and is intitled, *Séances Historiques de Genève: The National Church.*

In the course of these *Séances*, "it fell to the Comte Leon de Gasparin to illustrate the reign of Constantine. He laid it down in the strongest manner that the individual principle supplies the true basis of the Church, and that by inaugurating the union between Church and State, Constantine introduced into Christianity the false and pagan principle of Multitudinism." M. Bungener took the opposite side; and Mr. Wilson makes this discussion the occasion of an article on the National Church of England.

These ugly and un-English words, Individualism and Multitudinism, are truly repulsive to the reader. We have been long used to discussions on the union of Church and State, and to others on collective creeds and individual freedom. And we do not feel that the two classes of questions are identical. We do not feel that a State Church necessarily provides for *multitudinism* of wants, beliefs and aspirations; nor that *individualism* (if that means individuality of conviction) necessarily implies, as Mr. Wilson seems to say (p. 165), the separation of the Church from the State, still less the adoption of the Calvinistic system of theology.

Under this term Multitudinism, however, Mr. Wilson advocates the principle of a National Church. He regards the Church of England as having been one and the same Multitudinism, or Nationalism, through Saxon, Norman, Tudor and Stuart times, alike before and after the Reformation from Popery; and, as the signs of the times now foretel change, he proceeds to "suggest inquiries as to the best method of adjusting old things to new conditions."

He describes the wide-spread alienation both of the educated and the uneducated from the Church of England. He says that neither the influence of German theology nor the diffusion of cheap sceptical literature will account for it; indeed, "the sceptical movements (he admits) are the result of observation and thought, not of passion." There is a spontaneous recoil from the doctrines taught. He lays the blame chiefly on the dull, passive spirit of the Church, which refuses to sympathize with the growing knowledge and intellectual activity of the age, and so makes Christianity seem responsible for the ignorance and

Digitized by Google

errors of the dark ages. And he refers approvingly to the efforts of some of the clergy for a revision of the Church formularies, and liberty to omit "one unhappy creed" especially.

He appeals to the moral and non-dogmatic character of our Lord's instructions, and to the (multitudinous) comprehension of Pharisees and Sadducees, Jews and Gentiles, philosophers and hitherto pagans, in the apostolic churches. Paul, he reminds us, did not even expel from the church the deniers of the resurrection, though he stoutly argued with them, and represented faith in that fact "as the corner-stone of the Christian belief." And "it was only in an extreme case that he sanctioned excommunication for the cause of immorality."

Hence, says Mr. Wilson,

"— we gather two important conclusions: first, of the at least equal value of the Christian life, as compared with the Christian doctrine; and, secondly, of the retaining within the Church, both of those who were erroneous and defective in doctrine and of those who were by their lives unworthy of their profession; they who caused divisions and heresies were to be marked and avoided, but not expelled; and if any called a brother were a notoriously immoral person, the rest were enjoined, no not to eat with him, but he was not to be refused the name of brother or Christian (1 Cor. v. 11)."

Thus, he says, the apostolic churches were multitudinist; and he also thinks "they early tended to become national churches," as they "took collective names from the localities where they were situate." According to which argument, the Liverpool Financial Reform Association tends to become a department of the national exchequer; and the National Anti-Corn-law League was in its day a government institution! It is in this connection that he says Calvinism alone objects to the union of Church and State. But how is it, then, that we *have* a Calvinistic creed in the Established Church, and that the Genevan Church once had it? And what is to be said of our Baptist and Unitarian members of the Anti-State-Church Society?

Mr. Wilson goes on distinctly to avow that Multitudinism or Nationalism essentially requires the utmost freedom of doctrinal belief:

"Unhappily, together with his inauguration of Multitudinism, Constantine also inaugurated a principle essentially at variance with it, the principle of doctrinal limitation. . . . . The opportunity of reverting to the freedom of the apostolic and immediately succeeding periods, was finally lost for many ages by the sanction given by Constantine to the decisions of Nicæa. . . . . At all events, a principle at variance with a true Multitudinism was then recognized."

Such exclusiveness, he says, was appropriate enough to the Calvinistic churches (he has evidently no love for Calvinism), but a Multitudinist church ought to repeal all such tests or limitations.

"Doctrinal limitations in the Multitudinist form of church are not essential to it; upon larger knowledge of Christian history, upon a more

Digitized by Google

thorough acquaintance with the mental constitution of man, upon an understanding of the obstacles they present to a true catholicity, they may be cast off."—P. 167.

After alluding to the national churches of heathenism and to the Jewish national church, and claiming on his side "the mind of Jesus himself with respect to Nationalism, as fully revealed in the touching words, How often would I have gathered thy children together," &c., he comes more directly to the question of the English Church.

He lays it down distinctly enough that

"If the National Church is to be true to the Multitudinist principle, and to correspond ultimately to the national character, the freedom of opinion which belongs to the English citizen should be conceded to the English Churchman; and the freedom which is already practically enjoyed by the members of the congregation cannot without injustice be denied to its minister."

And then he proceeds to inquire, "how far a liberty of opinion is conceded by our existing laws, civil and ecclesiastical." He prepares us to expect that "along with great openings for freedom, it will be found there are some restraints, or appearances of restraints, which require to be removed."

He makes the somewhat futile remark, that "as far as opinion *privately entertained* is concerned, the liberty of the English clergyman appears already to be complete." So is that of residents in Spain. But upon the *expression* of opinions, "a great restraint is supposed to be imposed upon the clergy by reason of their subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles." Mr. Wilson proceeds to argue for the very most lax views of subscription, claiming the strictly legal obligation to be the measure of the moral one, and shamefully quibbling upon the words *allow* and *acknowledge* used in the act of subscription.

It is difficult to reconcile this part of the essay with the previous condemnation of the principle of doctrinal limitation introduced by Constantine and only copied in the Church of England. He again (p. 187) contemplates the repeal of such provisions as have fallen into desuetude; but after all would be satisfied to leave the Thirty-nine Articles as the ultimate law of the Church, only abolishing the necessity of subscribing to them. To us this may seem like playing fast and loose with the subject. To abolish the doctrinal limitations would, by his own showing, be the way to make the Church truly national; yet he does not propose to do this, but to leave the Articles as they are, and excuse the clergy from signing them, or supply them with an interpretive pick-lock if signature is still required.

When we read such a passage as the following, we think the writer must be pointing out the defects of the Church of England, not eulogizing her as fulfilling (with the aid of lax *acknowledgment*) the high functions of a truly National Church:

Digitized by Google

"It is a great misrepresentation to exhibit the State as allying itself with one out of many sects—a misrepresentation, the blame of which does not rest wholly with political persons, nor with the partisans of sects adverse to that which is supposed to be unduly preferred. It cannot concern a State to develope as part of its own organization a machinery or system of relations founded on the possession of speculative truth. Speculative doctrines should be left to philosophical schools. A national Church must be concerned with the ethical development of its members. And the wrong of supposing it to be otherwise, is participated by those of the clericalty who consider the Church of Christ to be founded, as a society, on the profession of an abstractedly true and supernaturally communicated speculation concerning God, rather than upon the manifestation of a divine life in man."—P. 195.

Every word of the above passage, in proportion as it describes what should be the comprehensiveness, freedom and practical religiousness of a Church truly national, simply condemns the existing Church of England in each particular.

Quite incidentally to the direct purpose of Mr. Wilson's essay, he has touched another subject, his treatment of which forms the groundwork of the principal charges against him. Of course it was a necessary part of his argument to shew how variously free minds will inevitably decide on matters of scriptural belief, as on all others. He might, in this connection, have pointed to the various theologies of the Church of Rome, the Calvinists, the Lutherans, the Arminians, the Unitarians; and thence might have powerfully deduced the non-nationality of the Thirty-nine Articles and three included Creeds. He might (as an illustration more tempting to a scholar) have compared the learned and unlearned theories of the divine authority of the Scriptures; the Romish traditionalism which extinguishes criticism, the opposite Bibliolatry which ignores it, and the scholarly use of learning, which is as applicable to the Scriptures as to any other ancient books, and the application of which in the identical manner in which it is applied to other ancient books is the only valid mode of establishing the specialty of the Scriptures as the records of divine revelation. None of these illustrations has he adduced; but has contrasted at great length the *literal* and what he calls the *ideological* modes of interpreting the Scriptures. By the literal, he means the commonest, vulgarest and most unthinking acceptance of the record (or of the prevalent interpretation of the record) as divinely inspired and true in each particular. By the *ideological* mode, he means the *mythical*. And though he deprecates the allegorizing folly of Philo and Origen, and the substitution by Strauss of "a mere shadow for the Jesus of the evangelists," yet he hints the applicability of the *ideal* method to most of the miracles of the New Testament (as also to what he calls "the incarnification of the divine Immanuel,"), and declares that the spiritual significance and value of the ideas is the same whether derived from well-assured facts or not. Here is a

Digitized by Google

sentence strangely wanting accuracy of expression, but seeming to overstate the argument for theological freedom, and to impugn a theological position which the historian (not the literalist) is at least as free to maintain as the ideologist to propound his:

"Jesus Christ has not revealed His religion as a theology of the intellect, nor as an historical faith; and it is a stifling of the true Christian life, both in the individual and in the Church, to require of many men a unanimity in speculative doctrine, which is unattainable, and a uniformity of historical belief, which can never exist. The true Christian life is the consciousness of bearing a part in a great moral order, of which the highest agency upon earth has been committed to the Church. Let us not oppress this work nor complicate the difficulties with which it is surrounded; 'not making the heart of the righteous sad, whom the Lord hath not made sad, nor strengthening the hands of the wicked by promising him life.'"—Pp. 204, 205.

"That Jesus Christ did not reveal his religion as an historical faith" may be verbally true, because it could not become history till he had revealed and lived it. But that Christianity is an historical faith cannot surely be denied, unless the Roman empire is unhistorical and the destruction of Jerusalem ideological.

It is no wonder to us that passages of this kind should have directed the theological and legal attention of the proctor in convocation for the diocese of Ely to the writer of the essay in question. Nor, indeed, can we reconcile such opinions with the retention of a Christian pulpit. To the main doctrine of the essay, that churches ought to be multitudinistic and free from doctrinal limitation, we do not find reference made in any of the nineteen counts. But there is a count against the lax subscription advocated by the essayist; there is one against the ideological theory; and there are others (in the manner of those against Heath and Williams) which allege particular heresies of doctrine. Among these, the belief in God's justice and mercy to the heathen, and in the equitable allotment of future rewards and punishments till "all shall find a refuge in the bosom of the Universal Parent," are prominently charged in the indictment. Here is an abstract of its nineteen articles:

"The first three are formal; the fourth charges the defendant with having written and published the essay entitled 'Séances Historiques de Genève—the National Church;' the fifth and sixth have reference to the Preface to the volume containing the essay, and to the number of editions it has passed through, and are in precisely the same terms as in the accusation brought against the Rev. Dr. Rowland Williams. The seventh count charges that in the passages therein quoted from the essay, being pages 160, 161, 162, 195, 204 and 205, of the volume, the defendant had affirmed that our Saviour, Christ, was a mere teacher of morality and a moral reformer, and not also the revealer of God's scheme of redemption of mankind from sin and misery, and not the person through whose human life, suffering, death and resurrection, that scheme of salvation and redemption is wrought out,—contrary to the second, third,

Digitized by Google

fourth and thirty-first Articles of Religion, to the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and to the Order for the Administration of the Holy Communion. The eighth count charges that in the passages quoted from the essay, at pages 175, 176 and 177, the defendant had affirmed that the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were not written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and that they were not necessarily at all, and certainly not in parts, the Word of God,—contrary to the sixth, seventh and twentieth Articles of Religion, with the teaching of the Church, as set forth in a passage in the Homily entitled 'An Information for them that take Offence at certain Places of the Holy Scriptures,' the Nicene Creed, and 'as set forth in the Ordering of Priests in the Book of Common Prayer.' The ninth count charges that Mr. Wilson, in the passages of his essay at pages 176, 177, and 199 to 203 of the volume, affirmed that a clergyman of the Church of England was at liberty to hold and promulgate a metaphorical or ideal interpretation of any part of the Scriptures of the Old or New Testament, and that the defendant had therein denied the reality of any of the facts narrated in the Scriptures, and that contrary to and inconsistent with the sixth and seventh Articles of Religion, the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, and with the teaching of the Church as set forth in the 4th, 10th, 12th, 22nd, 23rd and 24th chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel, 12th chapter of St. Mark, and 25th chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke. The tenth count charges that in the passages at pages 180 to 184 inclusive, the defendant affirmed that it was lawful for a clergyman of the Church of England to subscribe the Articles of Religion, receiving and understanding them in a sense other than the plain literal meaning of the words, contrary to the law of the Church, as set forth in the thirty-sixth Canon of 1603. The eleventh count charges that the opinions set forth at pages 185, 186, of the volume in reference to subscription, were contrary to and inconsistent with the said Canon. The twelfth count charges that the defendant had in the passages of his essay (pages 153, 154 and 157 of the volume) affirmed that every person born into this world did not deserve God's wrath and damnation, and that the condition of men in a future state of existence would be determined by their moral conduct, exclusive of their religious belief, and that such opinions were contrary to the ninth and eighteenth Articles of Religion. The thirteenth count charges that Mr. Wilson, in the passage at page 161, by necessary implication, affirmed that the Second Epistle of St. Peter was not the work of the apostle. The fourteenth article charges that at passage page 206, it was affirmed that after this life, and at the end of the existing order of things on this earth, there would be no judgment of God, awarding to those men whom He should then approve everlasting life or eternal happiness, and to those men whom He should then condemn, everlasting death or eternal misery, which was alleged to be inconsistent with the Creeds and the Absolution or Remission of Sins, which forms part of the Morning Prayer. The other counts are of a formal nature."

The above abstract is from the *Guardian* of Feb. 26, and is accompanied by an intimation that the conductors do not mean to give any lengthened report of the speeches in this suit. The similarity of the arguments to those already used in Dr. Williams's case, and "the crowded state of our columns," are the

Digitized by Google

reasons assigned for this abstinence from the usual fulness of report; but we can hardly be mistaken in thinking it a sign also of a very natural wish on the part of those zealous Churchmen whom the *Guardian* represents, that they were any how well out of the scandal and perplexity in which these ecclesiastical prosecutions have involved the Church. Even the *Times* (which represents the weariness of the laity as the *Guardian* does of the clergy) has reported the trial far less amply, less carefully and less correctly, than the penny daily papers. But there is, we imagine and we hope, no way out of it for the prosecutors except by going through to a decision of some kind that must surely leave its mark upon the National Church and State.

There were a few notable things said by counsel on both sides, and by the Judge, which we desire now to indicate.

Mr. Fitzjames Stephen, the junior counsel for the defendant, in the absence of Dr. Deane, opened his case.

To a not unusual form of theological unfairness in the construction of count 7, he thus alluded, perhaps with a little more indignation than the report conveys:

"The seventh count in the indictment against Mr. Wilson ran thus: 'That you affirm that our Saviour Christ was and is a mere teacher of morality and a moral reformer, and not also the revealer of God's scheme of redemption of mankind from sin and misery, and not the person through whose human life, suffering, death and resurrection, that scheme of salvation and redemption is wrought out.' The sting of that accusation was in its negative power, the word 'mere' in the first clause, and the negative in the second. Now, he contended that the alleged denial was entirely inferential. It could not for a moment be said, looking at the passage itself, that there was any denial."

Here is some common-sense theology (not new to our readers) about the distinction between the Bible and the Word of God as contained in it. The Judge's dry legal interlocution gave room for its re-assertion and enlargement, though coupled with the legal admission that "of course" nothing that had been settled by Act of Parliament as Church doctrine could be "knocked out" as uninspired!

"It had been made a serious charge against Mr. Wilson that in his essay he had used these words when speaking of the Bible: 'There is not a book, indeed a collection of books, so rich in words which address themselves intelligibly to the unlearned and learned alike. But those who are able to do so ought to lead the less educated to distinguish between the different kinds of words which it contains—between the dark patches of human passions and error which form a partial crust upon it, and the bright centre of spiritual truth within.' Now he (the learned counsel) admitted that that passage did convey that some parts of the Scripture were not the Word of God, and Mr. Wilson had instructed him to say that he did not shrink from that declaration in any way. The promoters affirmed that the Scriptures throughout were the Word of God; but it would be seen from 'Cruden's Concordance' that the

Digitized by Google

words 'the Word of God' were never used in that sense. Then came the question, Who wrote these books—God or man? It was clear that the Word of God contained the Divine will, and some sort of inspiration must be held. Then came a series of questions as to inspiration—whether God dictated or suggested the whole of the book—whether human agents wrote down exactly what they were told to write, or whether they exercised any discretion of their own—whether all the books were written under the same influence—and whether they were entirely free from error. Those were points which had been left open by the Church of England, and he contended that by their ordination vows the clergy were bound to investigate those matters as fully as possible.

"Dr. Lushington: Could you undertake to say how much you would strike out of the Bible, or in what manner you would proceed?

"Mr. Stephen: It would be left to the individual judgment. Anything that had been settled as doctrine could not of course be knocked out. No legal line could be drawn, and he thought it was not a fit subject for a criminal court."

On the other hand, Dr. Phillimore, for the prosecution, committed himself (and the Church as speaking through the promoter) to the most absurdly ignorant assertion of the absolute and equal truth of all parts of the Bible. By his showing, the clergy are bond-slaves:

"Dr. Phillimore held that such principles were totally destructive of the case of the defendant, which was that, if there was not such liberty in the Church as he claimed, there ought to be. With regard to the liberty of a clergyman to deny that portions of the Holy Scriptures were the Word of God, he admitted that he had some difficulty [in asserting] that it was not permitted; but the fact that the Scriptures were the Word of God was a principle which underlay the whole of the Articles of the Church, and was taken for granted throughout the formularies. It was a principle so generally agreed upon, that the Church had not taken pains expressly to affirm it. The Church, had, however, directed that the whole of the Scriptures should be read through during the year, making no distinction between one part and another, thus shewing that she held all scripture to be of like value; and the canons providing for this order designate the Scriptures 'the pure Word of God.' Mr. Wilson, on the other hand, taught that the Scriptures were partly the pure Word of God, and partly, so to speak, the impure word of man; partly the Word of God, and partly containing dark patches of human passions and error, which form a partial crust upon it; partly the Word of God, and partly adulterated by dark human error. It was absurd to contend that a clergyman was at liberty to decide for himself what part of the Scripture was true and what was false. If such liberty were enjoyed, what would become of the people whose souls were entrusted to the clergy, if they were to hear in the morning that a portion of the Bible was true, and in the evening that it was a myth introduced by human ingenuity, on which no reliance was to be placed? If such a principle were allowed, so far from the Reformation giving the people more of the Bible than they had, they would have less of it than they had before, and all the grounds of faith and practice which the Bible contained would be swept away."

Digitized by Google

We cannot object to Dr. Phillimore, either in law or morals, for holding Mr. Wilson down to his *ex animo* subscription:

"When Mr. Wilson was ordained, he subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, and declared that he did so *ex animo*, and in their plain, literal, grammatical meaning, and the essay which he had published was a commentary upon that most solemn declaration. If this free system of subscription were admitted into any other society in the world except the Church, there would be an outcry in every direction, and the absurdity of the thing would at once be seen."

The Judge pushes Dr. Phillimore rather hard on his views of scriptural criticism and exegetics; whereupon the advocate shrinks from the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, but asserts their plenary *truth* without it:

"Dr. Lushington inquired whether Dr. Phillimore held that it was the doctrine of the Church of England that every word contained in the canonical books was true?

"Dr. Phillimore said he had never contended for the doctrine of the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures.

"Dr. Lushington said he was not inquiring whether the contention was as to the inspiration of the Scriptures, but as to the truth of the whole of them?

"Dr. Phillimore said he believed that the Church of England contended for the whole truth of Scripture; but Mr. Wilson, by his essay, destroyed the authenticity of the narratives of Scripture, and was a disciple of Strauss, who founded the system of ideology, which was to substitute ideas for facts. Either those statements which Mr. Wilson denied were facts, or the persons who bore witness to them were impostors. It was impossible to escape from that dilemma. If those and other events did not happen as the Scriptures described them, the gospel was a fable and a fiction and of no use to men. Was it for myths that Latimer and Ridley died at the stake, and pious men had led lives of self-denial?"

It was a pity that Dr. Phillimore was absent during the following colloquy between his junior and the Judge. But clergymen no doubt have read the Judge's implied rebuke upon their cloth for allowing themselves a latitude of interpretation in sacred things, which no lawyer, however versatile, would be allowed to attempt in things secular. The Judge also pushes Dr. Swabey into a corner about the *syllabic* truth of scripture, and forces from him the admission that it is "a matter of extent." Matter of learning and fair literary criticism, he had better have said; but that is the position of the other side:

"Dr. Swabey, in a critical and well-reasoned speech, followed on the same side.

"Dr. Lushington, addressing Dr. Swabey (Dr. Phillimore being then absent), said the eminent divines of the Church of England had interpreted the Articles of the Church in a very different way from that in which lawyers would have dared to interpret them. Lawyers knew well the rules by which they should be interpreted, but divines had assumed and had been allowed a much wider latitude. He wished Dr.

Digitized by Google

Swabey could tell him whether it was the doctrine of the Church of England that every syllable of the Scripture was true, and was so to be received; if not, how much might be rejected. If a verse might be rejected, then perhaps might a book be also; and he wished to know how far they might go. Then, as to miracles. If it was competent to deny one miracle, it might be competent to deny more or all. If Dr. Swabey could answer these questions he would not care how long he sat to hear him.

"Dr. Swabey thought it was a matter simply of extent."

Another day the Judge unmercifully reminds the promoters of the difficulty in which they have placed themselves:

"Dr. Lushington said he was in this difficulty, that the learned counsel for the promoter had not explained what he particularly wished to have explained, namely, where a line of demarcation was to be drawn. He had asked whether the promoter held that the whole of Scripture was to be received as absolutely true, and he had no answer. The Court must therefore draw a line of demarcation for itself."

Where will this line run, we wonder?

For the arch heresy of denying eternal torments, Mr. Maurice and the Bishop of London are cleverly made responsible together with Mr. Wilson, in the conclusion of Dr. Deane's summing up, which ended the trial:

"With regard to the charges made against Mr. Wilson in connection with the doctrine of everlasting damnation, he might remark that there was at present in the diocese of London, a clergyman who, occupying a high position, had denied that doctrine. Notwithstanding that denial, the Bishop of London had preferred him to a living.

"Dr. Lushington: Preferred him to a living or instituted him?

"Dr. Deane: Instituted him. The patronage was with the Crown. (Mr. Maurice is the gentleman alluded to.) The Act of Uniformity said that eternal damnation was the doctrine of the Church of England, while the Crown and the Bishop of London came to the conclusion that eternal damnation was not so easily arrived at as many persons seemed to imagine. The learned gentleman expressed his deep regret that he should have been compelled to make such remarks, arising as they did out of this very ill-advised prosecution.

"Dr. Lushington reserved his judgment."

And we reserve further remarks till this strange complication is still further complicated or resolved.

Digitized by Google

DR. HENRY SAMPSON'S DAY-BOOKS.

The anecdotes that follow are taken from Thoresby's transcripts from Dr. Henry Sampson's MSS. preserved in the Library of the British Museum. (Additional MSS., 4460, Plut.)

Of Mr. Edmund Calamy, Sen., General Monk, &c.

It was well known what pretence of love, kindness and friendship, General Monk made to Mr. Calamy, carrying him about in his coach, calling him Cos. Calamy, receiving the sacrament with him, &c. Mr. Calamy much importuned him not to dissolve the Parliament til the secluded members (after their admittance) had settled the kingdom. The General would by no means admit of that, but, said he, they will bring in the King. Afterward, when Mr. Calamy had been over at Breda and seen how they were betrayed, he was preaching before the General in his own church at Aldermanbury on a sacrament-day, and had occasion to speak of filthy lucre; Why, said he, is it cal'd filthy? Because it makes men doe base and filthy things. Some men, saith he, will betray three kingdoms for filthy lucre's sake, and threw his handkerchief (as he was wont to move it up and down) towards the General's pew. (This Mr. Howe saw and heard.) Afterwards, in private discourse with Mr. Howe, he said, It may be some men wil take notice of my speech about filthy lucre, and application of it to the General; but I could not help it; it was my duty to lay it home before him.—Pp. 39, 40.

Edmund Calamy, the ejected minister of Aldermanbury, was one of the authors of Smectymnuus; on the Restoration, was offered the bishopric of Lichfield and Coventry. He survived to see the city in which his life had been passed in ruins by fire. He drove through the smoking streets, went home sad and sickened, never left his chamber after, and died within a month. The story given here is told by Calamy, the grandson of this Edmund Calamy, in his Account of the Ejected Ministers, p. 6. But there the good authority of Mr. Howe is not quoted.

General Monk. That the destinies of a great country like England should rest on the decision of a person so little estimable, either morally or intellectually, as the man whom Charles II. (for once not ungrateful) created Duke of Albemarle, is one of the most remarkable facts in our national history. Lord Macaulay describes him as "cold-blooded, taciturn, zealous for no polity and for no religion."

Of Mr. Baxter and Dr. Owen.

Mr. Gilbert told a friend he had been to visit Mr. Baxter that morning, whom he found hard at study, and expressed himself to be very desirous that God would spare his life till he had finished some studies and thoughts he was about for the church of God. "Truly," said Mr. Gilbert, "I think you are in the right on't. You may do God more service here on earth than you can do in heaven;" which saying pleased Mr. B. mightily,

Digitized by Google

and made him paraphrase upon it. From him Mr. Gilbert went to Dr. Owen, whom he found grunting and weary, and wished himself out of this world. "See," said Mr. Gilbert, "how you two great men, Mr. B. and you, that you could never agree in your lives, cannot hit it in the matter and manner of your dying." "Why," saith the Dr., "what saith Mr. Baxter?" So Mr. Gilbert told him the story; "and," saith he, "I think Mr. Baxter is in the right on't." "Who is in the right and who is in the wrong," said Dr. Owen, "I know not; but I would that I was in heaven."—Fo. 26. *From Mr. M.*

Baxter and Owen. There were more controversies than one between these eminent men, chiefly turning on the terms of agreement and communion among Christians. Owen was the first to go to his reward. Baxter at that time was engaged in publishing a reply to some arguments of the other. He added an appendix, in which he bore honourable testimony to the character and talents of Owen; and, rising with his subject, makes an appeal, as in the name of the beatified spirit of Owen, in behalf of Christian unity and peace in the Church. "God," said he, "hath bid you pray, but not told you whether it shall be oft in the same words or in other, with a book or without a book. Make not superstitiously a religion by pretending that God hath determined such circumstances. O do not preach and write down love and communion of saints, on pretence that your little modes and ways only are good, and theirs idolatrous or intolerable; and do not slander and excommunicate all, or almost all, Christ's body, and then wrong God by fathering this upon him." Of Baxter's gentle patience, Dr. Bates speaks thus: "His complaints came frequent; but who ever heard an unsubmissive word drop from his lips?"

Mr. Gilbert was probably the ejected clergyman of Winchenden, in Buckinghamshire, a ripe scholar in both classics and philosophy, who spent the evening of life in Oxford, much respected by scholars and good men of all parties.

Mr. Robert Ferguson's Escapes.

When he had brought the Duke of Monmouth into the noose for which he died, he escaped himself by wandering up and down in the country. (When he was endeavouring to make his escape after the Rye-House Plot) he came to an inn in Uttoxeter on a market-day, when, two hours after, the proclamation was openly made for £500 to any that could apprehend him and others there named. A woman, staring him in the face as he stood by the kitchen fire, cried out, "Who have you got here? a traitor?" Upon which suggestion, the landlord, a Tory, took him into his chamber and thought to have made a prey of him, but his heart failed him, fearing the ignominy of betraying his guests. Late at night, in his chamber, he (Ferguson) overheard a man at prayers with his family, and liked what he heard so well that he thought he was a man to be confided in, and would needs send for him in the morning. This man proved to be Mr. Murial, then schoolmaster at Uttoxeter. He began freely to discourse

Digitized by Google

with him, and would have told his name, but Mr. M. forbade him. However, he conveyed him out of the town safely, walking with him three miles, and gave him recommendations to Newcastle-under-Lyne and Congerton (Congleton). At Newcastle, being weary, he hired a horse, and had a man with him to fetch him back: he therefore went to an inn to set up his horse first, and asked for the gentleman's house to whom he was recommended. The landlord has his eye upon him, and all having their mouths and thoughts upon the plot, designed to follow him. As soon as he came to the gentleman, he asked where he had left his horse. "At such an inn," said he. Then said the gentleman, "It is not safe for you to be in my house," and so packed him away presently. He had not been gone half an hour before the innkeeper and constable came to search for him. "He only delivered a letter and is gone," said the gentleman. So they missed their prey. He wandered further, got into Holland, came over with the Duke of Monmouth, and how he then also escaped must be wondered at. One would think he was reserved for great service; but he has shaken off his profession of religion, changed his side, and is imprisoned for the plot against King William, whence he will hardly escape if anything that touches his life be made out against him.—Fo. 25. *From the same Mr. Muriall.*

Robert Ferguson. This, we need scarcely observe, was the Judas of Dryden's great satire, a man whom Macaulay has drawn with moral features hideously coarse and revolting (II. 108, 109). It is strange to remember that he was one of the ejected from Godmorsham, in Kent. He was once an assistant to Dr. Owen, and wrote books on religion,—among others, a reply to one of the heretical books of John Knowles, another of the ejected ministers.

Of Mr. Rumbold.

He was an officer in Oliver Cromwell's army, a stout man, one that carried the old cause and the love of it in his heart. He was very lavish of his tongue, and was often so bold in speaking against K. Charles II., that divers told him he would be hanged for it. It is well known he came with Argyll into Scotland, and was there executed, his quarters brought to the Rye House. At his death he declared two things: 1st, that he was one of the persons that stood upon the scaffold at Whitehall at the time the King was executed, but did not the execution, which he declared that others might not be suspected or sought after upon that account; 2ndly, that the whole business of designing to stop the King's coach and murder him at the Rye House was a mere invention; that such a thing was talked of that it might be done by others he knew not; but that he ever spoke of it with design or preparation to do it, he utterly denied it upon his death. He was certainly a valiant man, and abhorred

Digitized by Google

base assassinations. He charged his son upon his blessing, if ever such a war was raised against the King, to be of the same side he had been. He was an Anabaptist by persuasion.—Fo. 27. *From Mr. Fryar of Clapham and his wife.*

Richard Rumbold, the proprietor of the Rye House, the scene of the alleged plot against Charles II. and James II. (See Macaulay, II. 104, 145.) He possessed "courage of the truest temper, fiery enthusiasm, both political and religious; and with that enthusiasm all the power of self-government which is characteristic of men trained in well-disciplined camps to command and obey."

Deliverances in Meeting-places and others of the like nature appointed for Divine Worship.

It is a great wonder to me, who have often been present both in houses for meetings and old churches, that none of them have fallen upon and destroyed the people that assembled; many of these meeting-places were old buildings, rotten houses, have fallen presently after the departure of the assembly, and none that I hear of yet have been hurt by them. I remember at the Countess of Exeter's, where Dr. Jacomb preached to a great crowd of people, the substantialness of the house was much suspected, and when the workmen viewed the house, they wondered it had not fallen upon them. It was secured by raising great iron pillars to bear up the roof, &c.; after which the meetings were continued there. My first instance shall be of the place where Mr. Oasland was preaching, concerning which I shall only transcribe his own letter to Mr. J. Owen, written upon my request, and dated from Wordley, June 24, 1698.

Sir,—I was preaching a good while agoe in a licensed house (ergo, it was in the time of Charles II., when houses were licensed) at Coseley, in the parish of Sedgley, in the county of Stafford, a large house with many rooms in it; but the room where I stood was largest, and under it a deep cellar. The room at the time was crowded, and at others full above, when I was there. It was thought afterwards, the room being large, the gunier (?) did bend, and so one end that was not far in the wall was drawn out of the wall, and down slipt the floor, and all the people slided down into the cellar, one upon the other. I myself had a little pulpit which slipt down, but I staid in it, but was not hurt, but felt a touch on one of my sides which lay on the side of the pulpit, but it did me no harm; the people in the other rooms came and pulled those that fell one off the other, and in a little time all were brought out safe, none had any great hurt or bruise. Some in the bottom were a little sensible of some small paine; but all went home, safe and in ease, quickly. We kept a day of thanksgiving after the house was set up, have preached in it ever since, only sometimes that house will not hold them, therefore I have preached sometimes out of doors. These are from your sincere friend, HENRY OSLAND.

Mr. Oasland was the ejected lecturer of Bewdley. Calamy mentions the incident here more minutely related by Mr. Oasland. When the

Digitized by Google

accident occurred, Mr. Oasland was preaching from the words, "The fathers, where are they?" the funeral sermon for Mr. Joseph Eccleshall, the ejected minister of Sedgeley. This and the anecdotes that follow have their value in fixing the early date of Nonconformist worship in the several places mentioned.

Second Instance.

At Loughborough, in Leicestershire, in the house of Mr. Oliver Bromskil, a meeting used to be kept on the Lord's-days after the sermons, to repeat, pray, confer or catechize, into which a multitude of the neighbours used to resort: the room where they met was a dining-room up a pair of stairs, and very large. That very night, after they were departed, the garret floor fell down, being overloaded with mault, &c. It miserably broke the floor and shattered the wainscot of the dining-room. Many of them had undoubtedly been knocked on the head, but God spared such as were about a good work. I have often been in the room since it was repaired, and lift up my O God! with thanksgiving for his sparing mercy to that people, as they themselves have often done.

Mr. Oliver Bromskill was the ejected minister of Loughborough. After his ejectment he was received into the house of Lady Bromley, widow of the Judge of that name.

Third Instance.

The market-house in the Haymarket where Mr. Baxter used to preach was sufficiently crowded, when on the sudden a great crack was heard in a principal summer tree, as they thought. This gave an alarm to the company, who hasting out, and hurting (but not much) one another, they all got out safely, amongst the rest the podagrical Dr. Sydenham. When it was viewed by workmen, it was exceedingly wondered at how it was able to stand. See the story at large in Mr. Baxter's Life. His wife upon this began to build a place upon the ground, when almost as soon as it was finished his liberty to preach was taken away.

Mr. Baxter's Meeting-house. The story is told in Baxter's Autobiography, Pt. iii. p. 171. Baxter, encouraged by Archbishop Tillotson, offered the chapel in Oxendon Street for parochial use by Dr. William Lloyd, the rector of St. Martin's. The offer was accepted to Baxter's great satisfaction, who said, "Be it by Conformists or Nonconformists, I rejoice that Christ is preached to the people in that parish, whom ten or twenty such chapels cannot hold." After being used for more than a century as a chapel of ease, the Oxendon Street place again fell into Nonconformist hands, the lease being taken in 1807 by a congregation of Scottish seceders.

Dr. Sydenham. For the last twenty years of his life, i.e. subsequently to 1670, this illustrious man was a great sufferer from gout. It is interesting to find him hobbling from his house in Pall Mall to join the conventicle at the St. James's market-house. It is Dr. Sydenham's distinction to have done for medicine what Locke did for philosophy; he made it observational; "he made knowledge a means, not an end."

Digitized by Google

Fourth Instance.

The gallery in the church of Dedham, in Essex, whilst the famous Mr. John Rogers was preaching, gave a grievous crash, which affrighted the whole company, the floor and gallery being exceeding full, as it used to be in his time. Yet it fell out, when it was viewed, the tenon was slipped out of the mortise, yet did (not?) break farther with that weight upon it. Had it fallen, it must of necessity have broken many limbs of those that fell, and the heads of those under the gallery, besides the lives of many by the fall of the great timber. See my notes on Mr. John Knolles, who told me of it. If any circumstance be omitted or diversely related here, it may thence be rectified, those papers being written presently upon his narrative—this out of my memory twelve or thirteen years after.

Mr. John Rogers. This eminent Puritan divine was silenced in the Laudian persecution. His life is given in Brooks's Puritans, II. 421-3.

Mr. John Knolles. This was John Knowles, afterwards of heretical repute, and a disciple of John Biddle. How grateful should we be could the other MSS. of Dr. Sampson respecting Knowles be unearthed! Knowles was at Dedham in 1636, and attended the death-bed and preached the funeral sermon of the Puritan father.

Sixth Instance.

The parish church of ——, in Salisbury, where Mr. Strickland, one of the Assembly, was preacher, had a large assembly in it on the Lord's-day in the afternoon. Some dust was observed to fall upon the heads of some of the hearers as they were at sermon, near one of the pillars. That very night the roof of the church fell down with all its weighty timber and covering, whether lead or tiles I know not, when nobody was in it. Had it fallen when the church was filled with people, how many lives had been lost! See more of this in the notes of Mr. Strickland, which his son-in-law, Mr. Rosewell, gave me.

Mr. John Strickland was the ejected minister of St. Edmund's, Salisbury, where he died, Oct. 1670, and was buried in the yard of the church whence he was ejected. The "Fifth Instance" of Dr. Henry Sampson has, we suppose, been accidentally omitted in the transcript.

Mr. Thomas Rosewell, the ejected minister of Sutton Mandail, in the county of Wilts, was one of the few men who escaped from the fangs of the infamous Judge Jeffreys. He was convicted on perjured testimony of high treason, but pardoned by Charles II., to whom the illegality of the trial was reported by Sir John Talbot. Mr. Rosewell's remains lie in Bunhill Fields, the *campo santo* of Nonconformity, the sanctity of which is unhappily now endangered.

Seventh Instance.

The church at Newbury, in Berkshire, was very old and decayed. There was an old clerk or sexton belonging to it that often gave them warning of it. His name was Timberman, and

Digitized by Google

he frequently shewed them where the timber was rotten, moving especially at the choice of all new churchwardens that they would see to the repair of it. They considered the charge more than the danger—were wont to tell him, Old man, it has stood all your time, and will stand all ours too, for aught we know. Within a week or thereabouts that the old sexton, aged about 80, was buried, the roof of the church fell; so that he lived not to see his prediction fulfilled. But that which is more remarkable is, that it fell on a Lord's-day, just after the people were gone out from the morning sermon. It was also a sacrament-day, and the people that stayed for the sacrament were all retired into the chancel, so that there was not one body killed or hurt. This from Mr. Grace, of Clapham, who assures me of the truth of it, and that it was about four or five years ago. I may be further informed of Mr. Taylor that lives in the place.

Eighth Instance.

Telling this story in the stage-coach, a gentleman there minded me of the gallery in Daintry church in Northamptonshire, which three or four years since fell in service time, bruised some, killed none. There were 100 in it, and many below it. It is good to be well employed. Set over against these when the hand of God has fallen remarkably upon other assemblies, it may a little open the eyes of men about special and distinguishing providences, and though these are not all in this age and country (as the former were), yet they are sufficient to inform us that in all ages and countries God has the same care of good men well employed, and indignation against bad men and their assemblies.

The first instance is the fall of Paris garden, related by Mr. Price and others. It was Jan. 13, 1583, on a sabbath-day. The second, of the fall of Black Friars, where the priests and jesuits had a conventicle, in a special relation and in Stow. The third, the fall of a house in Witney, related by Mr. Row, before his three sermons. The fourth, the burning of a playhouse in Dublin; see Mr. Baxter's Life. The fifth, the more miserable burning of a playhouse in Denmark; see among my papers from Mr. Woodcock. The sixth, at Risley, in Bedfordshire, where the floor of a chamber wherein many were gathered together on the Lord's-day to see a play, fell down, many were hurt and some killed.—Turner's Hist., ch. 107, out of Dr. Twisse on the Sabbath.

. In common with all of Puritan training, Dr. Sampson was but too ready to interpret accidents, when befalling others, as judgments from the hand of God.

An honest Judge.

1693. Oct. 6. In this last Western circuit, there was one Mr. Parker, a gentleman of considerable estate, but a very great debauchee, that used to be rude and unruly in fighting, quarrel-

Digitized by Google

ing, &c., arraigned for a barbarous and cruel murder upon a man at a fair in Devonshire, before Sir Thomas Rookby. He had lately killed the man upon no other account than that he had affronted his servant. Both he and his servant went with drawn swords and a design to kill him; yet so great were the bribes given in order to saving him, that the Judge had an order to reprieve him in case he was condemned. The jury had received £20, as 'tis said, a-piece. The grand jury were long before they would find the bill. It is also said somebody (shorthand note here interposed) had £800 to solicit and procure his pardon at London. But the Judge having intimation of the underhand dealing with the jury, caused a new jury on the place to be impanelled, which found him guilty. At the sentence, both Judge and prisoner fell into tears. When the Queen heard of it, she demurred awhile, but, upon full hearing, left him to the law; so he was, after a week's time, allowed him to prepare for death, executed at Exeter the 2nd of this month. A rare piece of justice by an impartial Judge.—*From Sir Thomas Rookeby's mouth.*

Sir Thomas Rokeby's appointment has been before referred to. He was a Nonconformist. His son was pupil of Richard Frankland.

Wisdom of one of Charles's Pensioners.

Oct. 14. In the Long Parliament of King Charles II., one of the pensioners, who was a very dull man, though able to take money and vote, was imposed upon by a wag that sat next him. "Mr. Z.," said he, "I hear you say our Saviour was a Jew." "D—— them," said he, "that say so; I never said or thought so." But the gentleman, pressing upon him, made him very uneasy and noysy, which, when the House took notice of, he stood up and spake: "Mr. Speaker," said he, "here's a gentleman abuseth me grossly, and tells me I called our Saviour a Jew; I never thought so disgracefully of him." Not long after, it was told to the King, who, meeting Mr. Z., told him, "I hear you hold our Saviour was a Jew." "Not I," said he; "but Mr. —— would impose it upon me." "But," said the King further, "I hear you was for the oath of abjuration of me and my family." "Yes," said he, "God forgive me; for it was in the same sense that your Majesty took the covenant," which made the King go shooting out his lips and say, he was never so abused by a fool in his life.

It was told me lately by Mr. —— in Mr. Parkhurst's shop.

A Blunder of a Conforming Minister.

He was grown old, and his memory failing him, he said over the prayer printed before sermon, in which he was wont to confess all sorts of sin, original and actual,—sins against the law and against the gospel. "Put them all away," said he; "cast them

Digitized by Google

into the bottom of the sea [and then turning wrong, he lights upon another part of his prayer], whether they be most reverend Archbishops, the right rev. the Bishops, by what name or title soever they be dignified or distinguished." No doubt the Nonconformists would say, Amen.

Mr. Alsop, from a woman that assured him she heard it.

Of Self-murder, from Mr. Mayer's mouth.

Major Sallaway, a well-known and famous member of the Rump Parliament, a great professor, a preacher in his own family, mightily versed in the Holy Scriptures, yet, when in his latter days his son failed, who had involved him in bonds and great debts, grew melancholy thereupon,—one morning he rose out of his bed very early, went two or three closes off from his house to a pond, into which he threw himself and was drowned.

Dr. D. Williams's Rejection at the Pinner's Hall Lecture.

August, 1694. Mr. Daniel Williams, who was some time since chosen of the six preachers at Pinner's Hall Lecture, and that by a lot, was yesterday discharged by a party made against him. At the first choice, there were, it seems, 25 of a side, one half just for him, the other half for Mr. Woodcock; all agreed to put it to a lot, which fell upon Mr. Williams. It should have been cautiously observed whether fit to annul such a choice. But so it is, when men gather into partys and serve a private interest. One of Mr. Williams's friends went out before subscribing; had he stayed, that had been a 26th man, and so that had needed no lot: another, after he had deliberated long, wrote a great W, and yet considered longer whether he should make it Williams or Woodcock; at last he wrote Williams, which made it just even, which adjusted it for the lot, by which it was then determined, though now the force of it is thrown off and forgotten.

Dr. Daniel Williams was in his day the representative of the liberal party among the Nonconformist ministers of London. In consequence of his opposition to the high Calvinism of some of the body, he was made an object of cabal and attack by the Calvinistic party. The Lecture at Pinner's Hall had been established by means of a liberal subscription amongst the wealthy Nonconformists of London, and was hence termed the "Merchants' Lecture." It was delivered on Tuesdays. Dr. Daniel Williams was elected to the Lecture in 1691,—an appointment of no common honour, as he succeeded to the vacancy occasioned by the death of Richard Baxter. When the Antinomian party drove Dr. Williams from the Lecture, Dr. Bates, Mr. Howe and Mr. Alsop retired with him, and they united to found the lecture at Salters' Hall.

Mr. Woodcock. If this were Mr. Thomas Woodcock ejected from St. Andrew Undershaft, it would appear as if the opponents of Dr. Williams fought their battle against him with a liberal man. Mr. Woodcock was one of the founders of Nonconformist worship at Hackney, preaching at first in his own house, and afterwards uniting with Dr. Bates, the

Digitized by Google

friend and supporter of Dr. Williams. Mr. Woodcock was a gentleman of property, and it is interesting to suppose that he was connected with the Woodcocks of Hackney, from whom our great Milton chose his second wife, Catherine, daughter of Captain Woodcock. To her was addressed the touching sonnet,

"Methought I saw my late espoused wife:
* * * to my fancied sight,
Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shined."

A Wise Man's Jest.

August. Dr. Benjamin Whitchcot, who was never pleased with gossiping and feasting, yet was forced sometimes to be at them, was wont to say, at the beginning there is altum silentium, but by and by, when the eating came in, there was stridor dentium, and the drinking caused clamor gentium, and continuing long at it left a stupor sensuum.

From his nephew, Mr. Jer. Whitchcot, at a funeral.

A Story of Vicissitudes.

August. My brother Woolley has often told a story of a person that had been long out of England, was cast upon the shore in Cornwall, where, being hunger-bitten, he opened a window where he espied a loafe, took it and ran away to eat it; but being apprehended, was sent to the gaol and tried for his life before Judge Hales. The jury was sharp upon him, brought him in guilty of the burglary. The Judge argued with them that it was but to supply his hunger, &c., that if he was guilty he must dy for it; however, they went out and brought him in guilty a second time; he again argues with them, and with much ado they acquit him. Some years after, the same Judge was rideing the circuit in the North, and meeting with over great entertainment by the Sheriff, chode him much, and told him what a bad example he had given. "Truly, my Lord," said the Sheriffe; "I should not have done so much to any other Judge, but for your Lordship I can never do too much; you saved my life!" "How so?" said the Judge. "I was arraigned before you," said the Sheriffe. "You sent out the jury again and again till they quitted me." "Are you the man," said the Judge, "that was arraigned for stealing the loafe?" "The very same man," replied the Sheriffe; "since then such and such friends are dead, a great estate is fallen to me, and I am in the post you see." *Penes authorem fides esto.*

A Northamptonshire Revival.

Sept. 5, 1694. I have often heard of the fits or possession of some of the hearers of Mr. Davys, in Northamptonshire; but I spake with one Mr. Fary, in P. N. R. (Paternoster Row), Mr. White's partner, who was an eye-witness of them. They were generally maids and young girls, who sometimes had fits at other times, but especially had them whilst Mr. D. was preaching; and at that time he has seen eight or ten at a time. They would

Digitized by Google

make a noise and direct their speech against him, cursing him, though not used to curse before: when they came out of their fits, could not remember what they had done or said. If they could get out, they ran till out of breath, fell down, and presently, then came to themselves again, would be sorry for what was past. Rev. Mr. Maidwell and others thought them from the devil. They are now in a manner ceased: but about two years ago, when he went about breaking churches and had so many admirers and followers, they were very frequent. His preaching is very affectionate, but very *rambling*.

Mr. Davys. Mr. Richard Davis, of Rowel, in Northamptonshire, seems to have anticipated some of the mesmeric or other arts of modern revivalists. He brought great scandal on the Nonconformists of his day, and was the means of dividing, or "breaking" as Dr. Henry Sampson calls it, many of their churches. His neighbour, Mr. John Maidwell, the aged ejected minister of Kettering, differing from modern saints and philosophers, thought these revivalist ecstacies were not from God, but from the devil.

A Satire upon Dr. Sherlock.

Regibus obsequium dum bonis obligat unum,
Jurat utrique unam, prodit utrique fidem.
Quid Mirum! Si sit semper jurare paratus,
Cum per quos juret tres habet ille Deos.

The same allegiance to two kings he pays,
Swears the same faith to both and both betrays.
What wonder! He that swears is always free,
That has two Gods to swear by more than we.

Archbishop Sancroft's Epitaph, found in the Athenian Mercury, September 24, 1694.

Lector Wilhelmi nuper Archi-præsulis
Qui natus est in viceno agro (?)
Quod morte cecidit, prope hunc murum jacet,
At qui resurget. Tu interim
Semper paratus esto, nam quâ non putas
Venturus horâ Dominus est.
Obiit Nov. 24, Anno Natalis Domini MDCLXXXXIII.
Ætatis suæ LXXVIII.

P. M. S.

William Sancroft, born in this parish, afterwards, by the providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury, and at last deprived of all he could not keep with a good conscience, returned hither to end his life, where he began it, and professeth here at the foot of his tomb, that as he naked came forth, so naked he must return.

The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away,
Blessed be the name of the Lord!

Digitized by Google

Over his head, a stone with these words, viz.: "As the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth unto the west, so shall the coming of the Son of Man be."

Four Charities.

In my journey to Tunbridge Wells, July 30, 1695, I observed at four several towns four eminent pieces of *charity*. The first was at Lewisham, by Mr. Abraham Colt, who was very long vicar there, and at last died a bachelor; yet in his life-time he settled his charity, which was in three things: first, in seven exhibitions, each in £10 per annum, for so many scholars from his own schoole, or, if none found fit for the University in the judgment of neibour ministers of such vicine towns nominated, then from Canterbury. The second was the foundation of two free schooles for the town of Lewisham, &c.,—one for the Latin and the other for English. The former master to have £30 per annum, and the other £10, with convenient dwellings. The third was for six aged people in an almshouse, to have *2s.* per week each. The settlement and care upon the company of Leather Sellers, London, who complain that he allowed but *20s.* for the Mr. and Wardens at coming down, when they spend £5 or £6. See where the shoe pinches.

The second town was at Bromley, where Bishop Warner has built a stately almshouse for 24 widows of poor clergymen. Each widow to have £20 per annum during her life there besides her dwelling, and a chaplain £50 for reading prayers. They complain they begin to be ill paid. The chaplain has been long without his pay, and the widows about a year, which they can ill be without. I suppose the reason is because the feoffees are great men, and will scarce be persuaded to attend such an affair or meet together gratis. So here's another inconvenience to be thought of in the placing of charity.

The third town was Sevenoke, where one of that name (a foundling and bastard reported to be), by the trade of a grocer, attained to be Lord Mayor of London in King Richard the Second's time. He founded a free school and built almshouses for 19 or 20 aged people: when the lands were almost lost, some of the town recovered them in Queen Elizabeth's time, and therefore the inscription is of Queen Elizabeth: "Almshouses founded by W. Sevenoke." They were afterwards repaired by Dame Margaret Boswell. Each person has *15d.* per week and some wood. The manner of building shews them to be very old.

The fourth town is Tonbridge, where there is an eminent free schoole of the foundation of Sir — Jud, committed to the company of Skinners, London, whose master and wardens yearly visit the school, see to the preferment of the scholars, and have augmented the means belonging to it. (See Dr. Willet, Fuller, Lambard's Perambulation, &c.)

Digitized by Google

I might add, the charity at Tunbridge Wells, where the Londoners principally and others that come to the Welles have not been wanting to express their thankfulness. Those of the Church have built a chapel, where are prayers read daily morning and evening, for the benefit of those that drink the waters during the whole season, by a chaplain, whom they pay. And there are also divers poor children taught to read by a person that lives thereabout all the year long. They are paid for chiefly by the Dissenters, who also give a good stroke towards the maintaining a preacher to the poor country people thereabouts for the three quarters of their absence; their own ministers supplying his room during the drinking season. Both these were first set on foot by Mr. Matthew Poole.

TRANSLATIONS FROM DANTE.

BY SIR JOHN BOWRING.

O son of mine! there never was creator,
Never was creature, formed devoid of love
In its corporeal or its spiritual nature;
For all things came forth perfect from above,
And every erring and discordant feature
Are aberrations, and our wanderings prove
From the straight path where we were called to move.
Purgatory, xvii.

He who to ways of evil is betrayed,
Or wanders careless in pursuit of good,
Hath not Heaven's highest purpose understood,
Which in our very inmost natures laid
The seeds of love, whose harvestings are made
All virtues to produce, in plenitude.
Idem.

But tell me, ye who seem so happy here,
Do ye desire to reach some higher place,
To make new friends, to see another sphere?
A smile of light was kindled on her face;
As they replied, with most benignant mien,
In all love's primal beauty, truth and grace,
Brother! our wills are circled all serene
By charity's own virtue, and are blest
With what we are. *Paradise*, xii.

Digitized by Google

M. RENAN.

FRANCE, like our own country, has its theological troubles. There, as here, the spirit of free inquiry is doing its work, and producing, in quarters where it might be least expected, bold theological conclusions. What the writers of "Essays and Reviews" are in relation to the Church of England, that M. Renan is in France to the Catholic Church. What in England is slowly done by the tedious process of long arguments in the Court of Arches, and the lingering decision of a most reluctant Judge, is in Paris managed by a stroke of the pen by the Minister of Public Instruction.

The *Times* of March 1st contained the following remarkable communication from its French correspondent. Before proceeding to quote it, we must remark, that the correspondent's suggestion that M. Renan's speculations border on Atheism, is not justified by any known facts.

"The *Moniteur* publishes an order, signed by M. Rouland, Minister of Public Instruction, suspending M. Ernest Renan's course of lectures at the College of France, for that 'in his discourse delivered on Saturday last at that college, at the opening of the course of lectures on the Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac tongues, M. Renan professed doctrines which affect Christian belief, and which may produce deplorable agitations.'

"M. Renan was originally destined for the clerical profession. He spent some years as an ecclesiastical student in the College of St. Sulpice, in Paris, but quitted that seminary before taking orders. He subsequently devoted himself to the study of the oriental languages and of biblical literature. He has the reputation of being an able, if not a profound oriental scholar, and has published several works of much interest and research. He obtained the Volney prize in 1847 for an essay on the Semitic languages, and another in 1849 for a work on the Greek of the Middle Ages. He obtained from the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres a literary mission to Italy in 1849, where he collected materials for a work on the Hispano-Arab philosopher Averrhoes, who was the first to translate into Arabic the writings of Aristotle. In 1850, he was appointed one of the keepers of the manuscripts of the National Library; and, in 1856, was elected member of the Academy of Inscriptions. He has, besides, published *Essays on Comparative Philology*, which appeared in various periodicals, and were afterwards published in a collected form under the title of *Essays on Religious History*. He was very lately employed on an antiquarian mission in Syria, and the results of his labours still appear in the form of reports in the *Moniteur*. The merit of these various works in a literary point of view is pronounced by competent judges to be very great, and to shew an amount of erudition of no ordinary kind. On the other hand, M. Renan is said to have carried his speculations on revealed religion, and particularly on Christianity, to the utmost limit; indeed, almost to the negation of a Divine Being. His recent appointment to the Chair of Hebrew, Chaldaic and Syriac, at the College of France, produced a certain degree of sensation in the press, especially in what are called the religious journals. The opinion as to his peculiar views on religion was so general

Digitized by Google

that the Minister of Public Instruction thought it necessary to calm the apprehensions of those whose sons were to benefit by the lessons of the Professor, by declaring that M. Renan would not, in the course of his lectures, enunciate doctrines tending to disturb those principles on which a belief in revealed religion, irrespective of sect, reposed; but that he would strictly confine himself to ancient languages and history in a literary point of view. Still, the feeling was very strong, both against him and for him. The fact of the clerical journals having thought proper to sound the alarm was sufficient to call forth a counter-demonstration from their opponents. An immense crowd mustered in the streets leading to the college on Saturday last, and with loud exhibitions of party feeling. In fact, M. Renan, on his first appearance as a lecturer, had to be protected by squads of police, who, with some little difficulty, succeeded in obtaining a hearing for the Professor, who was cheered a good deal by his friends. In order that you may form some notion of the character of the lecture, I give the following passages from it:

"'Amid the enormous fermentation in which the Jewish nation was plunged under the last Asmoneans, the most extraordinary moral event of which history makes mention occurred in Galilee. A man, incomparable, and so great that, though here everything must be judged in a point of view of positive science, I would not contradict those who, struck by the exceptional character of his work, call him God, effected a reform in Judaism—a reform so profound, so individual, as to be a creation in every part. Reaching the highest religious point to which man ever attained—coming to look at God face to face in the relations of a son with his father—devoted to his work, with a total forgetfulness of everything else, and an unselfishness which has never been practised so highly—finally, the victim of his idea, and made Divine by his death—Jesus founded the eternal religion of humanity, the religion of the mind, disembarrassed of all priesthood, of all worship, of all observances, accessible to all races, superior to all castes,—in one word, absolute. 'Woman, the time is come when no one shall any longer worship on this mountain, nor in Jerusalem, but when the true worshiper shall worship in spirit and in truth.' The fertile centre to which humanity was for ages to refer its joys, its hopes, its consolations, its motives for acting well, was constituted. The spring of virtue, the most abundant that the sympathetic contact of a sublime conscience ever awoke in the heart of man, was opened. The high thought of Jesus, scarcely understood by his disciples, underwent many disappointments. Yet Christianity at first bore the sway, and, from the Infinite, it bore it over the other forms of worship then existing. . . . . Our religion will grow less and less Jewish, and will more and more repudiate all political organization applied to the affairs of the soul. It will become the religion of the heart, the intimate poetry of each one. In morals, we shall follow those delicacies unknown to the harsh nature of the Old Alliance; we shall become more and more Christian. From poetry, we shall demand a formula for that instinct of the Infinite which constitutes our charm and our torment, our nobleness at all events. From philosophy, instead of the scholastic absolute, we shall demand notions on the general system of the universe. In all, we shall pursue shading and finesse instead of dogmatism—the relative instead of the absolute. This, in my opinion, is our future, if the future belongs to progress. But shall we obtain

Digitized by Google

more certain views of the destiny of man and of his relations with the Infinite? Shall we acquire a clearer knowledge of the law of the origin of beings, of the nature of conscience, of life and of individuality? Shall the world, without going back to credulity, but following in its path of positive philosophy, find again joy, ardour, hope, lofty thoughts? Shall it some day be worth while to live; and the man who believes in duty, shall he find in duty his recompence? This science to which we devote our life, shall it render to us what we sacrifice to it? I know not. What is certain is, that in seeking the truth by scientific methods, we shall have done our duty. If truth be gloomy, we shall have at least the consolation of having found it according to rule. It may be said that we deserve to find it more consoling; but we shall testify that we have been towards ourselves of absolute sincerity.'

"I have already mentioned that, concurrently with M. Renan's appointment, the Minister thought proper to repeat the assurance that the lectures meant for the instruction of the rising generation of France, would not contain anything tending to sap the foundations of religious belief.

"'The books,' said the Minister, 'which serve as the text for the lessons of the Professor are in great part the sacred writings. Religion seeks in them its origin, and in them it also finds its prayer and its inspirations. Hence, in the faculty of theology, the study of the Hebrew tongue necessarily embraces traditional and dogmatical expositions which are the source of the belief held by every Christian community. But it is evident that this order of discussion is not in its place at the College of France, where the Chair of Hebrew is, so to speak, entirely laic. There the Professor, like all other citizens, should maintain the reserve and the respect due to the sacred character of the Bible. Leaving to the theologian the field which belongs to him, he occupies himself exclusively with researches in literature and philology. A stranger to religious polemics, he devotes himself entirely to explorations useful for the understanding and the advancement of the important knowledge of the comparative Semitic languages.'

"Such were, in fact, the conditions on which M. Renan accepted the professorship; and, evidently from the suspension of the lectures, the Minister thinks that these conditions have not been observed. From the few specimens I have given, you will be able to judge whether the Minister has acted judiciously or not. In any case, he shares the blame or the praise with his colleagues, for I understand that the order for suspending M. Renan's lectures was unanimously approved and adopted by the Cabinet."

M. Renan was educated in the tenets of the Catholic Church. We need not say how widely he has departed from his hereditary faith. He has long been accustomed to unreserved intimacy with some of the best and boldest Protestants in France. He married into the Protestant family of Scheffer,* his wife being niece of the illustrious painter, Ary Scheffer. The children are, we believe, brought up as Protestants. To whatever latitude some of M. Renan's opinions may now tend, it is the testimony

* Henry Scheffer, brother of Ary Scheffer and father of Madame Renan, himself also a painter, is just dead.

Digitized by Google

of those who know him well that he is thoroughly serious and in earnest, and that he has even a religious turn of mind. They say, and truly, that he is a man of majestic powers, gifted with equal talents and learning; that he uses fearlessly the intellectual rights of a man; and that he has done more than any living man in France to attract the attention of thinking men to the Bible, Religion and Christianity. They add, that it is indeed a disgrace to the country that a mere Catholic mob, hounded on by the most ignorant and fanatical of the priesthood, should be enabled to silence (even for a time) so distinguished a man. We believe we cannot give a better proof of the estimation in which the services of M. Renan are held, than by mentioning that, when he gave his opening lecture, the Rev. Athanase Coquerel, Jun. (who with his father well represents the Reformed Church of Paris and of France), stood by his side. By his presence and sympathy, this distinguished man doubtless intended to mark the feelings of the more liberal section of French Protestants. They do not as religious men fear the teaching of science. At every cost they are prepared to uphold liberty of thought and speech—their own and others'.

The spectacle of the delivery of that first address was, we are informed, very striking. In the body of the assembled auditors every variety of feeling was manifested. The Ultramontane party was represented by persons indulging in violent and even tumultuous demonstrations of opposition. The least moved person in the assembly was Renan. Amidst the tumultuous elements, he alone stood serenely calm.

— coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus.
* * * *
Tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexêre, silent, arrectis que auribus astant
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.
Sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor.

A more signal proof of the power of a serene intellect over a tumultuous assembly has seldom been seen.

It is with great satisfaction that we learn that the interdict on M. Renan's labours is likely to be immediately removed. He proposes giving his class two lectures a week,—one a continuous commentary on Job, the book of Scripture which Renan has especially studied,—the other explanatory of the history and construction of the Semitic languages. We shall watch the progress of events with no little interest. If, as we have intimated, M. Renan goes on without further hindrance from M. Rouland, the Minister of Instruction, the fact will convince the Ultramontane men (a party as fanatical and blind to consequences as our own disloyal priests in Ireland) that there is no sympathy with them in the heart of the present ruler of the destinies of France.

Digitized by Google

INTELLIGENCE.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH.

Rev. Fletcher Blakely (March 1).—The month began with a solemn event, the burial at Moneyrea of the late Rev. Fletcher Blakely, the honoured and zealous minister of the place, to whose ministerial labours of more than half a century, not Unitarianism only, but the cause of civil and religious liberty also, owes much. We trust to receive from some competent pen a memoir of this good servant of the cross of Christ.

National Education: The Revised Code (March 4).—The Bishop of Oxford, in presenting petitions against the Revised Code, made an elaborate and thoroughly hostile speech, of which scrupulous fairness was not the most conspicuous attribute. He disclaimed the argument of economy, avowed that the present £800,000 grant must shortly be multiplied almost three times, and thought this a *flea-bite* in comparison with what we are spending on coast defences. So it may be; and if his arguments were satirically directed against the defence and war mania, it might be admissible. As a plea for unlimited education grants, the tax-payer, and even the Chancellor of the Exchequer, may feel its force to lie on the other side of the question. Unblushingly, the Bishop declared that the new Minute "must tend to do away with the religious tone at present imparted to education," and that "the grant, which at present depended on various conditions, would under the change be made to depend upon one;" and he spoke of a "substituted test," knowing quite well all the time that the proposed Minute, which makes the test of elementary reading, writing and arithmetic, more severe than before, leaves every other test just as it now is. He seems to have talked sheer nonsense in saying "that till the mechanical art of reading had been superseded, the process of acquiring information did not begin; *but the new system must tend to keep the mechanical part of the process before the minds of the pupils;*" and he drew a curious parallel between the eleemosynary character of the great schools for the rich and those for the poor, which will not be found universally palatable: "It might be said that the money of the country ought not to be spent in that way. But their Lordships would observe, that in the higher ranks of life the greater part of the money which provided for the higher branch of education was supplied from without. They had it in the endowment of their public schools and universities. But how were they to provide for the lower classes that assistance which the higher classes received, if it were not out of the sum which Parliament set aside to promote the education of the middle and lower classes of society?"

The *Times* (March 8) thus describes the qualities of the Bishop's speech: "He represents the prevalent tone of the controversy. Wide and sweeping in its assertions, strangely inaccurate in its statements, exaggerated in its language, careless in its assumption of principle, sentimental where it should be logical, and declamatory where it ought to be convincing, the speech of the Bishop of Oxford has nevertheless a certain power from the precision with which it reflects the very extravagance of ignorant alarm and uncalculating prejudice."

In one thing we are disposed to agree with the Bishop of Oxford and others, namely, in thinking that after so long experimenting on the part of the Council of Education, with discretionary powers of the most extraordinary kind, which were granted and have been continued as it were for experiment' sake, it is almost time that the Minutes of Education should be carefully revised and consolidated into an Act of Parliament. But there was no special obligation upon the present Ministry to take this step; the Royal Commission which gave rise to the new Minutes did not recommend proceeding by Bill; nor do we imagine that Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli would, if in office, have thought of doing so.

March 7. Lord Lyttleton renewed the discussion by proposing condemnatory resolutions, which, however, he withdrew, Lord Granville having repudiated the *vested right* claim of the certificated teachers, and Lord Belper having to a certain degree sustained it, expressing also a fear that the monitorial system may return.

March 12. In the Commons, Mr. Walpole gave notice of eleven resolutions to be moved on the 25th, the substance of which is, to condemn in detail almost every proposal of the new Minutes, ending with these two as standing orders for all future Parliamentary action:

"10. That in January of each year, if the Code be revised or any material alteration in it be necessary, it shall be printed in such a form as to shew separately all articles cancelled or modified and all new articles.

Digitized by Google

"11. That in the event of such revision or material alteration, as mentioned in the last foregoing resolution, it shall not be lawful to take any action thereon until the same shall have been submitted to Parliament, and laid on the table of both Houses for at least one calendar month."

Bi-centenary Celebration in Manchester (March 6).—Our friends in and around Manchester met to receive the report of a Committee appointed to devise a suitable form of memorial for this Bi-centenary year. The Committee's report was not accepted; but the meeting resolved that a fitting memorial of the ejected ministers of 1662 will be the erection of "a hall in Manchester, with a perfectly open trust, for religious, philanthropic and educational purposes; that the sum of £10,000 will be required for its erection, and that the present meeting pledges itself to use its best endeavours to obtain the necessary funds." It was probably owing to the non-acceptance of the Committee's report that the subscription did not at once begin. It is, we are informed, now in progress, and is headed by sums of considerable amount. The adoption of local forms of commemoration will of course diminish the amount given to particular objects; but the aggregate contributions will probably not suffer thereby. The two great things to be desired are—1, that the form of celebration has some actual relation to the Nonconformity of the ejected ministers; 2, that the effort, whatever be its particular object, be worthy of our position and means. A feeble celebration and a stinted offering would hold us up to the world as not worthy descendants of men who made such large sacrifices to conscience and religious truth.

Evangelical Church Intolerance at Sheffield.—The Rev. Brooke Herford has exposed, with becoming spirit and ability, the intolerance of a curate of St. Paul's church, Sheffield, under whose influence a crowded weekly meeting has been held for more than twelve months in the church school-room to pray for the downfall of Popery, Infidelity, *Unitarianism, and every other form of wickedness.* Mr. Herford called the attention of his fellow-townsmen to this proceeding in a Sunday-evening lecture, which, and the attendance on it by the public, were everything that could be desired. It is not often that bigots commit themselves so publicly as this silly curate, and give to Unitarians an indisputable claim on a public hearing.

Manchester District Unitarian Association.—At the annual meeting held at the Missionary Board room, the Committee made a satisfactory report of progress during the past year. At Blakely, the congregation had increased and the Sunday-school was overflowing. A new building had been erected at the cost of £600, the amount mostly subscribed by the congregation. At Middleton, the mission was making way; the Sunday-school had fifty scholars, and the congregation had borne all the expenses. At Miles Platting, the mission had suffered from the want of a suitable school building. At Pendleton, the mission had encountered much opposition, but had maintained its ground. A fund for the building a chapel here was in progress and already amounted to £600. At Platt, the congregation continued to improve, and the mission there had become self-sustaining. Measures are being taken to provide a new school building, much needed here. The congregation at Sale had placed itself in connection with the Association. At Dob Lane, lectures have been given. At Swinton, the loss of the late Mr. Boardman is severely felt, but the congregational plans are conducted with activity and in hopefulness. To aid Rev. J. C. Street, the able and most zealous missionary, the services of Rev. C. C. Nutter had been temporarily secured, and now Rev. Adam Rushton, of Padiham, has undertaken the duties of second missionary. The Committee were certainly entitled to say that the Association was doing a good and effective work.

Ordination at Derby (March 12).—Rev. W. Oates, late of the Unitarian Missionary Board, was ordained at Derby as minister of the Friar-gate chapel. The ordaining ministers were Rev. F. Bishop, Rev. T. E. Poynting, Rev. J. C. Street and Rev. John Wright. The chapel was decorated with evergreens and loyal and religious mottos, a custom better suited to a school-room than a place of worship. The addresses were appropriate and earnest.

London District Unitarian Society (March 14).—Another meeting was held to discuss the best mode of celebrating the Bi-centenary year. The best feature of the meeting was the attendance of Rev. Samuel Bache, Dr. Russell and Mr. Timothy Kenrick, who advocated the claims of the Ministers' Benevolent Society on the support of the Unitarian public, and its appropriateness as one of the forms of celebrating the year. The statements of Mr. Bache made a very favourable impression. An unsuccessful attempt was made to include the building of a London Unitarian cathedral among the events of the Bi-centenary year.

Schools at Swindon (March 15).—Mr.

Digitized by Google

F. R. Young is carrying on his missionary work at Swindon with great zeal and success. The day-schools erected behind his iron church have been completed, and the event was this day celebrated by a public tea-party, which proved a successful demonstration. Books, especially copies of the Bible, are wanted here, and will be thankfully received by Mr. Young.

Revision of the Liturgy.—Lord Ebury writes to the *Times* (March 20) to defend himself against the attacks and misrepresentations consequent on his efforts to give the clergy, by legislation, greater freedom in the use of the Book of Common Prayer than the Rubrics permit. He pleads that his desired reforms rest on the authority of eminent Churchmen, and refers to Overall, Sancroft, Sir Matthew Hale and others, who have protested against the repetitions caused by the jumbling together of services, the excessive tying up of the hands of our clergy in matters indifferent, and the wilful exclusion of thousands of unwilling Nonconformists. He says that he is now met in his attempt to give the clergy a large discretion in the performance of divine service, by the objection that, so utterly destitute are the clergy of that necessary qualification, such a permission would be quite unsafe. Besides the "Public Worship" Bill, Lord Ebury has also ventured on the bold experiment of asking the Legislature to modify the Act of Uniformity. He explains that he does not propose thereby to affect the uniformity of public worship, but solely to give ease to the consciences of the clergy, by receiving from them a general expression of acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer, in lieu of the definite assent and consent now extorted. He quotes the words that follow of a clergyman of great experience and long standing in the Church (name withheld):

"I cannot but express a most sincere and earnest hope that the motion you have given notice of in regard to the 'unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained,' &c., will be met in the Christian spirit in which I am sure you will make it, and that it will eventually succeed. Such strong and uncompromising language is not suitable nor proper in regard to any book of so large a size and so comprehensive a character. It has been said that the language put to candidates is intended to apply to the Prayer-book generally and as a whole: then why not let us have our assent in general, and not in such particular and definite terms? It is too much in a thinking age to expect of any man that he can *bonâ fide*, and with a good will, assent to every sentence and every expression. It is not necessary to demand it. A more general form of expression would satisfy every honourable requirement. The present form torments scrupulous consciences; it distresses tender consciences; it runs the risk of being interpreted in a non-natural sense, and so it does not prevent quibblers or indifferent ones from accepting it, while it may (and if what has been published about it be true), it does, by its precision and severity, keep out of the ministry of the Church of England many highminded and excellent men, who would be a portion of her glory and her joy. I believe that such are the sentiments of a vast number of the clergy, who do not like to put themselves forward, lest it should be said of them that they are fault-finders, and not true lovers of their Church."

Clergy Relief Bill (March 21).—The *Times* gives an explanation of the Bill introduced by Mr. Bouverie for the relief of the clergy. It enacts that any clergyman wishing to give up holy orders may solemnly declare his dissent from the doctrines of the Church of England, and that thereupon the Bishop is to record in his registry sentence of deposition of such person from holy orders, and from that time his clerical rights and disabilities are to cease. He is not thenceforth to be subject to prosecution or punishment in any ecclesiastical court for officiating in an unconsecrated building, or for committing any breach of ecclesiastical discipline as a person in holy orders. For twelve months after his deposition, he is not qualified to sit as a member of the House of Commons.

It is manifestly reasonable and right that a person desirous of purging himself of holy orders should have the power of doing so. As the law now stands, an avowed Atheist, because once ordained, remains a priest to the end of his life.

The Bill of Mr. Bouverie passed the House of Commons in 1849, having been in that House subject to the ordeal of a Select Committee. In an able article upon Mr. Bouverie's Bill, the *Spectator* pleads: "If a minister of the Church finds himself unhappily unable to continue his youthful allegiance to the established creeds and formularies,—if he honestly avow this inability, and if he be willing to forego the advantages and emoluments of the position he has attained, it is most unjust and most unwise to say to such a man, You shall not leave the ministry, or, if you do, you shall leave it with a prospect of idleness, dishonour and starvation before you. This, we say, is most unwise and unjust; yet this is precisely what the canons of 1603, co-operating with the 53rd Geo. III.

Digitized by Google

c. 127, say to any of our clergy who may have scruples about retaining their office and its sacred functions."

After adducing various arguments and authorities in favour of the Bill, the *Spectator* says, "The Bill can have few, if any, avowed opponents." But in the present temper of the Church, it is rash to presume on any forbearance or to ask for simple justice. The "English Churchman" takes objection to the Bill on several grounds—1. That it runs counter to several of the canons. 2. That it does not prohibit the clergymen seeking relief from ministering in any other communion. 3. That it does not provide for the contingency of a relieved clergyman wishing to resume holy orders. 4. That it does not assist Bishops in the necessary proceedings against those ordained clergymen who, while practically renouncing their ministry "and adopting and promoting schism," do not avail themselves of the provisions of this Bill. The "English Churchman" thinks it a grievance that the Church should be deprived of the privilege of harrying schismatic priests. It finishes its reasons by alleging that schismatic clergymen, "after doing their worst and making themselves liable to ecclesiastical proceedings, which the Bishop may have actually commenced at considerable cost, may walk off to the sessions and get rid of all their responsibilities and even of their very office *for a shilling!*" One would have thought that their departure would have eased the Church of a scandal. But perhaps the "English Churchman" means only to put in a claim for the Bishop's costs. At all events, the righteous indignation of the "English Churchman" would wish the schismatic to be mulcted of a heavier sum than the Bill directs, before he shall be free from "orders" which he no longer regards as "holy."

Lectures on Churchmen and Dissenters. A lively attack and defence on the subject of religious liberty and the relations of Churchmen and Dissenters, is at present going on in various parts of the country—at Manchester, by Rev. Jas. Bardsley and Rev. J. G. Rogers; at Birmingham, by Rev. J. C. Miller, D.D., and Rev. R. W. Dale; at Hartlepool, by Rev. W. Walters and Rev. H. B. Tristram; at Shrewsbury, by Rev. Dr. Hume, &c. &c. Some of the lectures are separately published (as those of Dr. Miller and Mr. Dale), and are enjoying a wide circulation; others are only reported in the clerical or Dissenting journals. The topics of some of them and the mode in which they are handled suggest a few remarks.

The celebration by Nonconformists of this great anniversary year only wanted one ingredient to secure its unflagging interest, and that is now supplied by the indiscretion of Churchmen and their public organs. It seemed so natural a thing that all classes of Dissenters should celebrate the courageous virtue of their Nonconformist fathers, that there was some danger of the celebration degenerating into formality. The appearance, however, of Churchmen interdicting the celebration, and publicly denying the relation asserted between the Nonconformists of 1662 and those of 1862, gives an unexpected interest to the discussion. English Dissenters are always sufficiently pugnacious. Sometimes they complain that Churchmen will not come and take up the proffered gage. But here Churchmen are the challengers. The result will shew whether their zeal has not got the better of their discretion. In several parts of the kingdom Churchmen are having their say upon the subject. They find no difficulty in getting eager crowds about them willing to hear and applaud their statements on matters of history; and cheers ring to the echo when eloquent clergymen pronounce the Church to be in danger, and call on all its friends to rally round it and save it from destruction. We may concede that the Church is in danger, though we may differ from Churchmen as to the source of the danger. The foes that endanger the Church are those of its own household, who by enforcing the penalties of the Act of Uniformity are seeking to repress free thought and punish the honest expression of individual conviction. On the Nonconformist side of the attack, experience shews that the Church is strong and safe.

But when Churchmen venture into the open field before the Dissenters' camp, and dispute the very ground of the proposed celebration, we may admire their courage, while we question their power to maintain their position.

If living Nonconformists may not celebrate the men of 1662, who shall do it? It would be something almost like effrontery in those who now indulge a profitable conformity, to claim to themselves the exclusive right of praising those who two centuries ago made painful sacrifices rather than conform. If in some respects the difficulty of conformity is now lessened to good men by the increased toleration and religiousness of Churchmen, there are other aspects of the subject in which conformity is less easy. Two centuries of tolerably progressive civilization and of unceasing theological discussion, and also the growth of hostile parties within the Church, have developed many differences of judgment,

Digitized by Google

many difficulties in the way of a perfectly conscientious subscription, which the ejected clergy knew only in part. But it is argued by Churchmen that modern Dissenters are not entitled to take up the praise of the ejected clergy, because they do not agree in all their opinions. On the same ground, these Churchmen might be proved untrue sons of the Church, because on a hundred subjects they have modified, on some they have altogether declined from, the opinions of their spiritual fathers. Happily, time is constantly bringing about *changes*, generally another word for *improvements*. But these Churchmen mean specifically that the clergy of 1662 were unwillingly ejected, and that in clinging to the principle or the desire of an Established Church, they and their successors in Nonconformity have little resemblance. But what is the fact? On this, as on other subjects, there were differences in 1662: there are differences now. Some modern Dissenters would not unwillingly join a National Church if its doctrinal requirements did not interfere with their convictions. Here we have the old, miserable confusion between general principles and particular opinions. With many of the special grounds of the Nonconformity of the ejected clergy and their flocks in 1662 we may feel no sympathy, but we give them credit for sincerity and we honour their fidelity to conscience. Their *conscience* may not be ours, but we cannot withhold our admiration of their *conscientiousness*. But we rather wonder that Churchmen do not see how the objection we are now considering injures their own cause. If the good men of 1662 were lovers of a Church Establishment, and were most anxious to be permitted to continue their conscientious and earnest ministrations within the pale of the Church of England, how unreasonable and malignant was the intolerance which forced these men into Nonconformity! But, again, were we to admit that there was an inconsistency between the feelings and the conduct of the ejected—granting that some of them wished to belong to an Established Church, yet remained to the close of their lives Dissenters—which are to be regarded as an index to their real thoughts, their wishes or their actions? Against their own habits of thought and the convictions of all their previous lives, they found the Established Church so hard and intolerant, they were obliged to leave it and enter on the untried and unwelcome experiment of Nonconformity. By pressing their objection to the celebration by modern Dissenters of this anniversary year, Churchmen in reality are playing the game of the most systematic opponents of the Church—those who maintain that all Establishments of religion lead of necessity to one of two results,—intolerance and persecution, or to practical indifference.

But there is another objection, of a rather delicate nature, which some of the Evangelical clergy have taken to the conduct of their Evangelical Nonconformist brethren. They say to them, "Why celebrate the founders of Protestant Nonconformity? Most of them were Presbyterians. They founded 300 Nonconformist chapels, and of them all but 18 are in the hands of *Socinians*. Will you dare to celebrate the doings of men who thus opened the door to this bad form of heresy?" There is something extremely ludicrous in this argument. It is from first to last tainted with bad faith. It is uttered by men who know nothing about the statistics of Dissent, and are so reckless as to say that which they do not know to be true. They adopt polemical tactics sufficiently clever. They do not deal in vague generalities which suggest their unacquaintedness with the matter in hand; but if they lie, they plausibly adopt the lie circumstantial. We will not aid these men in their disingenuous course by furnishing them with the correct statistics on the topic. It is enough to say that their present statement is far from the truth. The orthodox Dissenters, however, do not at all like this argument. The shell has been fired into their camp, and there it lies, no one choosing to take it up lest it should explode in their hands. They are conscious of their own inconsistent position, and of the wrong they do to the principles established in 1662, by limiting their common celebration of the anniversary to those who agree with them in evangelical faith. The right of private judgment, the supremacy of conscience, the disability of the magistrate to force opinions on any man,—these principles justify the Unitarian as well as the Calvinistic or the Baptist Nonconformist.

March 28. The debate on Mr. Walpole's Resolutions is brought to a close by the House being permitted to go into Committee, where the talk will doubtless be largely renewed. Mr. Bernal Osborne rightly enough said, the question is not a religious question at all, but altogether one of the breeches pocket. If education is to be a heavy national burthen, we are at least entitled to demand that we shall get that for which we pay liberally. The principle of "No instruction, no pay," is not in this instance a mere quack nostrum.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCIX.] MAY, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

DR. RINSE POSTHUMUS.

De Vrije Fries, giving an account of the proceedings of the Frisian Society of Arts, History and Literature, has a very interesting biography of a distinguished man whose name is almost wholly unknown to English readers. Rinse Posthumus was minister of the Reformed Church at Waaxens and Brantgum, in the province of Friesland. He was not only eminent for his general acquirements, but as the translator of Shakspeare has a special claim to the attention of our countrymen.

It is little more than half a century ago that the Frieslanders had few or no proper names among them, but were known, as were anciently the Anglo-Saxons (whom they much resemble in character and habit), by some designation descriptive of place or person, such as John of Leeuwarden, William Strongi'th'arm, Stupid Dick and such like. When Napoleon introduced the conscription into Holland, he compelled all the natives to adopt some family name, and the illustrious patronymics of Greece and Rome were among the most popular. Such are Julius and Augustus, Constantine, Posthumus and many others.

Of all living and spoken languages, the Frisian most resembles the old tongue of England.

"Butter, bread and green cheese,
Is good English and good Frise,"

is a sentence I have heard a hundred times from Frisian lips. In fact, the earliest of the migrations into England were from the Frisian districts. Before the Heptarchy, the languages of a large portion of the English and the Gothic races were nearly identical. The *wetten* or laws which are preserved in the ancient idiom may be read with little difficulty by any who have made themselves acquainted with the earliest forms in which the Anglo-Saxon was used by our progenitors.* It is well known that the German translations of Shakspeare are among the most perfect works of scholarship, any and all the forms of Gothic phrase lending themselves so easily and so appropriately to the phraseology of our

* Prologue to Melibœus:

"I would you tell a little thing in prose
That might liken you."

"Ik wol you'n lyts ding yn prose telle dat you lykje mat" (Frisian translation).

Digitized by Google

great dramatist. But perhaps of all languages the Frisian is that in which the sense can be most clearly conveyed—*overset* is the Frisian word—and often the *ipsissima verba*, with slight modifications of orthography, employed.*

The biographer (Dr. J. H. Halbertsma) gives a long and attractive account of the intercourse between Dr. Posthumus and his friend John Bowring, who in 1828 paid him a visit at his rural abode. Their pursuits had been in many respects similar, and between them there was a strong sympathy. While one had lived a life of study and seclusion, the other had been a great traveller and had known many of the most distinguished men of Europe. Each was able to gratify the curiosity and assist the inquiries of the other. Posthumus expresses his surprise at the odd application which his guest made of the stenographic art. "He put down the prices of food and the cost of labour; he told me all about the rich as well as the poor, how they lived and what they thought and what they said." The subject which seemed to have most attraction for Posthumus was Bentham's philosophy, of which he considered Bowring as the apostle. "What depth, what grandeur," said he, "are in the words, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'! What a text for the moralist and the legislator!" Posthumus proclaimed it to be an axiom of daily and hourly use, and which helped the solution of multitudinous difficulties which had been floating in his mind. Posthumus was greatly delighted that Bowring had come to inform himself about Friesland and the Frieslanders in the pastoral abode of Waaxens and under the guidance of his friend, and hoped through him to arouse some attention to Frisian literature among the learned in Great Britain. Bowring translated into English the most celebrated of Japicx's poems, and wrote more than one article on the subject in English reviews. Posthumus was a worshiper of Shakspeare, and his knowledge of our language, especially in the era of the great dramatists, was such that he had little to learn from his visitor in that portion of the field, but there were others which he was desirous of cultivating. Though too sensible a man to be the slave of prejudice, there was in the mind of Posthumus a great leaning towards England, her authors and her institutions; and he liked to point out the resemblance between his countrymen and ours, and to talk over the olden time when they might have held colloquial intercourse without the intervention of an interpreter.

Gysbert Japicx was an object of Posthumus' warmest admiration. His poems are the best specimens of the modern Frisian. He was an incarnation of the Frisian spirit, of sound understanding, courageous utterance, sensible and energetic, pursuing an

* It is strange that Dr. Craik, in his elaborate and in most respects satisfactory account of the English Literature and Language, should have failed to direct attention to the Frisian field.

Digitized by Google

honest career in all the strength of honesty, truthful in his portraiture, the fruit of close observation, his style correct and simple. He was Posthumus' model, and not a word had he written which was not impressed on the mind and memory of his follower. It has been said that the style of one is not to be distinguished from that of the other. But the speculations of Posthumus were wider, higher, than those of his predecessor, and indeed no Frisian writer approaches him in these respects. Althusius published in 1755 a rhymed translation of Japicx's version of the Psalms. Hoekstra, Professor of History in the College of Louvain, made the Frisian language the subject of his teaching. Japicx had many admirers and followers. The Frisian like to compare his influence in Friesland with that of Shakspeare throughout the world. The resemblance holds as to the general character; it is superfluous to add there is little of comparison in the degree or extent of influence; but Japicx may be admitted among

> "The poets—
> Honour be with them and eternal praise!
> The poets! who on earth have made us heirs
> Of heaven and pure delight with their sweet lays."

Posthumus was born on the 30th October, 1790, in Ternaard, a village in northern Friesland. His father was a farmer, an intelligent agriculturist, much respected by the peasantry around him. Subject to few temptations, his career was honoured and honourable. He would have had his son follow in his footsteps; but the youth was seldom in the fields without a book in his hand or his bosom. He thought more of the flowers turned up by the plough than of the depth or straightness of the furrows it indented. His father found him an indocile learner; in fact, "his thoughts were otherwhere."

As the twig was bent so was the tree inclined; and the lad was sent to pursue his classical studies at Groningen. His father would have him pursue medical studies, but theology had more attractions, and for two years he attended the lectures of Ype Finga and H. Muntinghe, men renowned in their day. Having passed the accustomed examination, Posthumus was appointed pastor and teacher in Waaxens and Brantgum, and his first sermon was from the text, "We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us" (1 Cor. iv. 7). Here he began and here he ended his clerical course. He married in 1816, had three daughters, and in 1855 his fortieth year of religious administration was commemorated from Romans i. 16—"I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek." He died on the 28th September, 1859.

In person Dr. Posthumus was a fine representative of the

Digitized by Google

Frisian race: of middle stature, with black hair, robust and energetic, somewhat disposed to taciturnity; but when he spoke, his language was powerful and original. He enjoyed intercourse with the peasantry, but broke away from the presumptuous and little learned, who but too often desire rather to dictate to than to learn from their superiors. He had strong affections and a warm patriotism, which found delight in human progress, whether at home or abroad. His flock was harmoniously bound together and earnestly attached to their shepherd. He saw his native land pass through many sorrows and vicissitudes, and at times was saddened and perplexed by its uncertain futurity. The uprising of Italy awakened all his enthusiasm, and his friend and biographer records the workings of his generous mind as he contemplated the beautiful country "divided by Alps and Appenines and circled by the sea," but under the phase described by Alfieri when indulging in the "silenzio figlia d'alta vendetta,"—the stillness which dreamed of vengeance, the agony which felt the heavy chains:

"Schiavi, si, ma schiavi ognor frementi;"

and in that grander hour when her ancient spirit rose like a giant refreshed, emancipated herself from the intolerable yoke, and laid the foundations of a mighty nation, entering upon the inheritance of more than her ancient glory. These events threw light upon the darkness of his dying day; and when he fell asleep, it seemed but the continuation of a repose which was patient in its wakefulness, tranquil in its rest, and always resigned and grateful.

Independent in his opinions and frank in their expression, he was an admirable example of Friesland's best characteristics and peculiarities.* The Frieslander as little resembles the Dutchman or Hollander as does the Celt the Saxon. Their languages have no doubt more affinity, but there is a sort of border spirit which leads to alienation and repulsion. Perhaps the Dutch or Fleming is somewhat disposed to look down upon the Frieslander, and holds in some contempt the language and the literature which the verses of Gysbert Japicx have endeared to his countrymen. The Frisians are proud of their origin and of the laws of their forefathers. There is an aristocracy of feeling which repulses the "outlander," and this aristocracy is bedded deeply in the democratic field. A Frisian boor has been known to refuse to uncover his head in the presence of a Dutch nobleman, and when ordered to do so, replied, "Remember, greatman (grietman), that the gold which bought my hat was as good as

* Buonaparte thought highly of the soldiers of Friesland. They were a verification of his dictum, "Victory is in the legs;" for they could endure long marches, and their strong bones and robust limbs fitted them for great exertions and made them swift of foot. The French frequently attributed the success of the Emperor to his rapid marches and countermarches.

Digitized by Google

that which purchased yours." Many are the tales told of the manner in which Frisian peasants have resented an indignity. So says the poet:

"Our characters are by our soils supplied:
A Roman is a slave—a Briton, free;
To have no master is a Frisian's pride,
To serve a master is a Frenchman's glee."

In his sermons Posthumus had most at heart to make himself thoroughly understood by the least opulent part of his congregation. When he heard the hypercritical laud an obscure but pompous discourse, he said, "Such luxuries are not for us; they are for the tables of the rich." Like his Divine Master, "the common people heard him gladly." Not that he despised knowledge; for books and maps, especially those connected with Friesland, were his habitual companions; but he intruded neither science nor philosophy when they could not be understood or appreciated. He travelled little, except to explore every recess of his own province, in which the diversities of idiom and habits between the town and country people were matters of much amusement to him. If a voyage round one's own apartments has been sufficient to furnish pabulum for a volume, Frisia, his own Frisia, was a topic absolutely inexhaustible.

So said he:

"Friesland! Friesland! thou shalt never
Even in death forgotten be;
No! thy hero-fame for ever
Will I cherish tenderly,
Will I cherish tenderly."*

There is an amusing anecdote told of Posthumus, which reminds one of Cromwell's order "to trust in God and keep the powder dry," as of Lord Palmerston's hint to the Edinburgh clergy, that when they fasted for the ravages of epidemy, it would be well if they looked to the drainage of their city. In a voyage on one of the Dutch inland seas, they were overtaken by a storm, and as darkness came on the captain gave himself up to despair, and, abandoning all care of his vessel, ran to Dominus Posthumus and implored him to pray. "Pray—no! I had rather fiddle. This is not your place. To the rudder—to the rudder! Do you think God will work a miracle because you neglect your duty? This is no time for your cowardice, but to shew the heart of a lion." The captain called Posthumus and his companion heathens; but he left them, seized the helm, and the vessel was saved. "Aide toi, Dieu t'aidera!"

---

* "Frieslân, Frieslân, dy vorjitte
Schil ik in het tjustre graef;
In dijn heldenrom uwtmitte
Sa lang as ik siikje kin,
Sa lang as ik siikje kin."—P. 279.

Digitized by Google

Posthumus was disgusted with the tone of too many of the ecclesiastical controversies in Holland. There, as elsewhere, the Church hierarchy has shewn too much disposition to lord it over men's souls, and to dogmatize and anathematize rather than win by gentleness and instruct with patience. "What wandering is here," he exclaimed. "from the law of the Gospels! One would almost fancy that the Pharisees, when scattered at the destruction of Jerusalem, had found their way hither and erected their temple in our land!" Naturally enough, Posthumus became obnoxious to men who would have the understanding and the will subject to their domination; but this only endeared him to those who could appreciate his independent spirit. "We live in a strange world," said one of the learned men of the time. "In great things and small, a domineering masterdom will intrude. You only take a pinch of snuff, and a hand conveys the box away and proclaims, 'I will be your rappee.' You are reading your Bible; it is suddenly made away with, and a loud-voiced doctor exclaims, 'I am your Bible.'" Some of the axioms of the time are curious and characteristic. "Rather work by the lightning of your deeds than by the thundering of your words," was the teaching of a Frisian domine. Another gave a strange reason for a sermon on death: "I shall preach to you next Sunday about the grave, for no one has lately died amongst us."*

Independently of his Frisian writings, which were connected principally with the literature of his native province, Posthumus took part in the controversies in which the Reformed Church of Holland was engaged. He translated from the French, Pascal's Pensées sur la Religion; from the German, Seume's Apocryphen; and from the English, an account of the Sac-North American Indians, especially with reference to the state of religion among them. He took an earnest part in the advocacy of the local rights of the Frieslanders, when he deemed them to be invaded, both by his pen and his voice, being always with the advanced guard of patriots and advocates of liberty. This passionate love of freedom may be pointed at as the guide-star of the whole of his thoughts, alike in the field of religion and of politics; and perhaps no better place can be found for the selection of some passages of his poetry, whose translation follows:

Wees vrij O mensch!

"Be free, O man! so God's command hath spoken,
And thine obedience shall be thy reward.
Continue free! his holy word unbroken,
Thee from all sorrows, all regrets shall guard.
Man! thou wert born to greatness—dost inherit
A noble rank, a law of liberty;

* "Ik nedigje jimme takomme Snein op bigraffenis mar er wirde nin liedboalen bi juwn."—P. 234.

Digitized by Google

But there is neither recompence nor merit
For him who knows not to be greatly free."

Wat slaafsche geest.

"What slumbering spirit may not God awake,
The agent of his purposes to make?
The winds by princes and by priests protected,
Shall not God's lily-bank of flowerets kill?
No! these shall be by Christus all rejected;
He is our hope, our help, our safeguard still.
I see the martyr's fires commix their rays
With freedom's flame and with the light of heaven;
Up to Christ's throne they rise in prayer and praise,
And mingle what's divine with earthly leaven.
Yes! that bright fire shall burn—that fire of freedom,
Till by the power of progress, banned and doomed,
All wrongs shall be redressed—all laws that breed them
Have their repeal—their records all consumed.
O how my spirit in that wreck rejoices!
Upsoaring on emancipated wing,
And listening to and mingling with the voices
That round the throne of the Redeemer sing!
Socinus, Berengaren, Scotus, I,
With Luther, Menno, Zwinglus, Calvin, all,
Their light rejoice in and their memory.
Yet none among them will I *master* call;
One is my *Master*—Freedom is my claim;
I'm pledged to her and to her guidance; never,
Happen what may, will I desert her name,
But on her basis build my hopes for ever."—*Uitbocxeming.*

Like many of his countrymen, the attachment to the old republican forms of government was deeply rooted within him. And no wonder; for what Dutchman could look back upon the glorious history of his commonwealth without strong emotions of pride, and regret that a state of things so honourable to the Netherlands had passed away? The intrusive government of King Louis, forced upon them by the first Napoleon, could not but be intolerable: its object was to denationalize the Dutch people, and to merge them in the vortex of French habits and interests—to supplant their language—to uproot their institutions. Is it a matter of surprise that the whole country rose up at the cry of *Oranje Boven!*—Up with Orange? or that the delight of being emancipated from the Gallic yoke was too strong not to be used for royalist objects by the Dutch King? He was popular then, and known as *Vader Willem;* and Posthumus, who under the French rule had said, "He who governs the land must govern me," might well rejoice in the promise of better days; but he was not satisfied with the inertness exhibited by his countrymen, and in 1840 published "A Word for the Awakening of Public Spirit in silent Friesland;" and again, in 1846, another pamphlet, "On Popular Feeling as displayed in its own Nature, and its Influ-

Digitized by Google

ence on the National Happiness." He also wrote on the Reform of the Poor Laws (a question then agitated in England), and on the means of finding employment for the distressed, and especially for destitute children. There was much suffering in Holland, and a strong tide of emigration setting in to the United States of America; and the Dutch were among the best of the emigrants; they took with them no *agitating* topics, as did too many of the Irish settlers, and as intelligent agriculturists and industrious traders could not but be welcome to a land in which their ancestors, when New York bore the name of Amsterdam, had been so successfully located. To this hour many of the leading families of the "empire city" retain Dutch names, and have preserved the language of their forefathers; they have reached the highest offices of the state, and still form a large proportion of "the upper ten thousand" whom the Americans are fond of calling their native nobility. A sister of Posthumus accompanied her brother-in-law to the land of promise.

Posthumus was not only the religious but the medical adviser of his parish. He gave his attention particularly to the diseases of the poor, and to epidemics which raged in his neighbourhood, and which, as in the case of cholera, seem to have perplexed the most elaborate and thoughtful investigators into their cause and cure. Among the peasantry, the treatment of maladies is often marked with extravagance,—the remedies employed either baneful or useless. This is a mistake as old as folly is old; for, as the Romans said,

"Stulti cum vitant vitia in contraria currunt,"

and the practice is frequently but a vibration from one extreme to another, each equally perilous.

Again, the reformation of public morals was deemed a paramount duty by Posthumus, not alone by public services, not alone by private visitations, but by earnest co-operation with the many benevolent societies in the possession of which Holland holds a high place among civilized and Christian nations. He reproved that unwillingness to come in contact with vice and misery which is found but too often among fastidious philanthropists. It is not enough to give money—it is not enough to watch the progress of vice and woe from the distance. No! it must be grappled with by personal intercourse. The dirty dens of wretchedness must be visited—their tenants talked to, not as dependents, but as brothers and sisters of humanity. He thought little of fine speeches made by popular orators—pretty notes written by ladies on perfumed paper—all to be reported in the public newspapers. He was not one who built his church for fame, and would have his name engraved upon its monuments. One wanderer reclaimed from the error of his ways, one miserable being made happy, a sorrow soothed, a joy created,—these were

Digitized by Google

his trophies; but they were not displayed in the market-place. A valuable contribution of Posthumus in reference to this subject was published by him a year before his death, under the title of "Philanthropy, its Essence, Works and Wanderings." But perhaps the most elevated of the published compositions of Posthumus is that entitled, "God's Greatme yn it Greate end yn it Litste"—"God's Greatness in what is Great and what is Small." His observation of English society led him to the conclusion that we have much *benevolence* which is not really *beneficent;* that many of our institutions deemed philanthropic are practically more pernicious than praiseworthy; that there is a great waste of wealth on unworthy objects; and that in very many cases the money contributed by the charitable might be much more profitably employed in the field of active Christian usefulness. There are many impulses, seemingly virtuous, which lead us astray; and thoughtful observers at home have, it is believed, in many cases agreed with travellers from abroad, that the too indiscriminate and profuse diffusion of what is generally called charity may create more evils than it removes. Posthumus thought that people were too fond of wandering round and round the object to be relieved, instead of instituting a close and thorough examination; that there was rather a disposition to accommodate the state of matters to some preconceived theory, than to look it full in the face, and, as Shakspeare counsels, to allow no *seeming* to supersede a reality. He would have all the tares removed, but that it should first be ascertained they were tares—all flowers preserved, but not till it was certain that they were flowers. It was only the ramification of a lesson to do nothing hastily—the realization of the fine teaching of Göthe, "Ohne hast, ohne rast"—No haste, no rest.

It was one of the pleasant tasks of Posthumus to discover in the writings of Shakspeare words still preserved in Frisian, but which in modern English are obsolete, and others to which English interpreters have given an incorrect meaning. He rejoiced to solve problems which our commentators have left in mystery, and by his Frisian lantern throw light on some Shakspearean obscurities. He attached a high value to the early folio edition of his plays. Beaumont and Fletcher were also ably criticised, as they were highly estimated, by Posthumus. Of the modern commentators on the old dramatists he had not an exalted opinion, and generally found fault with their *restorations* and *emendations*. He was unwilling to admit any fancy version when some Frisian analogy offered a distinct and facile interpretation. He published in the Vrye Fries a vocabulary of words as pronounced in the district of his birth, many of which have only a local existence; to each word he has attached a Dutch translation; and it is the most accredited of Frisian Glossaries.

In 1832, Posthumus undertook, with his friend Haan Hettema,

Digitized by Google

a journey into Satterland, in order to become better acquainted with the manners and idiom of a people who were a branch of the ancient Frisian race.

His biographer gives many reasons why no statue has been erected to the memory of Posthumus in his native land. Perhaps it is too early; he will be better understood and more justly valued hereafter. He was too proud to find much honour among the rich; and the peasantry considered him only as one of the worthies among themselves—a little wiser and better, but still among them and of them. It is only in our day that Dr. Priestley's statue has found a becoming niche; it is but yesterday that the bust of John Locke was crowned in the county of his birth. The spirit of partizanship, the flattery of the great, raise memorials even to the living; time often reserves its most honourable appreciation for the virtuous dead.

Van der Zwaag pronounced the funeral oration (Hulde aan de nagedachtenis) of Posthumus at the annual meeting of the Frisian Society in February 1860. He describes him under three heads—the Frisian, the free Frisian, and the learned Frisian; and from his words and deeds shews how pre-eminent a position he held, whether as the representative of Frisian nationality, of Frisian love of liberty, and of Frisian learning. Enough has been said to prove how well he deserved these honourable titles. His eulogist describes the power which he held over him during thirty years of friendly intercourse, in which he was privileged to look up to his "guide, philosopher and friend." His disciple was but two-and-twenty years old when he first made the acquaintance of Posthumus, who became more and more deeply seated in his affections as life advanced. Van der Zwaag utters some reproaches upon his countrymen for not being fully alive to the many excellences of his master; but he justly says: "Posthumus was too proud, too high-minded, too self-supported, to seek a shadowy and passing popularity; it is often carelessly scattered and easily won; but in his writings Posthumus lives and will continue to live; his is not a decaying but a growing lustre; his fame will widen and strengthen as it widens." Besides the writings of which we have spoken, there were many others of so local a character that they would have little interest for our readers; and it may be felt by some that a name heard perhaps for the first time by many of them, has occupied more pages of the Christian Reformer than it could have any claim to fill. *Speramus meliora.*

B.

Digitized by Google

SOME PRE-REQUISITES FOR SUNDAY-SCHOOL TEACHERS:

A PAPER READ AT THE MEETING OF THE MANCHESTER SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION.

BY THE REV. JAMES C. STREET.

WHEN Sunday-schools were established, there prevailed a much greater popular ignorance than is the case now; and it was absolutely necessary, if they were to be made of any real, practical utility, that they should aim at furnishing their scholars with the instruments by which knowledge was to be obtained. Their aim was very modest and unambitious. What they sought to do was, to bring out of the streets and lanes the ragged and ignorant children who swarmed there, and to find them something to do which should give them more useful occupation and lift them into a different moral atmosphere. To this was added a simple, elementary instruction in reading and writing, and, as far as practicable, the inculcation of religious precepts and the exhibition of a religious example.

When it is remembered out of what a deep and godly earnestness these Sunday-schools sprang, what strong and pious influences were at work to lead men and women to undertake such duties—in one word, how the spirit of God found its expression in the life of those early teachers, it will not excite surprise that while the mere secular training was inadequately given, the religious instruction should have been of the most devout and solemn character. A long practical acquaintance with Sunday-schools and with the literature created by them, and, especially, a free interchange of thought with men and women, now venerable in years, whose connection with Sunday-schools extends over nearly half a century, lead me to the conclusion that the materials and instruments for giving secular instruction in the early schools were limited and imperfect, while the simple and unaffected piety of the workers gave, unconsciously, a preponderance to the purely religious teaching. While only here and there we find a man or a woman who has gained much secular knowledge from the early Sunday-schools, we find a host start forth to tell us of the religious impressions they there received, and the holy life into which they there were led. Thus while in many cases the aim was principally a secular one, the deep devotion of spirit manifested by the teachers, their purity of disposition, their devotedness of purpose and their beauty of life, led to a powerful religious result. It would be impossible to over-estimate the influence those schools exercised on the practical godliness of this nation. I well remember having heard men and women, with the tears of gratitude in their eyes, speak in glowing terms of the spiritual health and strength they had gained from the Sunday-school. How could it be otherwise, when the teachers with their childlike love and piety were influenced, even more

Digitized by Google

than they knew, with an overpowering desire to win souls to God, and to gather a harvest-sheaf for heaven? The familiar tones of some old teachers, who had few advantages of culture and few graces of utterance, come back to me from my boyhood's days as I call up my own experience of the Sunday-school. The affectionate counsels, warnings, rebukes and pleadings, are now like spiritual friends to help me on my way of life. Was it not likely that from such teachings religious influences should naturally come?

But while this was the result which came from the early Sunday-schools, a very different one seems to characterize those of to-day. I refer not merely to our Unitarian schools, but also to those of other denominations. *They* have long since come to the conclusion that religious culture is the main purpose of the Sunday-school; and *we*, after long and wearisome debates and experiments, are now in general agreement with them. Though, in deference to local wants and peculiarities, we still in many schools devote our time and strength to secular training, yet we are pretty well agreed as to the great object which should ever be before us, namely, to call forth the religious feelings of those committed to our care. Yet, notwithstanding this, it appears to me that the Sunday-school of to-day, with these aims, is less successful in the development of the religious life, and more so in giving secular training, than at the earlier period to which I have referred. How this has been brought about it is not difficult to say. The large extension of educational facilities in recent years, and the wonderful improvement in the methods of teaching, have combined to give a more systematic, and consequently a more successful, turn to the instructions which have been imparted. The secular training incidentally given even in religious lessons has been more potent in results than that formerly given in Sunday-schools with the avowed purpose of giving the instruments of knowledge. Religious instruction has been given in a way which tended rather to the impartation of knowledge and mental discipline than to the production of spiritual fruits. Teachers have frequently utterly misapprehended the nature and character of religious instruction: while they have refused to spend their time in teaching the alphabet of a secular education, they have felt they were doing their right work in teaching the history, geography and antiquities of the Bible, utterly overlooking the fact that at the best these are but the alphabet, or a portion of the alphabet, of a religious education. Many a scholar who has been under teachers of this kind could pass a pretty close examination in the book of Genesis or the travels of Paul, who would be utterly dumbfounded if you were to ask him the nature of sin or holiness, or the signs of the religious life. But I am inclined to think that the comparative failure of Sunday-schools does not come so much from a misapprehension

Digitized by Google

of the precise character of the work to be done or the methods of teaching to be adopted, as from the fact that the peculiar spirit which should actuate their promoters has hardly yet been rightly seized. If this be so, we need be at no loss to account for the apparent inconsistent facts, that while it is generally recognized that the main object of the Sunday-school is to develop the religious life, yet the result seems to be rather to improve the character of the secular training.

I think it is now generally admitted that our Sunday-schools are intended for nurseries of the universal church, training-grounds for heaven. They are the gathering-place of young immortals who are to be trained up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. "The great end of Sunday-schools," says Dr. Channing, "is to awaken the soul of the pupil, to bring his understanding, conscience and heart, into earnest, vigorous action on religious and moral truth, to excite and cherish in him spiritual life. Inward life, force, activity, this it must be our aim to call forth and build up in all our teachings of the young, especially in religious teaching." Accepting this as the sublime work of the Sunday-school, we are prepared to ask what are some essential pre-requisites of those who engage in the office of teaching?

As I am leaving out secular teaching as one of the aims of the Sunday-school teacher, though I am aware that *will* and *must* incidentally be given, so I shall not enter upon the consideration of the mere intellectual qualifications of the teacher. I shall take it for granted that no man or woman will undertake such an office who does not feel on that ground a competency to teach. I pass at once to consider some other pre-requisites.

I observe, first, that the teacher needs a practical, personal experience of the religious life.

There is a sublime mystery underlying this old phraseology, and a fulness of beauty which can only be understood by those who have a true experience of what it is. The aim of the Sunday-school I have said is religious; it follows naturally that the teacher shall be religious. Else how shall the end be gained? What should we think of a man who undertook to occupy the chair of classics at one of our universities who had never heard of Homer or scanned a page of Virgil? Or of a man who assumed the command of an army who knew nothing of military tactics and strategy? Is it less a folly for a man to undertake to be an instructor in religion who has no living and experimental acquaintance with that he would teach? In such a case the teacher might profitably change places with his pupils, for there is in childhood a natural piety so deep and reverential that all its daily life is silently moulded thereby. Any man who comes into such a work without this essential qualification is a hindrance instead of a help to the cause of God. There go

Digitized by Google

forth from the heart of childhood such tendrils of trust and love, that if they are fixed by the loving hand of genuine experience upon the fruitful soil of faith and hope, they will firmly grasp the eternal verities and send forth their sap so joyously as to give health and vigour to the religious life; but if these tendrils are neglected by the unskilful husbandman and left to perish in the cold or on the barren rock, or if they are permitted to fix themselves in rank and poisonous ground, what painful consequences must ensue! The teacher of religion must himself be permeated with the life of God; the love and trust of his nature must be manifest to the swift instincts of childhood; he must be kindled with religious emotions and sensitive to all higher influences. The great end of his labours must ever be before his eyes, that he may not be daunted by disappointments or dismayed by difficulties. He must be a man who has seized the subtle essence of true religion both in its relation to God and to his brethren; who lays firm hold of piety as our relation to God, and duty as our relation to man. He must have the graces and dispositions which go to make up a glorious human life, and be alive to the beauty and truth of what Wordsworth says—"The child is father to the man." It seems to me a mere truism that our teachers must be religious. Until they are so, whatever secular results may follow their labours, we cannot look for a godly earnestness of life and a thronging crowd of young souls giving a glory and success to the operations of our churches. We want, combined with our higher *aim*, the deeper piety and the more burning zeal which characterized the early efforts of the founders of Sunday-schools.

Secondly, the teacher needs a vivid conception of the greatness of the work he is undertaking.

There is a way of doing greatly the common things of life, and of making grand and noble even the humblest avocations. Humble duties then build up the soul to far cathedral heights of excellence. But there is a way also of dragging down to a grovelling level the loftiest and noblest works. Then they fail to give the discipline for which they were sent. Now I think many of the early teachers, and some few modern teachers, were and are filled with such an exalted conception of their work, that they of necessity reap a rich reward; while, on the contrary, there are many who have formed so poor an idea of the duty they have undertaken, that it would be simple folly to look for any great results. What can you expect from that teacher who goes to a Sunday-school as to dull, dreary task, or who feels it his business merely to keep children out of mischief or from the debasing influences of the street,—who imagines he has done his duty when he has taught his scholars to spell difficult words, or to answer questions from the Bible? I will not say his time is wasted, and that he produces no good results; but I will say, in consequence of

Digitized by Google

his own poor and false idea, he has failed in gathering a true harvest. How different will be the results gained by that teacher who looks upon the Sunday-school as the garden of the Lord, where young plants are to be nurtured for heaven; who feels that his work is the gravest and the greatest, having to deal with immortal souls at the very period when they are best prepared to receive the deepest impressions; who believes that he is to marshal those young souls through new realms, and to open in them the eye to see spiritual beauties, and the ear to hear spiritual harmonies, so that on all sides they feel themselves enshrined by solemn mysteries and encompassed by the living God! With such a conception of his work, the teacher will be quickened in the divine life, and his scholars will feel themselves gradually and silently passing into a new and rarefied atmosphere of holiness and peace. Let the teacher but have a sufficiently grand idea of his work, and he will be rejoiced with the new results which flow from his efforts. For my own part, I must say that I know not of any work under heaven more important, more honourable, or which is attended with more solemn consequences.

Thirdly, the teacher, being personally religious, and having a vivid conception of the greatness of his work, should possess the faculty of imparting what he knows and feels, and should himself be a learner among learners.

Of the power to impart to others a true idea of our knowledge and emotions, I cannot say much. It is impossible to lay down any precise rules. I believe that the truly religious soul and the reverent nature will as freely and as spontaneously reveal themselves as the rose gives forth its delicious fragrance. Religion cannot be concealed; it glows in the expression of the eye, trembles in the tone of the voice, and thrills with the touch of the hand. Children detect its presence by a natural instinct; for as the pure in heart see God, so they instantaneously perceive the presence of religion. Yet, though this is so, it is possible to cultivate to an almost supernatural extent the power to impart religious impressions. I can well remember a beloved teacher of my own, now in heaven, whose tone and touch thrilled us with religious awe, and whose way of taking the common things of life and using them as vehicles for religious instruction, making everything holy, will never be forgotten by those who were privileged to receive his instructions. Many a lesson did we learn from him. But he sat at the feet of one to whom also we can go. The Sunday-school teacher can have no guide in this matter like Jesus of Nazareth. He taught with a simplicity and power such as the world has never seen in any other. I need not give illustrations of this; for, as you know, the New Testament abounds with them. But the teacher should

Digitized by Google

cultivate by constant practice the power, by word and look and touch, to convey religious lessons.

I have also said he should be a learner among learners. Let no teacher suppose that he cannot learn from his pupils. Some one has said, if you wish to learn, begin to teach; this is emphatically true in religious matters. The child's nature is a mirror for the Almighty; the dreamy boundlessness of everything there is the best revelation of the infinite, and the simple trustfulness is the best example for mature life. When teacher and scholar sit together looking up into the face of the All-Father, the intellect of the one is made reverent by the love of the other, and both are strengthened. The artless simplicity of childhood sometimes is the best medium by which to see the divinest truths; for there is a beautiful agreement between the holiness which springs from conflict and experience, and the innocence which is fresh from the hands of God; and so through the wondering questionings and startling prattle of a child, the teacher gains a knowledge of sublimest truths. The teacher gives of his experience, the child of his reverence; the teacher of his ascertained facts, the child of his openness of soul. If the teacher will only understand this, he will look reverently into the open souls of his scholars and find God there, and by his experience will turn the child's eye within upon itself that it may see the loving Father.

This combination of the faculty to impart religious knowledge and the perception of a joint discipleship with his pupils, will make the teacher more successful in his work than he had ever before conceived, and cause the fruits of Righteousness and the flowers of Hope to ripen and blossom in abundance and beauty.

Such, then, are some pre-requisites for a Sunday-school teacher: without them he may certainly do some good, but not the highest; with them he will find that he has discovered the way to make the Sunday-school answer its glorious purpose, and promote the happiness of man and the glory of God. Cultivate these graces and dispositions, my friends, and the religious results which shall follow your labours will be more complete and more enduring than those even which followed the early labours of your devout and godly, though uncultured, predecessors.

RELIGION BY INDICTMENT.

A ROBBER and a murderer must be knocked on the head like mad dogs; but we have no great opinion of the possibility of indicting men into piety, or of calling in the Quarter Sessions to the aid of religion.—SYDNEY SMITH.

Digitized by Google

THE CHARACTER OF ST. PETER.

Lord Lyttleton, in the early part of his excellent tract on the Conversion of St. Paul, says, "I thought the conversion and the apostleship of St. Paul alone, closely considered, was of itself a demonstration sufficient to prove Christianity to be a divine revelation." In the time in which we live, when not only are attacks continually made by unbelievers on the Christian religion, but when it is threatened with far greater danger by denials by professed Christians of some of the most important, and most strongly asserted facts of the gospel history—the effect of which, if successful, can be no other than to discredit the whole narrative contained in the four Gospels—it cannot, we think, be deemed ill-timed or useless to call the attention of the readers of the Christian Reformer to any part of the evangelical history which may afford an argument in support of its authority. Such an one, we have long thought, is to be found in a consideration of the account of the apostle Peter in the New Testament. We shall endeavour to shew, in the following remarks, that the narrative in question has such marks of truth and reality as must command the assent of every serious and impartial inquirer; and we shall then consider what result may rationally be deduced from the truth of the narrative in question.

St. Peter, during the life of our Saviour, and for some time afterwards, is represented in the Gospels and in the Acts of the Apostles as taking the most prominent part among the apostles. The account of his sayings and doings is full enough of details to enable us to form an accurate notion of his character. Keeping out of sight, as far as it is possible to do so, our opinions on the subject in hand, let us direct our attention to the facts stated by the evangelists, and ask ourselves, whether the narrative to which our attention is to be directed appears in its nature and character to be a credible account, or whether it bears the marks of a fictitious narration. By whomsoever, and at whatever time, the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles were written, it is abundantly clear, from the character of their contents, that the object of their authors was to promote and advance the Christian religion in the world. Now, in attempting to give a rational interpretation of any book, one of the surest and most important rules of interpretation is to keep in view the purpose for which it was written, and to explain it in the manner most consistent with that purpose. In reading, for instance, Hume's account of the civil war in the time of Charles the First, the reader soon becomes aware that the sentiments of the historian were strong in favour of the King; and he will be satisfied that if any undue colouring is given to the statement of facts, the leaning of the historian was on the side of the King and against the Parliament. On the other hand, if we read the works of a very able

Digitized by Google

living writer, Mr. Forster, on the same period of our history, as we know that his views are directly opposite to those of Hume, we shall be prepared to find that, if there be any prejudice discoverable in his writings, it will be against the King and in favour of the Parliament. If we read the works of two contemporary authors on the same subject, Milton and Lord Clarendon, both of whom were personally engaged in the contest, we shall find these distinguished writers actuated by precisely opposite opinions and feelings,—both unfairly partial to the party to which they belonged, and both giving an unjust and unfavourable colouring to their accounts of the sentiments and conduct of their opponents, and both writing with a virulent spirit incompatible with the dignified and impartial spirit in which history should always be written. We may therefore justly assume that the authors of the books of the New Testament to whom we are indebted for an account of the life of St. Peter, will give the most favourable view which the circumstances admit of, of his conduct and character. We will now proceed to lay before the reader all the information which the New Testament gives us respecting the apostle Peter.

He is first mentioned, in the second chapter of St. John's Gospel, as having been brought to Jesus by his brother Andrew. The only remarkable part of this transaction is, that Jesus says to Simon, which was his original name, "Thou art Simon, the son of Jonah. Thou shalt be called Cephas, which is, by interpretation, a stone." The words Cephas and Peter, by the last of which the apostle has been generally called, have the same meaning; and it is afterwards explained by Jesus himself to signify that Peter was a rock on whom he would establish his church. Peter did not at this time become a regular follower of Christ. On a subsequent occasion, he and his brother Andrew, and shortly after James and John, were called to be regular attendants on Jesus, and to take an important part in the promulgation of the religion which he was to establish in the world. Shortly after this event, Jesus cured the mother-in-law of Peter, who was lying ill with a fever; but there is nothing in this transaction illustrative of the character of Peter. In the fifth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, we are informed that Jesus went into Peter's ship, in which he had toiled all night without success to catch fish, and that at the command of Jesus he let down his net and caught a great multitude of fishes. Believing this event to be miraculous, Peter is filled with wonder and awe, and falling down on his knees, he says, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man." Jesus, however, says to him, "Fear not; from henceforth thou shalt catch men." The next narrative in which Peter is concerned, is the restoring to life by Jesus of the daughter of Jairus, on which occasion Peter, James and John are allowed to enter the house of Jairus with our Lord, this being

Digitized by Google

the first time when these three disciples are distinguished from the others, but of which distinction we shall find several other instances in the progress of the gospel history. After this, Jesus selects twelve of his disciples to be apostles. The only circumstance which requires particular observation in respect to our subject is, that in all the lists of the apostles which are contained in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, and in the Acts of the Apostles, although there are many changes in the order of their names, that of Peter uniformly stands first, and we shall find that he always took the leading part among the apostles.

The next incident in the account of the apostle gives us the first indication of the peculiarities of his character. It is given by the evangelist Matthew (xiv.). After mentioning that the disciples had by the order of their Master gone into a ship to cross the lake of Tiberias, he goes on (ver. 25—32) as follows: "But the ship was now in the midst of the sea, tossed with waves: for the wind was contrary. And in the fourth watch of the night Jesus went unto them, walking on the sea. And when the disciples saw him walking on the sea, they were troubled, saying, It is a spirit; and they cried out for fear. But straightway Jesus spake unto them, saying, Be of good cheer; it is I; be not afraid. And Peter answered him and said, Lord, if it be thou, bid me come unto thee on the water. And he said, Come. And when Peter was come down out of the ship, he walked on the water, to go to Jesus. But when he saw the wind boisterous, he was afraid; and beginning to sink, he cried, saying, Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus stretched forth his hand, and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt? And when they were come into the ship, the wind ceased." This passage shews us two traits in the character of Peter—an impulsive temper, and a want of steady resolution. We shall see, in the progress of the narrative, how far his subsequent conduct is marked by these characteristic features.

The most important passage in the New Testament respecting Peter is Matthew xvi. 15—19: "He (Jesus) saith unto them, But whom say ye that I am? And Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Peter's answer is given in different words, but to the same effect, in the other Gospels,—Mark giving it, "Thou art the Christ," and Luke, "the Christ of God." This is the first time that our Lord declares the great

Digitized by Google

power which he will confer on his apostles, and it is said of Peter only; but in the eighteenth chapter of Matthew, the same power is conferred on the other apostles. Notwithstanding, however, the honourable distinction here conferred on Peter, we find him still very deficient in faith in his Master's predictions; for in the same sixteenth chapter, when Jesus declares that he must suffer many things and be killed at Jerusalem, Peter not only disbelieves him, but proceeds to rebuke him, saying, "Be it far from thee, Lord: this shall not be unto thee;" which draws from Jesus the severe rebuke, "Get thee behind me, Satan (that is, thou adversary): thou art an offence unto me: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but those that be of men." So far was the most distinguished of the apostles from fully understanding the character of that religion which their Master was sent into the world to establish. After this time, we find Jesus taking Peter, James and John, into a high mountain, where Moses and Elijah appear, and Jesus, says St. Matthew, "was transfigured before them, and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light." Mark and Luke give a similar account of this transaction,—the former, however, saying nothing about the shining of his countenance, and Luke only saying, "the fashion of his countenance was altered." Peter then says (Matt. xvii. 4), "Lord, it is good for us to be here: if thou wilt, let us make here three tabernacles; one for thee, and one for Moses, and one for Elias." The accounts of the other evangelists are essentially the same, but with some difference of language. There is nothing particular to remark here, except that Peter took the prominent part, as we shall find he usually did, among the apostles. The next time that Peter is particularly mentioned is when the withered fig-tree was blasted; and he is afterwards selected with John to prepare the paschal supper. In these events, however, nothing is found to illustrate the peculiar character of the apostle. The occurrences which took place after the paschal supper deserve our most serious attention. They are thus given by St. John (xiii. 3—10): "Jesus knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands, and that he was come from God, and went to God; he riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel, and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a bason, and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. Then cometh he to Simon Peter: and Peter said unto him, Lord, dost thou wash my feet? Jesus answered and said unto him, What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter. Peter saith unto him, Thou shalt never wash my feet. Jesus answered him, If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me. Simon Peter saith unto him, Lord, not my feet only, but also my hands and my head. Jesus saith to him, He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." This inci-

Digitized by Google

dent strongly shews the earnestness of Peter's character and his veneration of his Master. In the same chapter we find Peter beckoning to John to inquire of Jesus which of the disciples would betray him. We will now give an extract from St. Matthew's Gospel (xxxvi. 31—35): "Then saith Jesus unto them, All ye shall be offended because of me this night: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep of the flock shall be scattered abroad. But after I am risen again, I will go before you into Galilee. Peter answered and said unto him, Though all men shall be offended because of thee, yet will I never be offended. Jesus said unto him, Verily I say unto thee, that this night, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. Peter said unto him, Though I should die with thee, yet will I not deny thee. Likewise also said all the disciples." The account given by St. Mark is to the same purport, except that he says that the words of Jesus were, "Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice" (Mark xiv. 30). Respecting this discrepancy, Dr. Carpenter says (Harmony of the Gospels, p. 253, note): "St. Matthew's words relate to the cock crowing, that which occurred about the commencement of the last watch; St. Mark's, to the earlier cock crowing as well. This evangelist probably learnt the exact expression from the apostle Peter himself." It is a well-known ancient tradition that St. Mark's Gospel was written at the suggestion of St. Peter, or at least under his inspection. There seems no reasonable ground to doubt the truth of this tradition. Observe here, that, although all the disciples profess their resolution never to desert their Master, Peter is the first to make that profession, and is thus the guide and example of the rest. Next follows an account of the most interesting and affecting scene in the Garden of Gethsemane, when Jesus, having taken with him Peter, James and John, and having directed them to watch, goes away and prays, and on his return finds them asleep; and the same thing occurs a second, and a third time. He then rebukes Peter in the first instance, although they were all equally to be blamed, thus giving to Peter the most prominent station. Shortly after this, our Lord is betrayed by Judas Iscariot, and falls into the hands of his inveterate enemies. Here again Peter shews his zeal for his Master by drawing his sword and cutting off the ear of Malchus, one of the high-priest's servants.

We have now arrived at the most important fact in the life of the apostle, so far as this inquiry is concerned—his lamentable denial of his Master. We will give St. Mark's account (xiv. 66—72). The narratives of this transaction in the other evangelists agree in the fact of Peter's having denied three times any knowledge of Jesus, but they differ as to the persons to whom the denial was made, and as to the language used by the apostle and by those who questioned him. This discrepancy would be

Digitized by Google

fatal to the credibility of the narratives, if we were to hold (as many profess to do) that the Holy Scriptures are all written by the inspiration of God; but to those who consider the Gospels as credible narratives, and ascribe inspiration to those parts only which are said to come from God, the differences between the several Gospels are much the same as constantly occur in courts of justice, when no reasonable person distrusts the testimony of witnesses who agree in the important facts of the case, because they give different accounts of immaterial circumstances which made no deep or correct impression on their minds. Such discrepancies, indeed, tend to establish the truth of the testimony; and a complete agreement on all the minute details of a case will give rise to a suspicion that the whole story is a fabrication. Pretended alibis are sometimes supported with this detailed consistency. We proceed, then, with the account of St. Mark: "And as Peter was beneath in the palace, there cometh one of the maids of the high-priest: and when she saw Peter warming himself, she looked upon him, and said, And thou also wast with Jesus of Nazareth. But he denied, saying, I know not, neither understand I what thou sayest. And he went out into the porch; and the cock crew. And a maid saw him again, and began to say to them that stood by, This is one of them. And he denied it again. And a little after, they that stood by said again to Peter, Surely thou art one of them: for thou art a Galilean, and thy speech agreeth thereto. But he began to curse and to swear, saying, I know not this man of whom ye speak. And the second time the cock crew. And Peter called to mind the word that Jesus said unto him, Before the cock crow twice, thou shalt deny me thrice. And when he thought thereon, he wept." Matthew and Luke say, he wept *bitterly*.

At this period all the apostles had forsaken Jesus. John alone returned, and was present at the crucifixion.

After the resurrection of Jesus, we have the following narrative (John xx. 1—8:) "The first day of the week cometh Mary Magdalene early, when it was yet dark, unto the sepulchre, and seeth the stone taken away from the sepulchre. Then she runneth, and cometh to Simon Peter, and to the other disciple whom Jesus loved, and saith unto them, They have taken away the Lord out of the sepulchre, and we know not where they have laid him. Peter therefore went forth, and that other disciple, and came to the sepulchre. So they ran both together, and the other disciple did outrun Peter, and came first to the sepulchre. And he stooping down and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying; yet went he not in. Then cometh Simon Peter following him, and went into the sepulchre, and seeth the linen clothes lie, and the napkin, that was about his head, not lying with the linen clothes, but wrapped together in a place by itself. Then went in also that other disciple, which came first to the

Digitized by Google

sepulchre, and he saw, and believed." That is, he believed that the body had been taken away; for it seems clear from the subsequent narratives that none of the apostles believed that Jesus had been raised from the dead, previously to his appearing to them personally. Here we find John waiting till Peter's arrival before he entered the sepulchre, and the latter taking the leading part he had been accustomed to do among the apostles.

Nothing particularly relating to Peter occurs till the last recorded appearance of Jesus, excepting that on his ascension. He had appeared to seven of his disciples as they were fishing; and after having, by their Master's direction, cast their net on the right side of the vessel and caught a great many fishes, the following narrative is given by the apostle John, who was present (xxi. 15—22): "So when they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my lambs. He saith to him again the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? He saith unto him, Yea, Lord; thou knowest that I love thee. He saith unto him, Feed my sheep. He saith unto him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said unto him, Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee. Jesus saith unto him, Feed my sheep. Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest; but when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not. This spake he, signifying by what death he should glorify God. And when he had spoken this, he saith unto him, Follow me. Then Peter, turning about, seeth the disciple whom Jesus loved following; which also leaned on his breast at supper, and said, Lord, which is he that betrayeth thee? Peter seeing him saith to Jesus, Lord, and what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me." In the reiteration of the question, Lovest thou me? the second and third time, Jesus probably referred, in the gentlest way, to the three denials of Peter, which must have deeply affected him. The apostle John tells us expressly, that the following words of Jesus refer to Peter's death by crucifixion. In the question of Peter respecting the fate of John, we see another instance of the impulsive nature which always led him to take a forward part in whatever was going on.

We have now given all the passages in the Gospels in which Peter takes a prominent part; and we will proceed to see what account is given in the Acts of the Apostles as to his conduct after the ascension of Jesus.

So far were the apostles from understanding the nature and

Digitized by Google

spirit of the religion which they were destined to promulgate and establish, that, although Jesus had plainly said that his kingdom was not of this world, they still looked to the restoration of the kingdom of Israel. Their question to their Master was (Acts i.), "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" Our Lord's answer fully explains the nature of their commission, and the means by which it was to be accomplished (Acts i. 7, 8): "And he said unto them, It is not for you to know the times or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you; and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth." This promise of the Holy Spirit to be given to the apostles was fulfilled on the day of Pentecost; previously to which day, however, we find Peter proposing to the disciples to appoint a successor to Judas; which was done accordingly by the election of Matthias.

When the day of Pentecost arrived, the inspiration of the Spirit was given to the disciples, and they were enabled to instruct those who, from different parts of the world, had assembled to keep the Pentecost at Jerusalem, each in their own tongue. Peter then addresses the persons present, asserting the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, and that God had made him "both Lord and Christ" (Acts ii. 36). We will here quote some of the words which are spoken of the resurrection of Jesus (ver. 24, 32): "Whom God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death, because it was not possible that he should be holden of it: this Jesus hath God raised up, whereof we are all witnesses."

The next incident mentioned in the book of the Acts of the Apostles is that of Peter and John going together to the Temple, and seeing a man, lame from his birth, laid at the gate of the Temple, whom Peter cures of his lameness. He then addresses the bystanders, again asserting the resurrection and the divine authority of Jesus. Peter and John are then taken into custody, and brought before the high-priest and others. Peter addresses them and vindicates what he had done, and asserts the divine authority of Jesus. The apostles are then released; but are charged not to speak, nor teach in the name of Jesus, with which injunction they refuse compliance. After this occurs a transaction in which, as usual, Peter takes the leading part. A man named Ananias had sold some land, and professed to have given the money paid for it to the disciples, but had kept back part of it. Both he and his wife Sapphira having asserted that the whole price of the land had been paid over to the disciples, they are both struck dead as a punishment for their falsehood, Peter having previously addressed each of them separately in very severe terms.

The apostles, having persisted in preaching the gospel, are

Digitized by Google

again brought before the high-priest and put into prison, from which they are miraculously delivered. The apostles are again taken before the high-priest; and then follows the wise counsel of Gamaliel, part of which, and its results, we shall now shew (Acts v. 38—42). "And now I say unto you, Refrain from these men, and let them alone: for if this counsel or this work be of men, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it; lest haply ye be found even to fight against God. And to him they agreed: and when they had called the apostles and beaten them, they commanded that they should not speak in the name of Jesus, and let them go. And they departed from the presence of the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer shame for his name. And daily in the temple, and in every house, they ceased not to teach and preach Jesus Christ."

The next transaction recorded of Peter is his being sent with John by the apostles to Samaria, where the gospel had been preached by Philip the deacon. On this occasion, a man named Simon, who had pretended to practise sorcery, but had been converted by Philip, offered money to Peter to confer on him the power of giving the Holy Spirit; for which request he is most severely rebuked by the apostle.

Peter, at the request of Cornelius, was the first of the apostles who preached the gospel to the Gentiles. It is at this time that he makes the declaration, which Christians in all ages have unhappily been very slow to admit, and which indeed, we fear, is now adopted by a very small proportion of those who call themselves Christians (Acts x. 34, 35), "Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons; but that in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." Even after this we find that the want of steadiness and consistency in the character of Peter is again made apparent. This appears from the account of his conduct given by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians (ii. 11—14): "But when Peter was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from James, he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing those which were of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that Barnabas also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto Peter before them all, If thou, being a Jew, livest after the manner of the Gentiles, and not as do the Jews, why compellest thou the Gentiles to live as do the Jews?" Peter, on his return to Jerusalem, is blamed by the Jews for going to the Gentiles; but, on his explaining the circumstances of the case, his accusers are satisfied. After this,

Digitized by Google

Peter is imprisoned by Herod; but he is delivered out of prison by an angel.

A dispute having arisen at Antioch, by some Jews having insisted that the Gentile converts must be circumcised, Paul and Barnabas are sent to Jerusalem to consult the apostles and elders on that subject. On that occasion Peter addressed the assembly on behalf of the Gentiles. After Paul and Barnabas were heard, James addresses the meeting, and proposes a resolution, which is agreed to, by which it is declared in favour of the Gentiles on the question in hand. This is the last account we have of Peter. The Epistles ascribed to him do not, we think, bear any relation to the matter in hand.

We will now ask our readers whether, on taking a retrospect of the character of the apostle as displayed in the texts of the New Testament quoted above, it shall appear to them to be a real or a fictitious character. Let them as far as possible lay aside every preconceived opinion and all notion of divine authority in the narratives, and consider the New Testament as a book with which they had been previously unacquainted, in forming an opinion on the question submitted to them. We are willing, for the present, to omit everything of a miraculous character, and shall therefore lay no stress on Peter's attempt to walk on the sea, or to the claim of himself and the other disciples to the miraculous gifts which are said to have been conferred on them on the day of Pentecost,—which, indeed, have no particular bearing and afford no striking illustration on the peculiar character of the apostle. Independently, then, of these real or supposed facts, we ask whether the character of Peter is not marked by peculiarities which give it at least the appearance of reality? We find him on all occasions zealous, active, and the foremost and most prominent character of the body to which he belonged, and we also find him wavering in his conduct and greatly wanting in steadiness and firmness of character. This weakness appears in one of the latest accounts of him—his conduct at Antioch, for which St. Paul justly rebukes him. A character so marked gives a strong impression of reality. In works of fiction, a skilful author will not fail to give such characters to the persons of his story as will interest his readers during the progress of his work; but it very rarely happens that the impression of reality remains when the book is closed. Very few indeed are the authors who possess the marvellous power of drawing characters so apparently real as to make us feel as if we knew them as we do our own friends and acquaintance. Considering the number and variety of his characters, Shakspeare is in this particular unrivalled. A few others have been able to give this appearance of reality to the creations of their imagination. Those who have wept over the sorrows of Clarisse Harlowe, find it difficult to believe her to

Digitized by Google

be an unreal person. Childhood firmly believes, and mature years find it difficult to reject, the reality of Robinson Crusoe and Friday. We cannot call to mind any other author equal to the three we have mentioned in this respect. The four Gospels are evidently the productions of four individuals, each being distinguished by peculiarities of style and manner, which make it perfectly clear that the same person could not have been the author of them all. There is nothing to shew that St. Luke was not the author of the book of Acts, which is usually ascribed to him. In the Epistle to the Galatians, we have an anecdote of St. Peter given by St. Paul. In all the narratives of these five writers, we find the leading traits of St. Peter's character stated with perfect consistency. The Gospels are written with the greatest simplicity, and exhibit none of the arts of practised authorship. St. Paul, indeed, appears to have been a man of education and learning; but all his writings are marked by honesty of purpose, a deep earnestness of spirit, and a devoted zeal to the duties of his mission, utterly at variance with an attempt to impose on his correspondents. We may then safely conclude, that it is morally impossible that the evangelists had the ability, or that St. Paul had the will, to impose a fictitious narrative on the world. It follows, then, that their accounts of St. Peter are true.

Although, however, this view of the subject is to our minds quite satisfactory, we have to bring forward a still stronger argument to shew the impossibility that the account of St. Peter in the New Testament can be a fiction.

We have already said that it is obviously impossible to assign any other leading motive to the authors of the four Gospels but a desire to support and advance the Christian religion. The question, by whom and at what time the Gospels were written, has no bearing on this matter. It may be uncertain who wrote them, and at what distance of time after the transactions which they narrate they were written; but as to the object of those who wrote them, there can be no reasonable doubt. Writing for the purpose just mentioned, they must have been very careful not to put into their narratives anything unfavourable to the character of those who took the most prominent part in the promulgation of the Christian religion, unless they were fully convinced of its truth. Now apply this to the story of Peter, to his wavering on many occasions, and particularly to his denial of his Master. What possible motive could these writers have had in giving such a minute account of Peter's lamentable and disgraceful conduct, not omitting the profaneness which aggravated his grievous offence, unless they had been fully aware of the truth of the story? Nothing but a love of truth and a strong principle of duty, which made them feel that they were bound to give the facts of their history as they really happened, could have prevented their omitting the account of the apostle's denial

Digitized by Google

of his Master, which so sadly disgraced him. Without hesitation, then, we come to the conclusion that the accounts of Peter in the New Testament cannot on any rational ground be rejected; and if they be true, we have a witness, who had the best means of information, to the doctrines which Jesus taught, to the miracles which he wrought, and to that fact, of unspeakable importance as an undeniable proof of the divinity of his mission, his bodily resurrection from the dead. And if the evangelists have faithfully narrated the facts which disclose the weak part of the character of Peter with accuracy and fidelity, that circumstance affords the strongest ground for believing in the general accuracy of their narratives; and the divine authority of the Christian religion is established on such evidence as a rational and impartial mind cannot resist.

THE CHURCH THAT MIGHT BE NATIONAL.

Idea of a National Church deeply rooted.

A NATIONAL CHURCH is a great and fascinating idea, notwithstanding the contrariety of forms which it has assumed. There is, indeed, little unity of theological belief or ensuing devotion or ceremony traceable in comparing together the national religions of ancient Egypt, Greece and Babylon, the modern established Christian churches of Russia, Italy, England and Scotland, the national Mahometan church of Turkey, and the Buddhism of ancient and modern China. These grotesque varieties may even throw an air of ridicule upon the idea of a National Church. Plainly enough, they disprove the pretensions of all such churches alike to be divine and infallible. They shew the strictly human basis and necessarily fallible character of them all. They put them all on the footing of the will of the nation or its rulers, in the past if not in the present.

A political but also popular idea.

But they hereby shew how strong is the human tendency towards the thing itself. They may bear, in every instance and at every step, plain traces of the politician's or statesman's hand; but this shews how strong a hold the idea itself has upon a nation's mind, to enable the politician or the statesman to use it for his purposes. We may prove the thing to be unphilosophical, perhaps absurd; yet it remains a prominent fact in human history. A nation without a church calling itself national, and once really so if not still, is quite an exceptional phenomenon.

English Church rests upon Acts of Parliament.

The Church of England (notwithstanding the far-fetched and mystical claims to divine authority and apostolic descent occasionally set up on its behalf) rests on Acts of Parliament as its foundation. By suc-

Digitized by Google

cessive Acts of Parliament its doctrines, services, powers and privileges were established; and by other Acts of Parliament it has been successively shorn of some of its most obnoxious powers. It is what it now is, and will be what it may in future, not through divine right, but through the nation's will as expressed in Parliament. It is the Nation's Church, whether truly national or not.

Divided feeling towards it. It cannot be denied that the idea of a National Church is, in this country, widely welcomed, and that the actual Church Establishment wields a strong influence, both religious and secular. But it is equally undeniable that the existing state of things within the Church is the reverse of satisfactory or hopeful to its most intelligent and religious well-wishers, and that it has lost its hold of so large a proportion of the people and has even excited so much active enmity, as to bring into question the appropriateness of the term *National* as applied to it.

Attitude of Science towards it. It is also abundantly plain, that the progress of science and the diffusion of general education have caused a great and still increasing divergence between the mixed philosophical and religious beliefs of the day and the unchanged formularies of three hundred years ago. Scientific men vainly endeavour to evade *religious* conclusions, and Churchmen as vainly denounce them for their scientific heresies.

Estimate of an outside spectator. Those who stand outside the Church of England, yet without feeling any active enmity towards it, may estimate, more clearly perhaps than its members in general, both the actual Church and the Church as it might and ought to be.

For Dissent is of various orders.

Various views of Dissenters. There are those with whom it is a principle of conscience to hold aloof from all State-established churches; who would still be Dissenters if their own creed and mode of worship were adopted; and who consistently endeavour to achieve the separation of Church and State in this kingdom. But there are others with whom Dissent is an unpleasant necessity; who do not without regret hold themselves aloof from the worship of their more numerous fellow-citizens, but find themselves excluded by the narrow beliefs and unconciliatory conditions imposed by the State Church upon its clergy most directly, and through them upon its laity. And there are many who, however unfavourably they may regard the union of Church and State, both in its past results and as a practical question for a new government in a new community, feel that the abstract question is out of place in England, because they cannot undo past history or defy the habits which have resulted; and therefore conclude that the true problem is to reform the Church of England and make it, as far as possible, national at last.

Digitized by Google

Two orders of Church advocates.

There are also two orders of Church advocates within the Establishment. There are those who blindly vindicate the Church as it is, and seem to regard it as requiring no reform and admitting no improvement; who would make no concession to the scientific demands of the age; but on the contrary would revive, if they could, the obsolete or dormant claims of the Church. And there are those, on the other hand, who vindicate the Church of England for what it ought to be rather than for what it is; whose theory of a National Establishment differs widely from the existing practice; and who justify their own continuance in the communion of the English Church by the hope of its speedy reformation.

Liberal Churchmen and Dissenters may agree in their theory.

Now the theoretical views of the liberal Dissenter may be not very dissimilar from those of this liberal class of Churchmen. They might agree in saying, "It cannot concern a State to develope as part of its own organization a machinery or system of relations founded on the possession of speculative truth. Speculative doctrines should be left to philosophical schools. A National Church must be concerned with the ethical developement of its members."* But the practical conduct of two such advocates of the same thing is different. The one stands within the pale, the other without; both alike disapproving the thing as it is. The latter is, from his position at any rate, the more disinterested judge, and is free to utter his whole mind on the many and complicated questions that present themselves. And if their theories of the Church that *ought to be* are nearly identical, it is right that two such advocates should earnestly consider and most conscientiously decide, what he who stands inside and he who stands outside the existing pale can respectively do towards bringing that better theory into practice. It is especially important that they should decide whether this great end can be promoted either by the liberal Dissenter going in, or the liberal Churchman coming out. For the appropriate action should follow the theory of what is right.

Idea of a truly National Church.

Let us first endeavour to do full justice to the idea of a really National Church.

Truly it is a large and lofty idea, whether capable of being realized or not. A nation is *one* in its interests, *one* in its general spirit and aims, *one* in its collective character and genius;—why not, to the same extent, *one* in its worship? Why should not the State (which represents the nation itself) provide the means of religious worship and instruction for the whole people? Charged with the physical maintenance of the destitute, why should it not also be called upon to take care that none perish for lack of spiritual food? This is the lower utili-

* Wilson on *the National Church*—Essays and Reviews, p. 195.

Digitized by Google

tarian view of the question. A higher view presents the ideal spectacle of united worship rising from a free people, who have common rights of citizenship and common courts of justice, and are yet more completely equal before the great God of nature and of grace. If there is a common religious sentiment or belief prevailing through the land, ought it not to express itself in national social worship? And would not a truly comprehensive and united Christian homage bind them in bonds of religious interest together? Comprehensive, free and progressive, or at least permissive of progress, are terms essential to the definition of a properly National Church.

Nothing short of national resources and national administration can reach the case. Independent voluntary exertions can never proportionately provide for religious worship in remote and thinly-peopled country districts, or in the destitute wildernesses of the large towns. The parochial system, which was once pretty fairly proportioned to the requirements of the country, not having possessed the power of expansion and self-adaptation which might and ought to be given to it, voluntary effort both within and without the Church has thus far very imperfectly met the changed and enlarged requirements. Chapels of ease and district churches, Roman Catholic, Protestant Dissenting and Methodist chapels, have been built wherever religious destitution has attracted the will and power—and often, it must in truth be added, as matter of sectarian rivalry rather than pure Christian beneficence.

National Education. If a national worship is a pleasing idea, a national education is a more palpable need. Institutions for worship are very naturally (though not necessarily) connected with institutions for education. And if the worship is truly national there is no need of keeping the two apart. But one of the most grievous consequences of the exclusive character of the English Church and of the ensuing multiplication of religious sects has been, that the field of education has witnessed the repetition of our theological disputes. Once the Church held a legal monopoly of the education of the British youth. But this legal restriction upon other teachers ceased soon after the legal recognition of Dissenting worship; and education has, alas! continued to be almost as sectarian as worship. Every sect almost has its own schools for its own children. The State has endeavoured, since the year 1839, to grapple with the educational question; and has thus far found no wiser or larger plan for England and Wales, than to assume, as a condition of its grants, that each school belongs to one religious sect or other,—or to require the reading of the Scriptures daily in those schools which are wider than a sect, sternly refusing help to the most necessitous and best-conducted schools that are of a purely secular kind. One does not willingly believe this State estimate of national feeling

Digitized by Google

to be correct, or doubt that England and Wales would have welcomed a more comprehensive scheme, when it has been found practicable in Ireland, for many years past, to conduct a united school system without making the Government responsible for directly religious teaching of any kind. However this may be, the evil of the English method is only too manifest; sectarian divisions being assumed, recognized and re-impressed, by the whole machinery of the Council of Education. There is also the same alternate waste and want of schools as of places of worship; the most needy localities being often neglected by all the sects, and *consequently* by the State (which only follows in their wake), while other places are overdone through the poor rivalries of Church and Dissenting schools. If, in years long past, the Church had been truly national,—founded, that is, upon the largest, widest and most general Christian belief, formed with a view to exclude as few persons as possible, and actually including the great bulk of the nation in its embrace,—it is certain that the progress of popular education might have been as much advanced through religious influences, as it has been in actual fact retarded and embittered by theological jealousies.

Two schemes of a National Church.

There are two leading ideas of nationality as characterizing a Church,—applicable, perhaps, to different states of the nation.

The one implies minute uniformity of doctrinal, or dogmatical, belief; the other implies unison in a few great beliefs, and perfect freedom for difference beyond. If the former be considered applicable to periods of popular ignorance when a few thinkers may define a belief for the many who do not think, the latter alone is applicable to periods of generally diffused education and mental activity. And the need of the former scarcely follows under the supposed conditions.

First, as based on Uniformity.

On the former of these ideas the Romish and Russian churches are founded; in which minute creeds, absolute church authority and active priestly interference forbid the exercise of all individuality of opinion, reducing religious instruction and worship to routine and condemning independent thought to silence.

The English Church.

It seems impossible to deny (especially if we recal the period of the Reformation in England) that the constitution of the English Church is essentially similar. It is, as its origin caused it to be, intensely and minutely dogmatical. Its practice may be modified now; but such is its constitution. The leading Reformers who had thrown off the authority of Rome, had no idea of welcoming all the natural results of free thought. They were alarmed at the immediate tendency to wide diversities of belief among themselves;

> "And back recoiled, they knew not why,
> E'en at the sound themselves had made."

Digitized by Google

They could not bear the reproaches of the Papal party upon their divisions and uncertainty of doctrine. To secure unity of doctrine among themselves became, inconsistently enough, their most earnest desire and aim. In spite of the significancy of their own act of revolting from Rome—that indelible declaration of the rights of each individual mind—they laboured hard to unite all Protestant Christendom in the uniform confession of absolute and necessary doctrines. Augsburg and Dort attempted what Nicea and Constance had failed to effect. The Protestants "built again that which they had destroyed,"—the idea of an authoritative and necessary creed. The Articles and Creeds adopted by the Reformers of the Church of England are strongly and minutely Calvinistic, and she has kept them unchanged to this hour. A spirit of compromise is indeed traceable in the Popish tone of certain parts of her service-book; and the prevalence of Anti-calvinistic doctrines among the clergy of a later day elicited the well-known comment of Lord Chatham: "We have a Calvinistic creed, a Popish liturgy and an Arminian clergy." The creed and liturgy are unchanged, and might seem to be unchangeable. When, on the Restoration, the Puritan clergy claimed the fulfilment of the Royal word, in the modification of a few matters, ceremonial rather than doctrinal, which they scrupled, the terms of subscription were, by the Act of Uniformity, drawn tighter than ever, for the very purpose of excluding them. The Church was *denationalized* by that Act. From that time and out of that Act Dissent has grown till, with its various sects, it claims more than half the nation.

Conditions required to make a Doctrinal Church National.

A church founded on minute articles can only claim to be considered national on the supposition that the nation is, at the time of its foundation, practically of one mind as to those articles. It can only remain national by providing for the revision of its articles and the reconstruction of its liturgy, either periodically or at such times as the demand for change shall express itself through an appointed medium. But even then, the very growth of opinion which should necessitate the change, would imply the existence of diversity, and thereby confute the fundamental assumption upon which such a church is built. And, in proportion as the nation advances in education and intelligence, that divergence of opinion from the old creeds must still increase; and the difficulty of reconstructing *minute* confessions so as to suit the nation's many beliefs must increase proportionately. Difficult as the settlement was in the days of Cranmer, its re-adjustment (on the basis of minute beliefs) would be impossible now. Those who, differing widely in opinion, bring themselves by one expedient or another to sign the Thirty-nine Articles, could not agree upon a set of new articles of equal minuteness, which, by expressing more freshly the views of one party, would, of course, more

Digitized by Google

directly militate against those of another. Dr. Vaughan, therefore, says: "A revision once effected must give a tenfold stringency to subscription." (Revision of the Liturgy, p. x.) On the supposition of a minutely dogmatical correction, this must be the case. The Dr. does not contemplate the possible alternative of a peace-making revision, which should strike out all the minute dogmatisms on which men necessarily differ. By this latter method of revision the stringency of dogma, instead of being increased, would be abolished; and unity, which is no longer possible on the basis of identity, might perhaps be founded upon that of acknowledged diversity.

Second, as providing for Diversity.

The alternative constitution of a truly National Church is that which should adopt the *minimum* of disputed or disputable beliefs, and thereby include the largest possible proportion of the nation, carefully leaving room and liberty for their natural diversities of belief and taste to develope themselves. And what then would be the *minimum* of prescribed or assumed beliefs?

Opinionative basis how far necessary.

Every church or religious organization, like every political or social one, implies or expresses a certain opinionative basis. A Christian church implies the belief that Christianity is divinely true. The earliest records of Christianity being the books of the New Testament, the opinion that Christianity is divinely true, implies the use of the New Testament as the basis of Christian worship and instruction. But then those books are very ancient, and their right use requires the same learning that is devoted to other books as ancient, and written like them in a language different from our own. And this study leads yet further back to the study of the still more ancient books of the Old Testament. It must, therefore, be the especial care of a truly National Church in an enlightened age, so to educate her clergy as to make them capable of explaining and interpreting those Scriptures as reasonably and wisely as other scholars interpret and explain the secular literature of the ancient world. *Therefore* she must not attempt to bind them down to any particular interpretive conclusions respecting scriptural facts or doctrines. Of course she must leave them intirely free to pursue knowledge and form their own opinions on all those subjects of general inquiry which cross and re-cross the direct lines of religious thought. Subscription to creeds and articles is therefore inconsistent with the real nationality of a church, being inconsistent with the natural freedom and diversity of human opinion.

Church of Geneva.

There is one National Church where these conditions are fulfilled;—only one in all Christendom, and that of small extent,—the National Church of Geneva. From the year 1725, it has refused to acknowledge any "confession of faith" whatever. The ordinance of the State, con-

Digitized by Google

firmed by the Venerable Company of Pastors in that year, says: "In order to avoid all danger, and that he who is received into the ministry may not hold any false doctrine, he is required to profess that of the holy prophets and apostles, as it is contained in the books of the Old and New Testament;—of which doctrine we have a summary in our catechism." At the same time, the pastors declare that this profession does not place their catechism on a level with the Scriptures, nor bind them to follow it in every respect; and, in point of fact, their catechism has been successively revised and altered, till, from being in 1725 the catechism as drawn up by Calvin, it is now destitute of every shadow of Calvinistic, and even of Trinitarian, doctrine. The Scriptures are thus the only acknowledged creed-book of the National Church of Geneva. The consequence is that, at the present time, its different congregations and pastors openly represent all the various shades of doctrinal belief from the highest Calvinism to the simplest Unitarianism. These differences are natural when minds are free. In Geneva, they are avowed and recognized as being contemplated and provided for in the National Church. In many other churches, and not least in the English, there are similar and perhaps equally wide diversities of belief; but, instead of being recognized, they are discountenanced as contrary to the design of the Church, and are occasionally prosecuted before the ecclesiastical courts. More commonly the heretical thought is suppressed by clerical prudence. Occasionally it leads to secession into a freer air.

Idea of Salvation by Opinions.

All other National Churches, except that of the small state just named, maintain at this day, with more or less variety of detail, an authoritative doctrinal standard of belief. The plea for so doing is, that the doctrines thus prescribed are essential to Christian orthodoxy and to Christian salvation.

Whence did it come?

But is it not inconceivable that Christianity should demand what the constitution of the human mind plainly renders impossible? Let us inquire how this wide-spread notion of the saving efficacy, merit or necessity of certain dogmatic beliefs arose. For it is plainly contrary to the very nature of the human mind and to the history of human opinion and belief, to suppose that virtue or merit in the sight of God is estimated, or blessedness dispensed by Him in the future world, according to the opinions which a man holds. The value, the merit, the intellectual and moral use and worth of belief, depends (as in our consciences we feel) not solely, nor chiefly, upon the *opinionative result* gained, but chiefly, if we may not say solely, upon the *moral process* through which it has been gained. An intelligent and candid personal conviction is infinitely more valuable than a passive assent, whatever be the belief in the one case or the other. If, by two persons of equal intelligence, honesty

Digitized by Google

and virtue (so far as we know), two opposite doctrines are held, how can either of them venture to suppose that the other will be penally treated for his different belief? Yet this awful sanction is, by the Christian world in general, most presumptuously claimed on behalf of what is called orthodoxy, and against what is called heterodoxy or heresy.* The plea for requiring dogmatic agreement as a condition of church fellowship is founded upon this dreadful assumption. But every reasoning mind rejects the assumption with disdain, and asks wonderingly, Whence came so strange an assumption at first? How came the two ideas of opinionative belief and spiritual safety to be linked together in this unnatural, illogical and intolerant union? It is worth the inquiry. Let us try if we can trace this spiritual wrong to its source.

Not from Judaism.

The idea of salvation by opinions did not come from Judaism or its Scriptures. The Jews, the subjects of the earlier revelation, were not taught to say that the knowledge and acceptance of their religious belief was the necessary condition of future blessedness. Their belief in a future life was indeed very obscure; and the special promises of their religion had reference chiefly to the condition of their nation in this world. They pitied the heathen for their idolatries; they despised them; and often, not without strong political and military reasons, they dreaded and hated them. But they did not proclaim a future heaven for the right-believing Jews, and hell for the wrong-believing idolaters.

Not from Christ or his Apostles.

Neither did the oppressive idea of salvation by opinions come from Christ or his apostles. They declared affirmatively in the name of the gospel (what Judaism had negatively left open to belief), the approving acceptance of the virtuous heathen by the impartial God and Father of all. The Saviour blessed the Gentile woman for a "faith such as he had not seen in Israel," and he anticipated with delight the reception into his gospel of "other sheep" besides those of the Jewish fold. He had scarcely left the earth when his most zealous apostle Peter was taught by divine vision, that "in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him." And Paul, pre-eminently the apostle of the Gentiles, delights to avow that the natural conscience is "a law to itself" when it leads the Gentiles to do the things contained in the revealed law of God, declaring that "He is not the God of the Jews only, but of the Gentiles also, justifying both alike by the faith" which the gospel teaches. Then that "justification by faith," which St. Paul makes a prominent principle in his preaching and writing, is not (what many per-

* *Orthodoxy*, etymologically means *right-thinking*, that is of course *my thinking; heterodoxy*, etymologically is *other thinking*, and of course *wrong-thinking; heresy*, is etymologically *a choice*, and under spiritual terrorism it is wicked to *choose*.

Digitized by Google

sons passively take it to be) justification by opinions. Nothing of the kind. Paul says, as plainly as words can speak, that a man is justified by *faith*, not by *the works of the Jewish law*. And when again he speaks of "*works*" more briefly, he still means, of course, the works of the Jewish law, while by "*faith*" he means Christianity as a religion of spiritual trust and love,—heart-faith as opposed to a ceremonial religion. Thus the New Testament idea of salvation (as of justification) by faith, simply denotes the spiritual blessedness of being true disciples of Jesus Christ. It means salvation by a spiritual Christianity without recourse to the ceremonial Judaism. A grand truth in its historical place, but not directly applicable to Christians at present.

Nor from Greek Philosophy.

One step more in the history of religious ideas will, however, shew us when and how it was that the idea of salvation came to be connected with opinionative dogma. In Alexandria, where for several centuries under the Ptolemies all contributions in art, philosophy and letters from the whole world were freely welcomed (though little new was originated), the Jews for two or three centuries before Christ had found freedom of worship, and had cultivated an acquaintance with the literature and philosophy of the Greeks, while ambitiously endeavouring in turn to recommend their own religious literature to the great world's favourable notice. Philo and others had with laborious ingenuity endeavoured to reconcile the speculative doctrines of Plato respecting the origin of the world, and especially his idea of the *Logos*, with the sublime Hebrew beliefs respecting creation and providence. And the process which the Alexandrian Jews had begun before the time of Christ, the Alexandrian Christians of the second and third centuries after Christ still further applied to the adornment, as they thought, of the Christian religion, by endeavouring to identify its spiritual truths with the dreamy speculations of the New Platonists. Then, when Christianity was fully charged with the metaphysical doctrines thus derived from heathen philosophy, the idea of salvation (which had been at first connected with the practical Christianity of the New Testament) came to be applied to the metaphysical doctrines of the Christian Platonists. Or rather, the idea of salvation became, at the same time, hardened and depraved from that of spiritual blessedness to that of an outward deliverance from outward penalties.

But from the mixture of Greek Philosophy and Christianity.

Thus the confused and unamiable idea of salvation by opinions, which was unknown alike to Christianity and to Greek philosophy, *grew out of their unnatural union*. The subtile-minded Greek "seekers after wisdom" had never dreamt of arming their speculative beliefs with orthodox terrors; nor had the simple-minded apostolic Christians laid down dogmatic articles as possessed of saving power. But that false union of the metaphysical

Digitized by Google

speculations of philosophy with the spiritual promises of religion changed the whole basis of Christian belief; and the threat of perishing everlastingly for false opinions too naturally followed the daring promise of everlasting happiness as the reward of true ones.

Enforced by the Roman State.

Then the Roman State took Christianity under its political care, and applied the same external machinery to its promotion which had been before applied to its suppression.

The history was in brief this:—Philosophy had hitherto been neither persecuting nor damnatory; but curious, inquiring, reasoning and boldly speculative. Divine authority had not hitherto been regarded as persecuting or damnatory towards unbelief, but promissory to virtue and piety. But, from this time, Philosophy armed itself with divine authority both to promise and to threaten, and appealed also to the State for temporal sanctions. As in chemistry, the mixture of two substances, each of which is harmless or wholesome in itself, may produce a deadly poison bearing no practical resemblance to either of its constituent parts, so from the union of metaphysics previously harmless and Christian sanctions hitherto all-beneficent, came the dreadful system of saving and damnatory beliefs. The Athanasian Creed expresses the completion of the theory; and the Inquisition carried the theory into practice.

Penal Orthodoxy properly implies Infallibility.

This penal orthodoxy, indeed, properly and logically leads to such results. It properly and logically implies, as the means of reducing it to practice, the existence of an infallible judge of opinions on earth. Accordingly the Romish Church asserts for itself such infallibility, though unable to agree *where* it rests. The English Church, in her turn, professes to have "authority in controversies of faith;" and though she qualifies the claim by the seeming restriction that "it is not lawful for the Church to ordain anything that is contrary to God's Word written, nor may it so expound one place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another," yet this seeming limitation is altogether nugatory in her ecclesiastical courts, whose judges are bound to decide by the technical, legal meaning of her Articles, and not by the Scriptures. Strange to say, even among churches not connected with the civil power, this same penal orthodoxy holds sway through spiritual terrors alone.

Assumption common to all Churches of 16th century.

The Church of England is not then to be marked with any special stigma among the churches of its historical period, for having adopted as its basis salvation by the Thirty-nine Articles (which include the three Creeds). All other churches of the sixteenth century did essentially the same thing; and, alas! most of them do it still. The fact is not to be denied, however it may be disguised or dissembled. But, as all Protestants were in the habit of

Digitized by Google

using their own reason to a certain extent in self-defence against Rome, the same human reason which settled the Articles of the Church of England also settled those of other Protestant churches, variously in point of detail, though all on the basis of a supposed saving belief. The consequence is, that the saving belief of one church being different in some respects from that of another, the claim reduces itself to a palpable absurdity, and the Church-of-England theology stands as that of a sect among other sects, having no more claim to divine authority than that of any other church. Penal orthodoxy is thus seen to be inconsistent with true Protestantism.

Penal Orthodoxy inconsistent with a Church's Nationality.

But it is more directly to the purpose of these pages to urge that it is inconsistent with the idea of a truly National Church. The idea of such a Church requires that it should provide for the actual beliefs of the nation by comprehension and liberty, and that it should not control or suppress them either by ecclesiastical courts or by spiritual threats inserted in Act of Parliament.

Is the great obstacle to Reform.

And it is directly to the purpose also to urge that this penal orthodoxy is the great practical obstacle to the reform of the Church of England. Though not actively held by any real thinker in the Church, though utterly inconsistent with everything that such men write, yet it is scarcely ever openly repudiated by them, and thus their tacit support is given, by their mere position in the Church, to this man-degrading notion. It is meanwhile actively held and made officiously obtrusive by a very large numerical proportion of the clergy, who, if they think freely on other subjects, regard religion as an exceptional topic, and insist with the utmost vehemence upon the necessity of maintaining the Creeds and Articles as the very bulwarks of Christianity against the earnest thought of a nation.

The narrowest minds have the best of the argument.

Divided as the Church of England is in doctrine, the narrowest-minded and most dogmatical party has the clear advantage in all these disputes. They do not "draw the Article aside any way." They "submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof." They do "not put their own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but take it in the literal and grammatical sense." And who can blame them? Is not this what was intended? The poorest minds in the Church can do this, and be content to do it. They feel that they are orthodox, and they pronounce every freer-minded man to be heretical and unsafe. And what is more, they have the ecclesiastical law on their side when a trial for heresy takes place. Larger and freer minds reluctantly keep silence within the Church, or brave the chance of its penalties reaching them, or feel compelled to come out of it in order to "live and move and have their being."

Digitized by Google

Argument of *statu quo*.

Other advocates of *statu quo* are very numerous, and, looking only to immediate results, have an evident advantage in the conflict. They do not know how much or how little reform to advocate. Some will demand more, some less, than they. If they make a beginning, who knows where it will end? The *thin-end-of-the-wedge* metaphor alarms them. "It may be dangerous to begin with making alterations and amendments in the Church, lest those scaffoldings which are erected for repairs should be made use of to pull down the whole fabric." So said episcopal prudence last century. The language of objection is always the same when reformations are projected. *Reform*, it has been well said, is a verb with all tenses but the present.

(To be concluded in the next No.)

JOSEPH ALLEINE, ONE OF THE EJECTED CLERGYMEN OF 1662.*

Of ripe scholars and able writers the ranks of the English Puritans always possessed their fair proportion. The Two Thousand can boast of illustrious names like those of Baxter, Owen, Bates, Manton, Howe, Gale and the Goodwins. But perhaps the prevailing type of character of those noble confessors was rather moral and spiritual than intellectual. The men who impressed their character on their own and the succeeding age, and of whose self-denial and sufferings the memory is religiously cherished at the present day, were persons of deep religious convictions, who made it the business of their lives both to preach and to practise the gospel of Christ. They thought no calling more glorious than this; and when wicked laws and persecuting men raised hindrances and dangers in their way, they persevered in the course of religious duty without hesitation or a murmur.

There are few of our cities or towns, there is scarcely any considerable district in England, with which the name of such a man is not connected, and in which it is not honourably remembered. Like the majority of the Marian martyrs, most of the confessors of 1662 were persons whose aim was religious duty, not worldly glory. But because, at a critical era of their country's history, they were perfectly faithful to their sense of duty, both achieved a renown which we may be permitted to believe will be imperishable. It would not be easy to overrate the moral and religious influence of the lives and sufferings of many Nonconformist worthies, who in respect to talent and literary power occupy but a secondary rank. We shall perhaps best illustrate the kind of men we now refer to by naming Philip Henry and Oliver

* Joseph Alleine: his Companions and Times; a Memorial of "Black Bartholomew," 1662. By Charles Stanford. Pp. 406. London—Jackson, Walford and Hodder.

Digitized by Google

Heywood. For two centuries these have been names familiar in the minds of thousands as household words. In the case of one of these good men, no published works survived to feed the respect and homage of other generations. The simple story of his life, and a few sayings treasured in the memories and reflected in the character of successive generations of descendants, have given to the name of Philip Henry a currency and repute little inferior to that of the ablest champions of Nonconformity. And in respect to Oliver Heywood, although many volumes of his writings survive, it is certain that he enjoys a fame and an influence quite irrespective of them.

Another of the same class of men is Joseph Alleine, the ejected minister of the church of St. Mary Magdalene, in Taunton. We avail ourselves of a recently published and singularly well-written volume respecting him, his companions and times, to make him one of the subjects of the series of biographical and historical essays which we offer as our contribution to the celebration of this bi-centenary anniversary. Postponing for the present all critical remarks on Mr. Stanford's book, we proceed with a sketch of the principal incidents in the life of Joseph Alleine.

He was the son of Mr. Tobie Alleine, a respectable tradesman of Devizes, and was born in the year 1634. That his father was a man of good repute in the world, and a strict professor of religion, is evident from the fact of his appointment as one of the Triers of ministers in the county of Wilts. Joseph Alleine's youth was passed amidst the inquietudes of a civil war; and twice during his boyish days he saw something of its terrors in the siege of his native town, first by Waller, beaten off by the Royal troops from Oxford, and next by Oliver Cromwell, under whose auspices the blue banner of the Parliament presently floated over the walls of the ancient castle, in front of which stood the house of Mr. Tobie Alleine.

Amid excitement of this kind, and religious services rudely interrupted by soldiers, and theological arguments in which godly dragoons took their share, the mind of this youth was trained to a gravity that under other circumstances would have been scarcely natural. The "life of anxiety and adventure everywhere and every day" told its tale, and young Joseph was known amongst his companions as "the lad that will not play." He underwent at a very early period those spiritual struggles and awakenings which are regarded as the work of conversion. His school-days were, it is supposed, passed at Poulshot, under the care of Mr. William Spinage, an Oxford scholar and a fellow of Exeter College. Severe industry qualified him in about four years' time for the university; but he delayed going there for a time, and meanwhile read logic with a clergyman of Devizes. His rapid progress in his studies, together with the other omens of promise, gratified his father, and helped to heal a great domes-

Digitized by Google

tic sorrow caused by the death of Joseph's elder brother, Edward, a clergyman, who died in his 27th year.

The distracted state of the country, and the warlike operations of which for a time Oxford was the centre, delayed Alleine's going to the university. When something like order was restored by the triumph of the Parliamentary cause, he entered Lincoln College, then under the presidency of Dr. Paul Hood. Puritanism was now in the ascendant at Oxford; and in Dr. John Owen, presently after appointed Vice-Chancellor of the university, it had a most efficient representative. It was in April, 1649, that Alleine entered Lincoln College. In November, 1651, he transferred himself to Corpus Christi College, having sufficient merit to be elected to a Wiltshire scholarship in that house. The President of his new college was Dr. Edmund Staunton,* a zealous Puritan, of whose character two very opposite portraitures have descended to us. We possess, however, a very clear testimony to the amiability as well as the sincerity of his character, in the relation of a contemporary and a Fellow of Corpus Christi College. After speaking of his earnest desire to promote the welfare of the academic society of which he became the head, he adds:

"His government savoured more of lenity and mildness than of sharpness and severity; yet he kept the college in very good order and discipline. Though the houses before his time had been much troubled with divisions, he, by his moderation and Christian prudence, kept them all of a piece, and in the enjoyment of great peace and concord. He was, indeed, naturally of an exceeding good temper and disposition; gentle, affable and courteous to all, which being embellished with grace, made him exceeding amiable and very useful in all his conversation."

We quote this passage because it seems to us that Mr. Stanford has a little unnecessarily darkened the shades of his portrait of Dr. Staunton, and held him up too much as "an austere precisian." The Fellow of Corpus Christi tells us that the President conceived a warm regard for the new scholar. "He (Alleine) was a great comfort to this holy man while he continued in the college." Dr. Staunton watched his after progress with an interest and delight quite parental.

Alleine took his first degree July 6, 1653, and was almost immediately appointed tutor in his college. He afterwards became its chaplain, preferring this post to a fellowship which he might have had, on account of the opportunities it gave him of gratifying the devotional taste which had already become a part

* Mr. Stanford, in text and note, erroneously gives the name *Edward* Staunton. He also attributes to Clarke, the "old memorialist," a statement the authority for which is a Fellow of Corpus Christi College whose initials were J. M., and who appended to Richard Mayo's "Life and Death of Edmund Staunton, D.D.," "A Brief Relation (chiefly) of his great Care to promote Religion and Learning in the College of which he was President." Had our author consulted this he would scarcely have missed an interesting passage relating to Alleine which we shall quote by and by.

Digitized by Google

of his nature. He became at once an earnest evangelist, preaching in village churches, addressing himself to those whom he thought others had forgotten, the mean and even the criminal. He was the first who systematically visited and instructed prisoners in the jail. He preached to them every second week, and distributed alms as well as spiritual comfort each time. To do justice to the piety and philanthropy of this young scholar, we must, as his biographer properly suggests, remember what wretched dens prisons then were—without discipline, devoid of all sanatory regulations; and the consequence was that not unfrequently prisons were dangerous pest-houses.

In one of his letters, bearing date Oct. 1654, Alleine mentions his receiving at that time the offer of "very honourable preferment in several kinds, some friends making a journey in order to propound it." Whatever the offer was, he thought it right to decline it. In the spring of the following year he received overtures from Mr. George Newton, the honoured Puritan pastor of Taunton, to become his assistant at the church and in the parish of St. Mary Magdalene. Mr. Newton, though only in middle life at this time, had been the pastor there four-and-twenty years. What the spirit of this holy man was, let his treatment of the noted "Book of Sports" shew. It was ordered to be read in all churches. The minister of St. Mary Magdalene complied with the order, but added, "These are the commandments of men." He then read the chapter from Exodus which he supposed gave a religious perpetuity to sabbatical duties, and added, "These are the commandments of God; choose ye which ye will obey." "Regarding it as an iniquitous law" (Mr. Stanford remarks), "he contrived at once to defeat its object, to evade its penalty, and to set an example of protesting decision to the ministers in all the country round."

Alleine's probation sermons at Taunton shewed the honesty of the man. He was by conviction a Royalist. The men of Taunton were more remarkable for their love of liberty than for their scrupulous loyalty. Mr. Alleine, resolving to be "quite transparent in his dealings with the people," preached a series of discourses from the text, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers." Those who dissented from the preacher's doctrine did justice to his fidelity to conscience, and Mr. Newton's choice of an assistant received the confirmation of the parish.

His election at Taunton was matter of deep interest to another person. His fair kinswoman, Theodosia, daughter of Richard Alleine, minister of Batcombe, in the county of Somerset, had ere this time accepted love-tokens from the young Oxford scholar. The pecuniary arrangement at Taunton gave him an income of £80 a year—no large stipend, yet not to be despised if compared with that of modern curacies. Alleine, expecting a lesser sum, wrote comfortingly to his Puritan cousin, reminding her

Digitized by Google

that "a good conscience is a continual feast, and enough for a happy life." He admitted the reasonableness of considering the worth of the post, the certainty of the maintenance and the probable amount of the charges; but reminded her of the more important considerations, the spiritual good they were likely to do and get. And he concluded (Theodosia doubtless assenting thereto) that the prospect in these particulars was as comfortable at Taunton "as any place in England." "What," said the pious lover, "if we have but a little in the world? Why then we must keep but a short table, and shall make but a little noise in the world, and must give the meaner entertainments to our friends. Will not this be abundantly made up, if we have more outward and inward peace, as we may well count we shall have?"

Joseph Alleine passed without difficulty the needed examination before the Triers of Somersetshire and that of the Presbytery of Taunton, and began the exercise of his ministry. In the senior pastor he had a friend indeed. After a few months, Joseph and Theodosia were made happy; and found for two years a home in the parsonage of George Newton, who overcame any scruples they might have felt by assuring them that their presence and happiness would bring light and joy to his widowed heart.

How Mr. Alleine fared in married life, we may guess from the answer he gave to a friend who jestingly asked him to report the inconveniences of marriage:

"Thou wouldst know the inconveniences of a wife, and I will tell thee. First of all, whereas thou risest constantly at four in the morning, or before, she will keep thee till about six. Secondly, whereas thou usest to study fourteen hours in the day, she will bring thee to eight or nine. Thirdly, whereas thou art wont to forbear one meal a day for thy studies, she will bring thee to thy meat. If these be not mischief enough to affright thee, I know not what thou art."

As preacher and pastor, Joseph Alleine was earnest and indefatigable. His "orthodoxy," notwithstanding his sympathy with some of the doctrinal views of Richard Baxter, was unimpeached. He catechized portions of his flock during some hours of every day in the week. To those who after due notice absented themselves from the class, he addressed earnest remonstrances and entreaties, both personally and by letter. Once a week he catechized the pupils in the free school.

Mr. Stanford claims Alleine as a Calvinist; but he was as practical as St. James or St. John, telling his people again and again that "life was not to be spent in saintly reverie, and that religion was not a thing that knew only how to kneel, but not to walk or work."

He gave heed to the religious wants of his neighbours in neglected places, going forth himself and inciting others to go forth for missionary work. The account of his alms-deeds is very

Digitized by Google

amazing. By what alchemy he found silver and gold for the unceasing charities of which he was the minister, it is vain to speculate. The fact of his wife's adding to the family income by teaching a school, will scarcely explain how he kept his aged father and several brothers and their families, how he daily distributed alms, aided distressed tradesmen, paid the school wage for children, distributed peas and flitches of bacon, printed and gave away editions of good books, helped poor ministers, and bore in part the cost of lectures in the darker corners of his county. There must then, as now, have been many generous feeders of the missionary's poor's purse.

While engaged in all these labours of love, he found time for some laborious study, and produced a Latin treatise on Philosophical Theology, of which Richard Baxter, no mean judge, commended alike the doctrine and the Latinity. How this good man succeeded in crowding into a not very protracted life the active duties of a preacher, a pastor, a domestic missionary, a student of philosophy and theology, would perplex us as much as his affluent poor's purse, did we not know that he rose at four in the morning, and expressed something like shame if he heard the sound of mechanics or others at work before he had entered his closet for his morning devotions, preparatory to the other duties of the day. He was as happy as he was successful in his work. But a change presently came over his life. The Restoration brought back the King and nobles and the old clergy, and all the evils against which for twenty years Puritanism had so eagerly struggled. Though the minister and the assistant pastor at St. Mary's were undisturbed, the demeanour of the common people shewed that influences of a kind unfavourable to their work were beginning to be felt. And presently the hearts of the Puritan clergy, which had lately beat with loyal exultation at the King's return, began to grow faint at the suspicion, and its too speedy realization, of bad faith and treachery on the part of Charles and his Ministers. The declaration of Breda proved a delusion, a mockery and a snare. The Act of Uniformity followed on the heels of the Conference at the Savoy, and all over England pious clergymen, who loved their work better than anything earth could offer them, began to realize the fearful dilemma which the approaching day of St. Bartholomew would bring before them: they must keep the cure of souls with wounded conscience, or they must be deprived and silenced. Death would be more tolerable to men of their inflexible zeal and highmindedness.

Joseph Alleine watched the coming storm calmly, so calmly that at first they who were about him supposed he intended to conform. They knew how true his word, that not on slight and dubious grounds would he quit the work to which he had solemnly devoted himself. The two clauses in the Act of Unifor-

Digitized by Google

mity which overpowered his strong desire to remain at his work, were the *assent* and *consent* and *renouncing the Covenant*. But though compelled to quit the Church, he felt no release from his solemn vow to preach the gospel, and he took the quiet but firm resolve, let the dangers be what they might, he would go on with his work in private, if his public labours were hindered. His last sermons from the pulpit at St. Mary's were from Eph. v. 16—"Redeeming the time, because the days are evil." A few days after his farewell sermon, he conducted a service in his own house, having invited his friends to observe with him a day of humiliation. Many of his people, "much affrighted at the threatenings of adversaries," kept away; but his private exhortations and assurances brought them to a sense of duty, and presently large multitudes flocked to his meetings both by day and at night. Though a great demonstration of the gentry and others was made at St. Mary's on the fatal St. Bartholomew's day, and the service from the new Prayer-book was read by an Oxford clergyman, the services afterwards were for many months irregular, no clergyman entering on the duties of the parish for nine months.

Mr. Alleine resumed his missionary services, preaching in towns and villages left spiritually unprovided in consequence of the departure of the ejected clergy. His services were attended with the best results. He thus became obnoxious to the ruling powers, and was repeatedly threatened and sought for. He said he was prepared for the worst, and only desired to have three months' free preaching of the gospel before he should be thrown into prison. To give himself greater liberty for his work, he sold most of his household furniture, his good wife assenting to being houseless, foreseeing that her beloved husband must presently be a prisoner, and desiring nothing so much as to be with him and share his fate, whatever it might be.

He meditated at this time a foreign mission, if the right of preaching the gospel at home was taken from him, and desired to go forth as an evangelist to China or other distant and benighted part of the world. But in truth there was darkness enough and to spare at home, and he did what he could to spread the light of the gospel. For nine months he continued free; and it is an interesting fact that he had as his associated evangelist in these toilsome and dangerous duties, the grandfather of the founder of Methodism, John Wesley, who had been ejected from Whitchurch, in Dorset. The courageous way in which these zealous men applied themselves to the duties of their position, called forth the admiration and zeal of the people, who flocked in great numbers to the Nonconformist services. As for Mr. Alleine, he often preached at this time "fourteen times in eight days, ten often, and six or seven ordinarily at home and abroad."

(To be continued.)

Digitized by Google

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Edinburgh Review. No. 234. April.

The No. opens with an article on the Life and Times of Richard the Third. One expects, however, something more at this time of day than a narrative, however readable, of the principal events of Richard's career. But the article scarcely fulfils the expectation, which its opening paragraphs excite, of a philosophical estimate of Richard's character and of the hostile chronicles and works of fiction. The second article, entitled "Centralization," is a carefully-executed abridgment of M. Dupont-White's essays on the relation of Individuals and the State, in which he pleads for State interference as the necessary consequence and ready instrument of progress. M. Dupont-White, though a stout advocate of centralization, recognizes its necessary limits. After quoting his fine saying that "Unity is but another word for intolerance," the reviewer proceeds:

"Unity, indeed, is a phrase, which, as it comes from the lips of a politician, either theoretical or practical, nurtured in the stifling governmentalism" [in what mint was this base word coined?] "of the Imperial school, is one of the curses of Europe. It stands for the negation of the main determining principle of improvement, and even of the permanence of civilisation, which depends on diversity, not unity. 'One God, one France, one King, one Chamber,' was the exclamation of a member of the first Constituent Assembly. Sir Walter Scott appended to it as an appropriate commentary, 'one mouth, one nose, one ear, and one eye.' And if the jest sets in a strong light the ridiculousness, it does nothing like justice to the mischievousness, of the wretched propensity, which, in order that all the affairs of mankind may be cut after a single pattern, tends irresistibly to subject all of them to a single will."

Let the makers and champions of Acts of Uniformity take the compliment home, and realize the mischievousness of their efforts to cut down the human mind to one religious pattern.

The fourth article, on Buddhism, founded on M. Barthelemy Saint Hilaire's treatise, is written in a very candid and thoughtful spirit, and will reward a careful perusal. The reviewer gives Buddha credit for high moral and religious purposes, and repudiates the ascription to him of atheism and future annihilation. As a religious reformer, who rescued his countrymen from the dreadful evils of the priestly despotism of the Bráhmanic hierarchy, and as the teacher of a pure morality, Buddha ought to be an object of deep interest to the Christian student. We willingly extract the reviewer's remarks on the morality of Buddha:

"The most important element of the Buddhist reform has always been its social and moral code, not its metaphysical theories. That moral code, taken by itself, is one of the most perfect which the world has ever known. On this point all testimonies from hostile and friendly quarters agree. Spence Hardy, a Wesleyan missionary, speaking of the Dhamma Padam, or the 'Footsteps of the Law,' admits that a collection might be made from the precepts of this work, which in the purity of its ethics could hardly be equalled from any other heathen author. M. Laboulaye, one of the most distinguished members of the French Academy, remarks in the 'Debats' of the 4th of April, 1853: 'It is difficult to comprehend how men not assisted by revelation could have soared so high, and approached so near to the truth.' Besides the five great commandments not to kill, not to steal, not to commit adultery, not to lie, not to

Digitized by Google

get drunk, every shade of vice, hypocrisy, anger, pride, suspicion, greediness, gossiping, cruelty to animals, is guarded against by special precepts. Among the virtues recommended we find not only reverence of parents, care for children, submission to authority, gratitude, moderation in time of prosperity, submission in time of trial, equanimity at all times, but virtues unknown in any heathen system of morality, such as the duty of forgiving insults and not rewarding evil with evil."

Nor can we withhold a passage from M. Saint Hilaire, which we give in an English version:

"I do not hesitate to add that with the single exception of Christ there is not one amongst the originators of religious systems whose figure is more pure and impressive than that of Buddha. His life has not a single stain. His unfailing heroism equals his fidelity; and if the theory which he proclaims be false, the personal examples which he offers are irreproachable. He is the practical model of all the virtues which he preaches. His self-denial, his charity, his unfailing sweetness, are always in harmony with his professions. At twenty-nine years of age, he abandons the court of a king, his father, to become a religious professor and a beggar. He prepares in silence his religious system in a course of privacy and meditation continued for six years. He propagates it by the simple power of speech and persuasion during more than half a century; and when he dies in the arms of his disciples, it is with the serenity of a sage whose whole life has been practically good, and who feels assured that he has found truth."

When we read panegyrics like these, we can scarcely wonder at the old Manichæan heresy which identified Buddha with Jesus Christ. When we remember that Buddhism is the religion professed by 455 millions of human beings, we ought to rejoice that their religious system has in it so much that resembles Christianity.

The reviewer gives in a note Berghaus' statement of the relative proportions of believers in the world, thus:

Buddhists	31·2 per cent.
Christians	30·7 „
Mohammedans	15·7 „
Brahmanists	13·4 „
Heathen	8·7 „
Jews	0·3 „

But the reviewer thinks Berghaus in error in respect to the Chinese Buddhists, and thinks the Christians really have the majority. But he well remarks that truth is not settled by majorities.

The ladies of our households should read and ponder well the article entitled "Modern Domestic Service." The admitted defects and evils of domestic service are traced to the too general want of skilled mistresses in the middle class, and to the entire absence of institutions for the proper training of servants. Some readers may be disposed to think that the reviewer has overstated the popular dislike of domestic service, and the prejudice against it, as a state of bondage. There follow articles on a new History of Rome, on the Cotton Culture in India, and on Sir A. Alison's Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir C. Stewart, on Public Monuments, on David Gray, a youthful but deceased Scottish poet, and on Clerical Subscription. On the subject of Indian cotton, the reviewer argues for the capability of India to make our manufactures independent of America. Of the immediate prospects of the cotton-trade and its industrious artizans, the reviewer, in common with many others, takes an exceedingly gloomy view. In the matter of Sir Archibald Alison,

Digitized by Google

were his blunders less gross and his biographical portraiture somewhat less monstrous, we should think his reviewer guilty of needless severity.

The article on Clerical Subscription is suggested by the historical anniversary of the year '62. It is written in a tone of moderation, but contains thoughts which will be acceptable neither to Churchmen on the one side, nor to Dissenters on the other. The reviewer thinks that the retrospect of the religious history of our country should teach both parties "lessons of moderation and mutual forbearance rather than of repulsion and alienation." These are the counsels which the reviewer offers to the two antagonist powers, Church and Dissent:

"Much might be done at such a time by the rulers of the Church. A general willingness on the part of the bishops and clergy to make advances might yet work wonders. Never has there been so widely spread and earnest a desire among different sections of Christians to attain a substantial unity. Even where conflicting opinions and traditional maxims of sect render the prospect almost hopeless, still the *desire* is strongly felt. How that unity is at last to be realised is a problem which we believe it is as yet impossible to solve. But we are sure that nothing will tend so much to its solution as the manifestation on all sides of forbearance and trustfulness. We deeply regret to see indications of another spirit in some quarters within the Established Church; which the recollection of the wrongs inflicted in 1662, and never yet repaired, ought surely to dispel. Nor is it less deplorable to witness preparations on the part of the Dissenters to make this bicentenary a fresh occasion of disruption and hostility. There could scarcely be found a more inappropriate way of honouring the memory of Baxter, Howe, and Henry, than a systematic effort to organise Dissent in places where as yet it does not exist. Reverence for the character of those good men should remind all who claim to be their representatives and descendants, that the very example which they hold up for imitation dissuades and even condemns the course proposed. Rightly or wrongly, those excellent men deprecated, as earnestly as their persecutors, a breach of the unity of the National Church; nor did they doubt that the principle of such a Church was in itself sound and true. They saw so much danger and so much positive evil in rival and antagonistic communions, that they shrank from committing what they believed to be an offence against the common cause of Christianity. To whatever extent they were severally forced for conscience' sake into overt acts of separation, it was a state of things which they deeply lamented, and would gladly to the end have rectified. If experience has since justified, and indeed necessitated, the separation (a conclusion which we cannot venture to dispute), yet surely such necessity is one to be deplored, and not to be gloried in. The present system of Dissent may amply admit of defence, upon principles of its own; but it ought not to be carried to greater lengths in the name of those who in the noblest spirit of self-sacrifice strove to avert and to prevent it."

But, in reply to the reviewer, the Nonconformist may say, and with truth, If Nonconformity is a necessity—the necessity induced by the unreasonable and unjust demands made by the rulers of the Church on individual conscience—religious and earnest Nonconformists must, unless they are content to do nothing in the way of religious effort, seek to widen the borders of Dissent. They may not care for Dissent as such, but they do care for religion, and it is only in connection with Nonconformity that they can, as the Church is now constituted, honestly work for religion.

The scope of the article is to trace the steps of the ecclesiastical laws in England in the matter of clerical subscription, shewing how, from the time of the Reformation to that of the Restoration, each step was

Digitized by Google

from bad to worse. The narrative is well worthy of attention, and shews how, unless there be checks from without, the power and pretensions of a hierarchy grow in extent and unreasonableness. The regulations made in the reign of Edward VI. are described by the reviewer as "mild and considerate." "Their enforcement would not have precluded the growth of a comprehensive National Church—a Church which should gradually learn, as experience demonstrated the necessity, to tolerate unavoidable and therefore admissible differences." The reviewer declares his opinion more than once, that the obligations of subscription enforced by the Act of Uniformity in 1662, and continued from that day to this in unabated rigour, are unparalleled in stringency by any church in existence.

"For besides exacting subscription to the articles of religion, and an oath of canonical obedience to ecclesiastical authority, the Church of England has converted its devotional formularies into a co-ordinate body of doctrinal statement, to which its ministers must give a plenary assent. No other Church upon earth that we are aware of does this, or has ever done so; not even the Church of Rome."

Incidentally the reviewer alludes to the Bill introduced into the Upper House by Lord Ebury for relaxing the Act of Uniformity. It may not go far enough, but it removes the most offensive provisions of the Act of Charles II. It would give relief to many conscientious clergymen, and would besides "be a pledge to those now excluded from the pale of the Church, of a returning spirit of justice and charity." The words which follow are especially weighty:

"Within the Church itself it is this restriction which exercises the most baneful influence; deterring (and that in an increasing degree) the nobler hearts and loftier minds among the youth of England from the service of the sanctuary; discrediting the clergy in the eyes of thoughtful laymen; and inflicting on clergymen themselves a lifelong injury, not the less mischievous because it is so commonly denied, and so often unsuspected. For is it not a sore injury, done to men of such high qualities and endowments as the English clergy generally, that there is one set of subjects upon which they are forbidden liberty, not of speech only, or of action, but of thought; one circle of subjects within which they are afraid even to think with fairness—the charmed circle guarded by the *ex animo* subscription, by the plenary 'assent and consent'—in approaching which truth must no longer be the first object sought, nor light the one thing most desired?"

The Quarterly Review. No. 222. April.

Two articles in this No. have an interest to those who watch the theological and ecclesiastical signs of the times. The first is on Hymnology. It is written on Church principles, and assumes from beginning to end the necessity of conforming hymns for public worship, not to the Bible, but to the Prayer-book. But in one respect the spirit of the reviewer is liberal: he claims the right of his Church to the common store of the sacred songs of Christendom.

The other article, on the "Training of the Clergy," is conceived in a resolute spirit of opposition to all ecclesiastical reform, especially that which should relax in any degree the stringency of clerical subscription. Speaking of the great requirements of a clerical education, the reviewer says:

"*The first is the unshrinking inculcation of a definite, positive faith, and*

Digitized by Google

body of doctrine as the first command of God, the primary condition of Christianity, the only base of its moral virtues, the only key to all spiritual mysteries. We know how the whole world seems banded together to repudiate and to banish this axiom. And until it can be restored to its due position in the system of the Church, as the keystone of the whole fabric, all other labours are idle."

The reviewer argues for the necessity of the clergy being practically conversant with society and life, and also for the supply of the clergy being drawn from the more highly educated classes of society—in fact, from the class of gentry. But the reviewer is appalled by the prospect of the failure in the supply to the Church of England of clergy. "More than one Bishop has signalled the approaching dearth." The causes to which he traces this effect are, the rapid development during the last twenty years of the Church—the opening of new fields for youthful ambition in India, the colonies, the army—the changes in the universities, and the opening of many endowments to secular competition. One other cause the reviewer finds for the dearth of clergymen in all those influences which are at present at work, tending to unsettle clerical faith. But the statement and admissions are sufficiently curious to require transcription.

"And lastly, the lamentable unsettlement of young minds, the shock which all religious faith has received from the strifes, the extravagances, the treacheries, the disappointments, the oscillations, of religious controversy, and, most of all, from the poisonous scepticism now disseminated even by teachers and authorities within the Church itself,—all this has so disturbed, and perplexed, and disheartened the most earnest and acute of young minds, that they dare not devote themselves to the Ministry. Would to God that we could stop here! Would to God there were no grounds to believe a statement recently made by one not unlikely to be cognizant of the fact!

"'The doubts,' says Mr. Hughes, 'which have now to be met, have, as was sure to be the case, taken more hold on our younger men than on any others amongst us. For many years I have been thrown very much into the society of young men of all ranks. I spend a great part of my time with them. I like being with them, and I think they like being with me. I know well, therefore, how rare anything like a living faith—a faith in and by which you can live, and for which you would die—is amongst them. I know that it is becoming rarer every day. I find it every day more difficult to get them to speak on the subject: they will not do so, unless you drive them to it.'—*Religio Laici*, by Thomas Hughes, author of 'Tom Brown's School-Days,' &c., p. 9."

Here we have an admission of some importance. The state of things described by Mr. Hughes is the consequence of the stringent demand of subscription to dogmas, not merely conceived in the spirit, but framed in the style, of two or three centuries ago. As thoughts on theological subjects are more and more freely expressed in circles not clerical, the difficulty will go on increasing; and unless the Church sees fit to modify its demands on the faith of its ministering servants, it must in each successive generation submit to accept men of lower intellectual or, still worse, lower moral perceptions.

"*Shall I take the Lord's Supper?*" By John R. Beard, D.D. 8vo. Pp. 15.

This is a pastoral letter couched in terms of affectionate interest, and addressed to the members of Dr. Beard's church, school and classes,

Digitized by Google

above the age of sixteen. It gives the true scriptural history of the Lord's Supper, explains it in its twofold character, as a covenant and a memorial, combats the various objections which sometimes hinder young and old from partaking of it, and makes with much unction appeals to the religious conscience and to the affections of the Christian heart.

Here is a good sample of the address in combating one of the common objections:

"You keep back because you are afraid to bring condemnation on yourself by eating and drinking unworthily? (1 Cor. xi. 27.) O yes; examine yourself by all means, in order to learn if, in the observance, you 'discern the Lord's body;' that is, see and own the essentially spiritual character of the rite. If you think of coming for any mere personal gratification, for any earthly object; to win man's favour or guard against his frown; to make a profession which is little but a profession; to dry up a tear which ought to be allowed to drop until it burns with the heat of contrition; to cover over an ulcer, which a regard to your moral life requires to be cut out unsparingly; then, by all means keep away, add not to your transgressions the sin of polluting holy things. Yet let me be cautious, the ground is sacred; I must tread here with wary steps, for the horns of the altar are there for refuge, and if touched, even by stained hands, with a true and deep cry for mercy, the fugitive will be rescued, sheltered, succoured, and restored, first to peace with God, and then to society with man.

"How, then, can I admit the validity of your excuse—you that allege as your reason for not accepting the invitation of Christ,—'I am not good enough.' No, nor ever will be on this side of eternity, if goodness is the essential pre-requisite. But, then, if lack of goodness excludes you from the Supper, it would also exclude you from the congregation: equally would it banish you from the domestic altar, and keep the door of your closet ever closed. The notion, however, is radically false. It is to the 'weary and heavy laden' that the sweet accents of Christ, 'Come unto me,' were addressed of old, and are still addressed."

We do not learn from the title-page whether this letter is published through any bookseller. It should be.

Some Account of the original Introduction of Presbyterianism in Nottingham and the Neighbourhood; with a Brief History of the Society of Protestant Dissenters assembling on the High Pavement in that Town. By the late Rev. Benjamin Carpenter, formerly Minister of the High-Pavement Chapel. London—E. T. Whitfield; Nottingham—Shaw and Sons.

Our readers will probably remember the series of sketches in the *Christian Reformer*, in which the late Rev. Benjamin Carpenter gave the history of that Nonconformity in Nottingham of which he and his congregation were the representatives. Sudden illness, followed by his death, prevented his fulfilling his purpose (in deference to wishes expressed in various quarters) of collecting these papers and printing them with the necessary corrections and some additional historic and biographical details. Mr. Carpenter's accomplished relative, Rev. J. J. Tayler, has, under these circumstances, stepped forward to edit these pages. The volume comes out appropriately enough during the anniversary of that year, two centuries ago, when Mr. John Whitlock, Mr. William Reynolds and Mr. John Barret, offered at the shrine of conscience a costly Nonconformity. They were sufficiently remarkable men, and

Digitized by Google

happily their published works and the preserved memorials of their lives furnish ample materials for an historical narrative which has more than a local interest. The public will probably confirm the opinion of Mr. Bailey, author of the Annals of Nottinghamshire, that the publication of this series of papers will be regarded as a boon by the religious public of the district. The sources of information to which Mr. Carpenter resorted were in many respects original, and the details which are here collected respecting the earliest attempts at Presbyterian discipline in the age of the Commonwealth, are, as the editor observes, "almost unique for fulness and authenticity."

The volume is enriched by valuable notes, chiefly from Mr. Tayler's pen. In one, he notices the relationship of the ejected minister at St. Mary's to an eminent statesman of that age:

"Mr. Whitlock was of the same family with the celebrated Bulstrode Whitlock, the friend of Selden, and a lay member of the Westminster Assembly, Commissioner of the Great Seal, and Ambassador to the Court of Sweden under Cromwell. The armorial bearings are the same."

Both Whitlock and Reynolds enjoyed at Emanuel College the instructions of Whichcot and Cudworth, the founders and ornaments of the Latitudinarian school of divines in the University of Cambridge. Mr. Tayler well remarks on this fact,—

"That two men, intimate friends, who had imbibed their earliest and deepest religious impressions under the Latitudinarian influence of a Cudworth and a Whichcot, were the first ministers of the High-Pavement congregation, is a circumstance not to be overlooked from the natural bearing on the direction and development of religious opinion in the society of which they were the founders."

There is added to this little volume an Appendix, containing extracts from the farewell sermons of the Nottingham ministers and others in the county. These, together with two or three notes, have been contributed by the editor of this Magazine, who remembers with melancholy interest various communications held with the late Mr. Carpenter during the composition of the series of essays.

We add from Mr. Tayler's Preface a passage which well expresses, among other things, the relation of the Nonconformity of 1662 to that of our own day and church:

"We believe that the full effect of Nonconformist action on the social progress of our country, especially in the provinces, has never yet been adequately appreciated. That action, we are persuaded, will be found far more closely connected than many of the present generation are aware, with the history of free thought, religious earnestness, local benevolence and popular education, during a century and a half of marked and rapid national development. The history of the High-Pavement society furnishes an excellent illustration of the character and working of one section of English Nonconformity, through successive phases of belief and manners and social condition. * * * Its pulpit has been filled by a succession of highly cultivated men of widely diversified gifts, who exercised a valuable social influence in their day, and have ever rendered good service to the best interests of humanity. It still occupies an honourable position in the town for its zealous support of all institutions which tend to the mental and moral advancement of the great mass of society. Changes have come over its modes of theological belief and its methods of congregational action; but through all these changes it has preserved unweakened the vital elements of the old Nonconformity, respect for the sanctity of conscience, protest against ecclesiastical imposition, reliance on the power

Digitized by Google

of truth, and trust in the final results of a liberal and healthy culture of the popular mind. After two centuries of manly effort and honest speech, it is still accomplishing in the same spirit, though it may be through different forms and instrumentalities, the work bequeathed to it by its pious and high-minded founders. Long may it continue to carry on that work!"—Preface, pp. iii, iv.

Common Prayer for Christian Worship: in Ten Services for Morning and Evening, with Special Collects, Prayers and Occasional Services. London —Whitfield.

Amongst the particulars in which the Unitarian church in England has declined from the better example of the same church half a century ago, we are happily not obliged to name the devotional spirit of its public services. If the prayers of that day are compared with those more recently composed, we believe the advantage will appear greatly in favour of the latter. Some of the devotional compositions and compilations of later date have come from the pens of theologians supposed to be less influenced by scripture teachings than others of their brethren. But we are not aware that any peculiarity or deficiency of this kind has ever been suspected in the prayers with which their names are supposed to be associated. Selden, in his Table Talk, recommends a resort to liturgies, rather than to the writings of particular men, if you would know what was generally believed. If the faith, either of our worshiping assemblies or of particular individuals, is judged of by the prayers composed by the latter and adopted by the former, the result would be not unsatisfactory. The growth of the taste in our congregations for forms of prayer has been of late remarkable. The editor of the volume now before us remarks in his Preface:

"To any one who watches the signs of the times, it must be obvious that an increasing number of persons, even in Churches of the freest ritual, are coming to the conclusion that it is an advantage in public worship to have a Book of Common Prayer. Doubtless the extempore outpouring of the minister will still be preferred by many, partly from the force of long custom, and partly from a conviction that words fresh from the heart are better adapted, both to call forth and to express genuine fervour, than prayers read from a book: but others will care more for the fitness than the newness of the language; and, instead of becoming weary of the familiar phrase, will find endearing associations cluster round it, and will feel a warmer glow of devotion from the thought, that they are uniting not only with their fellow-worshippers immediately around them, but with many Christian assemblies far and near. Nor will forms of expression which evidently belong to a bygone time be without a peculiar sacredness, if we think of them as having served to clothe the homage and desires of devout men who have long passed from this world." Preface, pp. iii, iv.

The history of this volume is explained in two other passages in the Preface:

"It is quite in harmony therefore with the history of the English Presbyterians, that a body of London Ministers, inheriting their traditions and their name, their protest against creeds which divide Christians, their longing for a worship which unites, should have conceived the design of a new Liturgical compilation, to be gathered, in a catholic spirit, from the devotional writings of every Christian age. To one of their members they accordingly gave the commission,—with promises of help which have been more than fulfilled,—to

Digitized by Google

revise the Services in use in the Church of England, and to make additions from other sources, after having carried out more fully a course of reading which has always been his delight. * * * With a view to reach more effectually some chords of modern feeling, certain of the forms now published were entrusted for re-construction to another hand. The result was not a re-arrangement, as was at first contemplated, but the preparation of two new Services, the Ninth and Tenth; which left no doubt in the minds of those who have taken the most active part in this attempt, of the desirability of combining treasures new and old. It is right to add that the author of these two Services has not confined his help to the part from his own pen, but has extended it to the last revision of the whole."—Preface, pp. v—vii.

The characteristics of this volume, as explained by the editor, are, that all the prayers are addressed to the Father of Jesus Christ; the three Creeds of the Book of Common Prayer have here no place; though in the two services derived from it the order of the Book of Common Prayer has been preserved, in the other services a different order has been followed more consonant to the feelings of worshipers who decline to receive the rite of absolution from a priest; there is no alternate reading of psalms by minister and people. Large use is made by the editor of the canticle in which devotional thoughts, specially adapted to Christian worship, are modelled in imitation of the psalmists and prophets of the Old Testament. Prayers adapted to the different seasons of the Christian year, and prayers and thanksgivings suitable to the varying moods of a religious heart, form a valuable addition. The volume closes with the usual special services.

The prayers new to us in this volume have much and varied excellence. They are all sufficiently elevated in style, and generally breathe the unmistakable spirit of devotion. Some of them are singularly beautiful, and will take their place amongst the best prayers in the English language.

But while we give this high praise, we must add that we do not believe that it will in its present form take or retain its place in the great majority of our churches as the book of their common prayer. It wants homogeneity. In taking in its opening services so much from the Book of Common Prayer, the editor adopts a standard which in the after services he makes no attempt to sustain. Then the differences of the two last forms from all that precede strike every ear and eye. If four, six or eight services could be composed possessing the requisite variety of thought and expression, all homogeneous with the forms now naturalized among us by long familiarity, we can imagine nothing better. But as this is an unattainable result, we would rather abandon the platform of the Book of Common Prayer, and have a series of services which, though differing in their several parts, should yet be constructed on a common principle of variety. Instead of having the old prayers together in the two first, and the new prayers in the two last services, we would have both distributed through the whole series.

But while we record our expectation that this volume will not live as a whole in our churches, we may add the equally strong conviction that there are portions of it which they will never let die. We recommend it to ministers as a storehouse of rich and impressive devotional utterances, by means of which they may refresh their own spiritual breathing and improve their public prayers.

Digitized by Google

The Evangelical Magazine. April, 1862.

None of the religious periodicals of our day have more undergone improvement than this, the oldest of its race. Under the editorial care of Mr. Stoughton, it is readable and liberal. The present No. has a good sketch, from the pen of Rev. G. Smith, of Flavel, the ejected minister of Dartmouth,—one of a series entitled, "The Haunts and Homes of the Ejected." A pleasant article from another pen, descriptive of Dr. Williams's Library in Redcross Street, will reward the reader's pains. There was a time when the name of Dr. Priestley (in connection with Fuseli's portrait of him) would have made the "Evangelical" shudder. Here is a specimen of the article:

"A letter from one of the trustees, easily obtainable, admits you, and within is every accommodation for undisturbed study. Here are upwards of 20,000 volumes, some of them of great value in connection with ecclesiastical history; many rare manuscripts, such as the original copy, we believe, of Baxter's 'Saints' Rest;' five folio volumes of Baxter's letters; Minutes of the General Assembly of Divines; Quick's Manuscript Lives of French Protestant Divines; three volumes of letters of eminent persons of different periods (to which some day we hope to do justice), and many other precious MSS. *notabilia.* In addition to these treasures, there are 97 portraits, most of them original oil-paintings, life-size, of the most celebrated men of the Puritan period, such as Barrow, Bates, Baxter, Charnock, Howe, Flavel, Jacomb, Manton, Annesley, Caryl and others, to look on whose faces is itself a full repayment for a visit to this unique library. We are now in the front reading-room: let us quietly discourse together on its contents. That fine portrait over the fire-place is Dr. Williams's, the munificent founder of this library. A very goodly-looking man, with a fine round face, a robust build, a sturdy but benevolent look, and a grand old wig of curled hair. What a presence those wigs, like his or John Howe's for instance, must have given a preacher in the pulpit! Dr. Williams was born in the quiet town of Wrexham in 1644, and was altogether a man with a history behind his life. He witnessed the sufferings of many of the nonconforming clergy, yet nevertheless cast in his lot with them, and was one of the first young men of the next generation to enter its ministry. The political and ecclesiastical troubles of the day induced him to seek a peaceful home in Ireland, where, first of all, he became chaplain to the Countess of Meath, and afterwards for nearly twenty years preacher to the 'congregation of Protestant Dissenters worshipping in Wood Street, Dublin.' Here he married his first wife, 'a lady of distinguished wisdom and piety, also of honourable family and large estate;' of which estate he says in his will—and this library is its noble proof—that 'he used it with moderation to himself, that it might be the more useful to others, both in his life and after his death.' That is her portrait, high up on the right hand of the Doctor; an aristocratic face, aquiline nose and sharply-defined features; altogether the kind of woman, we think, to help a man 'fight a good fight.' In 1687 he came to London, where his wealth and his wisdom were of great service to the Dissenters. Some of them were tempted to acknowledge the autocratical assumptions of the second James, who undertook on his own responsibility to *dispense with the penal laws made against Dissenters*, and, in consequence, 'were likely,' says Dr. Calamy, 'to be wheedled into an address approving of this.' Against this Dr. Williams made a brave stand; no compromise of justice, no sacrifice of principle, were his mottoes; and from those thin, compressed lips came these words, worthy of present record—'It might help them as Dissenters in a special matter for the time, but it would be a lasting injury to the cause of freedom. The severities of the former reign upon Protestant Dissenters, were rather as they stood in the way of arbitrary power, than for their religious dissent; and it were better for them to be reduced to their former hardships, than to declare for measures destructive of the liberties of their country.'"

Digitized by Google

INTELLIGENCE.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH.

March 24. The *Rev. Adam Rushton* took farewell of his friends at Padiham, previously to entering on the duties of the Mission at Manchester, and received from his late flock some memorial volumes,—a tribute of respect and appreciation of faithful service.

March 28. The 168th anniversary of the opening of the *Chapel at Lydgate*, in Yorkshire, was celebrated. The occasion was used to welcome Mr. Green, the new pastor, into his office. The Rev. R. L. Carpenter gave him a welcome on behalf of the Unitarian ministers of the district.

April 1. The *Rev. J. Nixon Porter* was presented by his friends, to whom he has ministered twenty-three years, with a purse of gold and an address in the Town Hall of Carrickfergus. The presence and expressed sympathy of an Independent minister of the town was an interesting feature of the meeting. Mr. J. N. Porter removes to the pulpit at Cairo Street, Warrington, recently vacated by the Rev. P. P. Carpenter.

March 31. The twenty-fifth anniversary meeting of the friends of the *Liverpool Domestic Mission* was held. Of Mr. Steinthal's admirable Report we hope to take notice hereafter. The financial statement shewed a balance of £120. Some excellent addresses were made by Mr. Bowring, Mr. Melly, Rev. J. Robberds, Rev. S. A. Steinthal and Rev. James Drummond.

April 9. The friends of the *Domestic Mission to the Poor in Belfast* held their annual meeting, assembling for the first time in the building erected for the society by Mr. Whitla. The Rev. J. Scott Porter paid an eloquent tribute to the generosity of this friend of the poor, and pointed to the fact that the building was a commemoration by the giver of many of God's blessings to him, and in remembrance of a much-loved and now departed wife and sister. The friends of the Mission took an affectionate leave of Mr. Eachus, who is about to enter on other, though not dissimilar duties, as a missionary at Pudsey. Mr. James M. Darbishire characterized Mr. Eachus' labours in a very kind and hopeful address.

April 16. At the meeting of the *Liverpool North-end Mission*, Mr. Beaumont, the missionary, presented his annual Report, in which he described, among other matters, a Nurses' institution, and referred to the establishment in connection with the Mission of a Co-operative store. In supporting the report, Rev. J. H. Thom expressed an opinion that special missions to the poor were an absolute necessity of the times, and his confidence in them as a philanthropic agency. The agency was personal. It did Christ's work in Christ's own way, face to face, heart to heart, and eye to eye.

Presbyteries in North Ireland.—Great changes are being made in these bodies. The congregation at Moneyrea has detached itself from the Presbytery of Bangor. The Rev. J. Scott Porter has resigned the Secretaryship of the Presbytery of Antrim. Four congregations—those of the First Belfast, Holywood, Larne and Antrim—have withdrawn from the Presbytery of Antrim and formed themselves into a new Presbytery, designated the Northern Presbytery of Antrim. Amid these notes of alienation and strife, the only cheering sound is a resolution adopted on the 14th of March by Dr. Montgomery and his friends of the Presbytery of Bangor, who have, for the sake of peace and conciliation, agreed to recommend a modification of the questions to candidates for ordination, resistance to which has occasioned these painful misunderstandings, secessions and separations. The one question proposed to be put hereafter is this—"Do you believe the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament contain a divine revelation; and do you receive them as the only sufficient rule of faith and practice, to the exclusion of all human creeds and forms of faith?" Would it not be more accurate in framing such a question to say, that the Scriptures contain the record of a divine revelation?

Enrolment of Chapel Deeds.—We beg (says the *Patriot*) to call the attention of ministers, deacons and chapel trustees, to the necessity that all trust deeds should be immediately enrolled in the Court of Chancery. Mr. Hadfield's valuable Act amending the Mortmain Act, passed last year, requires that this should be done before the 16th of May next, and, if they are not then enrolled, they will become worthless. We fear that at this moment a considerable number of deeds have not been enrolled. We suppose the expense has deterred parties who did not understand the imperative nature of the obligation.

If the land was *given* for charitable purposes, the Act does not allow enrolment. A *bonâ fide* equivalent must have been given. If the deed has been in existence

Digitized by Google

thirty years or upwards, all that is to be done is to send it to some legal friend in London, who will get it enrolled forthwith. If executed within the last thirty years, it will have to be acknowledged by the grantor before a Commissioner; and where the grantor is dead, proof of death will have to be given; or where he cannot be found, an affidavit will have to be furnished proving the fact. The Act applies to freehold and copyhold. The expense of enrolment varies according to the length of the deed. The charge is 1*s.* per folio, or seventy-two words. There will be the solicitor's fees in addition.

OBITUARY.

THE LATE MR. WILLIAM AINSWORTH.

The cause of Unitarian Christianity owes much to the public labours of the influential members of our congregations. Living day by day before the eyes of their fellow-creatures, they shew how the religion they profess can regulate the conduct and raise the character. By their faithful discharge of their various duties, they gain for themselves the approbation even of those who differ from them in belief; and, by their practical piety, they do much to subdue that spirit of bigotry by which our household of faith is so frequently assailed. The subject of the following memoir, like many other leading laymen of our body, proved by his usefulness and philanthropy that, though the name of Christian might be denied to him, he tried to live the life of Christ.

WILLIAM AINSWORTH was born at Blackburn, on the 10th of November, 1807. He was the second son of the late Thomas Ainsworth, Esq., by Lydia, daughter of the Rev. Dr. M'Quahae, of St. Quivox, Ayrshire, and sister of Admiral M'Quahae. When he was quite an infant, he was removed with the rest of the family to Preston, where his father established himself as a cotton manufacturer, and for many years carried on an extensive business. Intended for the legal profession, he was sent first to a private school in Scotland, and then to the University of Glasgow. About the time of his going to Glasgow, a contest was being waged which probably exercised a considerable influence on the formation of his political opinions. Mr. Finlay, M.P., the then Lord Rector, had given great offence by supporting in Parliament a bill designed to destroy the suffrage of the undergraduates. His re-election, therefore, was strenuously opposed. Francis, afterwards Lord, Jeffery was his successful opponent. Of a committee formed to secure the return of the popular candidate, Thomas Ainsworth, an elder brother of William Ainsworth, was the chairman; and he believes that the impressions which that contest on behalf of the great champion of Liberalism produced on his younger brother's mind, never passed away. Among Mr. Ainsworth's fellow-students were the Rev. John Cropper, M.A., of Stand; the Rev. Henry Green, M.A., of Knutsford; the Rev. William Gaskell, M.A., of Manchester; Dr. Alexander Munro, also of Manchester; Major Sterling, an aide-de-camp of Lord Clyde's in India; the great John Sterling; Wetherly Phipson, now a barrister of eminence in London; and W. M. James, Vice-Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. With many of these gentlemen Mr. Ainsworth's intimacy continued throughout the whole of his life, and the regard they were led to feel for him in his youth became stronger and deeper with the advance of years. As a student he highly distinguished himself. Among other prizes which he gained, he, in the session 1824-25, in the Logic class, carried off a prize for the best analysis of the faculty of Imagination; and in the Moral Philosophy class, there was awarded him, by the votes of his class-fellows, the first prize for "*superior merit* in the composition of essays weekly presented to the students, or written on subjects chosen by themselves, and for *distinguished eminence* in the various duties and business of the class." After he left the University, he was articled to Messrs. Winstanley and Cattarall, solicitors, of Preston. In their office he diligently applied himself to the study of the law, and thereby qualified himself for those magisterial duties which in after life he so ably discharged. At his father's request, however, he turned his attention to commercial pursuits; and he and his elder brother became partners with their father in the Church-Street mills at Preston, and also in a cotton mill at Backbarrow, near Ulverston. In public matters Mr. Ainsworth frequently took an active part. For six years he was a member of the Town Council; for a long period he was an elected Guardian of the

Digitized by Google

Union, to the duties of which office he paid great attention, acting for some time as the Vice-chairman of the Board; but "his most prominent and useful labours," as the *Preston Chronicle* well remarks, "were as a borough magistrate, for which his legal education, his natural good sense, and his desire to be useful to his fellow-townsmen, well fitted him. He was most punctual in his attendance on the bench, and most painstaking in his labours; while his judicial impartiality, and his superiority to personal or class considerations, induced all parties to accept his decisions with satisfaction, and frequently to resort to him as an arbitrator in extra-judicial matters. Had he been a stipendiary magistrate, he could not have been more devoted in his labours." His attendance on the bench, however, represented but a small portion of the duties which as a magistrate he discharged. Hundreds of cases were settled by him in private; family quarrels and trade disputes were referred to him for decision; and his business and his leisure were continually interfered with by persons who asked his advice. But he never complained of the demands that were made upon him. All who waited upon him were courteously received, patiently listened to and cheerfully assisted; so that his name was uttered with affectionate regard by rich and poor. And among the thousands of his fellow-townsmen who lament his loss, some of the truest mourners belong to the working classes. The same kindness which he shewed to those who sought his legal advice, he carried into all his intercourse with those around him. He always shewed great concern for the happiness of his "hands"—contributing to their enjoyment on the occasion of their annual holidays by his personal exertions—supplying them with food from his own table when they were weakened by sickness, and in every way providing for their welfare. Though he was not a teetotaller, he took a deep interest in the temperance movement, which his experience as a magistrate had taught him to value, and he was always ready to act as chairman at any important meeting to wage war against drunkenness. Indeed, in all questions of political and social reform, he was willing to take his part. His natural diffidence sometimes prevented him from occupying his proper place; but he was looked on as a leader in every liberal cause. When Kossuth pleaded on behalf of Hungary, and Signora Mario excited the enthusiasm of her hearers by her orations on Italian liberty, Mr. Ainsworth took the chair. He was on the committee of most of the local charities and educational institutions, the Chairman of the Cricket Club, the President of the Liberation Society, and a Patron of the School of Art. He was the warm friend and constant adviser of Mr. Grenfell, the liberal Member for Preston; at the general election of 1859, he seconded the nomination of the Marquis of Hartington as M.P. for N. Lancashire; and in December, 1859, he was appointed Treasurer of the North Lancashire Liberal Registration Society. Mr. Ainsworth was devotedly attached to the principles of Unitarian Christianity. They were his guide in life, and they proved his comfort in death. He regarded with great satisfaction the increased energy which our body of late years has displayed. The missionary movements that were originated a short time ago through the establishment of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board, were approved of by him before they became generally popular among us. As Chairman at the meetings of the Provincial Assembly held in 1858 at Dukinfield, and in 1860 at Preston, he gave in his adhesion to those plans which, under the Divine blessing, have already produced such encouraging results. For the last four years of his life, he entered more fully than he had done for some time before into all matters which concerned the welfare of the Preston Unitarian congregation. Between the Rev. W. C. Squier and himself there existed a close intimacy which was never disturbed. Whatever his minister attempted, he was ready to assist in; he regularly attended the Sunday-school teachers' meetings, and encouraged by his presence, his sympathy and his money, the workers who came together; he felt strongly attached to evangelical Unitarianism, but he exerted himself to break down the barriers which too often divide our church from other churches, and much of the good feeling among the Preston Nonconformists may be traced to him; he contributed to the erection of many Dissenting places of worship in the town; and when Mr. Hoare visited Preston to establish a Church Defence Association, and to urge members of the Church of England to attack those who were agitating for the removal of every hindrance to religious liberty, he was unanimously elected President of the Union which the Nonconformists formed, the Rev. W. C. Squier being at the same time elected Secretary. About nine years ago, Mr. Ainsworth had a serious fall, to which, however, he did not attach much importance. In the course of time his limbs began to be affected with symptoms of paralysis. He gradually lost the use of his right hand, whereupon he learned to

Digitized by Google

write with his left hand, and continued his public duties with undiminished attention. Finding himself getting worse, and failing to derive any benefit from the medical men whom he consulted, he left home in November last for Brighton. The change of air and the pleasant society of the seaside seemed at first to raise hopes of amendment, but very soon the hopelessness of the case became plain. Patient through days and nights of pain and restlessness, he bore, with submission to his Heavenly Father's will, the appointed cross. His thoughts busied themselves for the good of the cause which was dear to his heart; and he sought to purchase, for the purpose of presenting to the congregation, a plot of land suitable for the erection of a new Unitarian chapel in Preston, towards which object he left in his will £2000. But he knew that his end was approaching, and by easy stages he tried to reach his home. God heard his prayers, and gave him more than he prayed for; he reached, not his home on earth, but his home in heaven. At Kensington, in the house of a medical man, on the 22nd of March, his spirit passed away; his end was peace. A post-mortem examination disclosed ossification of the spinal cord, so that nothing could have given him relief; and had his life been prolonged, his intellect must have become affected. When the news of his decease reached Preston, a profound and widespread sorrow was displayed. In the vault of his family, which was opened by permission of Sir George Grey, the Home Secretary, to receive his remains, his body rests. A long procession followed his corpse from his house to the chapel. Men of all shades of politics, and of almost every religious belief, united to do him honour. Magistrates, members of the Corporation, ministers of the gospel and private persons, paid him the last tribute of respect. And hundreds in the crowded streets mourned for the upright magistrate and faithful friend that they had lost. The funeral service was conducted by the minister of the chapel, who went through his melancholy duties under the weight of a heavy sorrow, and on the following Sunday preached a funeral sermon to the bereaved family and congregation and a large number of strangers. All felt that they had sustained no ordinary loss, and were deeply moved at the closing words of the discourse:

"The members of this congregation have a duty to perform. They have to supply, by their united exertions, the place of him who is gone. They have to keep his memory green by taking a deeper interest in the religious society in the midst of which his happiest hours were spent. They have to shew, before men and before God, the worth of his example. Though we may never again behold his face and hear his voice in our public worship of the Almighty; though our Sunday-school teachers may never again be encouraged by his active sympathy, nor our Sunday-school scholars be made happy by his timely benevolence; though our ministers from distant towns may never again receive his hearty welcome, and our various denominational meetings may never again enjoy his wished-for presence,—he will not have lived and died in vain, if he has filled us with a steady determination to profit by his example.

'God calls our loved ones, but we lose not wholly
What He hath given;
They live on earth, in thought and deed, as truly
As in His heaven.'

We may place his name on the stone that rises above where his body rests; we may erect a tablet to his memory in the House of God where we habitually worship; we may build a chapel which shall preserve for centuries the record of his worth; but the best of all tributes to the excellence of so perfect and so upright a man, is an imitation of his Christian usefulness, his pious energy, his virtuous life. May we follow him, even as he followed Jesus; that we, having carried the cross, may be permitted to wear the crown, and to meet again, in our heavenly Father's house, the friend whom we have loved and lost!"

We hope that the Preston friends will not be disheartened at the removal of one of their principal men. They should determine to do their utmost to carry forward the work to which he was devoted. They should shew that it is God, not man, on whom they most depend for help. And they should encourage other laymen, in other congregations, to imitate the labours of the late Mr. Ainsworth, by proving how largely his spirit has moved themselves.

W. C. S.

March 8, at Halifax, after a prolonged illness, ELIZABETH DEAN, aged 73; and on March 17, ABEL WADSWORTH DEAN, after a few weeks of suffering, aged 76. They had enjoyed together fifty-four years of married life. The remembrance of Mrs. Dean's virtues and Christian graces will long be cherished by her family and friends: there are some circumstances in Mr. Dean's life which call for more public record. From the age of eighteen, for the space of

Digitized by Google

nearly half a century, he led the choir in Northgate-End chapel; and fulfilled his duties with much taste and zeal. He took peculiar pains in the selection of tunes suitable to the hymns; and so delighted in his office, that, when for a time he lived near Leeds, he regularly walked to Halifax and back (about 15 miles each way) for the Sunday. He had a fine voice and great knowledge of music, and was often invited to desert his humble post. On one occasion he was offered an engagement in Durham cathedral, where, instead of £6 which he received at Halifax, he would have obtained £90, and would have also been able to provide for his sons as choristers. Although this was at a period of his life when he was in very narrow circumstances, he did not hesitate in his decision. He had so deep a conviction that a curse rests on that worship which is not in sincerity and truth, that he would no more have consented to *sing*, than a conscientious minister would consent to *read*, those portions of the Liturgy which appear unscriptural and untrue. He made his musical profession entirely subordinate to his Christian profession. The greatest improvement of his musical skill, and the rewards it would ensure, would have been worthless in his sight in comparison with the maintenance of his integrity. We never heard him allude to his sacrifices; he did not wonder at them himself, or expect others to admire them, as anything exceptional or unusual. They were not so to *him*. He looked on his musical talent as a gift of God; and though he did not refuse remuneration whilst he had a family to support, he seemed most pleased when he freely gave what he had freely received. By his training, he helped to form the taste of many of the chief supporters of vocal music in Halifax. His four sons were excellent organists. In their boyhood, they successively played at Northgate-End chapel. Three of them are living. (His son and namesake at Halifax, Mr. Abel Dean, is highly esteemed as the conductor at the "jubilee commemorations," when, every five years, upwards of 25,000 teachers and Sunday scholars meet to sing in the Piece Hall.) Mr. Dean preferred to earn his livelihood as a compositor. Finding that intemperance was too common among his fellow-workmen, he took the total-abstinence pledge for their sakes 22 years ago, and six of his companions followed his example, five of whom have kept it as steadfastly as he did. He was always remarkably temperate and active in his habits. Although it was no longer needed for his support, his family could not persuade him to relinquish his work as a compositor till within a few weeks of his death. In simplicity and godly sincerity, in humility, kindness, cheerfulness and integrity, he had his conversation in the world. Diligent in business, he was fervent in spirit to serve the Lord. After his power of utterance was gone, we saw tokens that his mind was reverting to the sacred melodies of earth, ere he was about to unite in the harmonies of heaven.

R. L. C.

March 29, at Hough Green, near Chester, in her 81st year, Mrs. Anna Middleton. This estimable lady was the younger daughter of the late Mr. John Middleton, of St. Martin's Lane, London. Sara, the elder daughter, was the wife of the late Rev. Robert Aspland, of Hackney. The names of both these ladies are of not infrequent occurrence in the Memoir of the late Mr. Aspland. The two sisters were brought up amongst the orthodox Dissenters of the metropolis, but were free from the narrowness and theological timidity which sometimes characterize this class of persons. They had the advantage of an excellent education, which they improved by personal assiduity and habits of study continued in after life. They also benefited at their father's house by the society of several persons eminent in art and literature. The two accomplished women, Jane and Anna Maria Porter, were their early and intimate friends, and the friendship was dissolved only by death. Anna Middleton shared the liberal theological opinions adopted by her sister prior to the marriage of the latter. She was thus for more than sixty years a Unitarian Christian, and found in that form of Christian faith everything to satisfy the mind and sustain the heart. After her father's death, she became an inmate of Mr. Aspland's family, by every member of which she was loved with the tenderest affection. She devoted herself chiefly to domestic and philanthropic duty. Quiet, gentle and unostentatious, she trod with admirable regularity a path of duty far from unimportant. The counsellor and friend of a large household, their correspondent in their absences from the domestic roof, she dispensed from her own clear intellect and warm and generous heart the purest moral and social influences to those around her. So warm and self-sacrificing were her affections towards her sister's family, that for their welfare she gave up all her individual tastes, instructing them in childhood, nursing them in sickness. Few, out of the family circle in which she lived, were aware how varied were her stores of knowledge and how active and strong were her intellectual

Digitized by Google

powers. The only proofs of these given to the public were a few anonymous publications. The first was a volume of "Select Sermons," translated from the French of Bourdaloue, and published by Mr. Benjamin Flower, of Harlow, in 1806. She was led to this task by the desire of forwarding a work of charity, to which she devoted the profits of the volume. In selecting Bourdaloue for translation, she was influenced by his being one of the few Roman Catholic preachers who admitted the possibility of salvation beyond the pale of their Church. The selection of the sermons is judicious, and the translation is into pure and nervous idiomatic English. She was also the translator of the "Geneva Catechism," remarkable as being an elaborate exposition of Unitarian doctrine in the form of a catechism. An eminent teacher also availed himself of her assistance in compiling an elementary French Grammar. She was also the writer of several of the valuable series of works published by the Christian Tract Society. Many thousands of readers have read with interest (and may we not hope with profit) the "Returning Prodigal," in two parts, the history of "Samuel Bonner, or Cruelty to Animals," "A Week in a Cottage," and "The Widow."

To the late Mr. Aspland her assistance was invaluable, aiding him in his extensive correspondence, and, during his severe attacks of illness, carrying on the religious periodicals of which he was the founder and editor. She particularly excelled in the art of reading, and her voice never seemed to tire so long as she could by its exercise minister instruction and pleasure to the social circle. During the protracted sufferings of his last illness, she was his constant attendant, and by her gentle and cheerful presence and tender affection soothed many hours of languor and pain. She gave much time and thought to many forms of charity. She generally chose as the objects of her help those that were most likely to be overlooked by others. The sufferings of the slave and of the poor chimney-sweepers painfully interested her for many years of her life, and many little pieces enforcing the claims of the latter on the protection of the Legislature and on individual sympathy proceeded from her pen.

After the death of her brother-in-law, she retired, with her widowed sister, first to Leicester and then to Chester, finding in both places a cheerful and happy home in the house of her eldest niece, Mrs. Marillier. Her charities were ever active. She denied herself, to increase her means of aiding the poor around her, of helping old friends fallen into poverty, and relieving the wants of long-accustomed pensioners. Her faculties were happily bright to the last, and she was able to assure those who watched her declining strength that she looked on the approach of death without fear, and was happy in the hopes and prospects of an assured Christian faith. Her remains, followed by her only surviving brother and most of her nephews, were consigned to the family tomb at Hackney, and the words of the last office of respect were, as became the occasion, spoken gently, lovingly and hopefully, by the Rev. Thomas Madge, who had a few years previously performed the same office over the remains of her sister.

March 29, at Plymouth, aged 65, JANE, relict of the late Mr. WESTCOTT, a member and generous supporter of the Unitarian church in that town.

March 30, at his residence, Great George Square, Liverpool, THOMAS BOLTON, Esq., aged 83. The position so long and honourably occupied by this excellent man in the commercial, political and religious world, as well as his great personal worth, entitles him to our respectful remembrance. He was born at Wooller, in the county of Northumberland, and was brought up by his parents in the theology of the Calvinistic church. But he was disposed from early life to think for himself; and his naturally vigorous understanding made him first hesitate and then refuse to accept the popular doctrine of the Atonement by the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. He could not be brought to believe that that which would be injustice in man towards his fellow-man could be just in God's treatment of his creatures. Thus the moral argument against Calvinism, afterwards so powerfully stated by Dr. Channing, swayed the mind of Mr. Bolton towards a more benignant and liberal theology. Before he came of age he settled in Liverpool, and devoted his energies to commerce. On going to Liverpool, he found a home in the house of a lady who rented what had originally been the parsonage-house of the English Presbyterian chapel, in Benn's Garden. His vicinity to the chapel, of which the late Rev. Robert Lewin was the pastor, led him sometimes to join in its worship. This he found so congenial to his understanding and devotional taste that he presently became a member of the congregation. He accepted Unitarian Christianity with a firm and unhesitating faith; professed it to the end of his life, and gave to its services, institutions and ministers, a cordial, manly and liberal support. The daughter of his

Digitized by Google

pastor eventually became his wife. He remained with Benn's-Garden congregation until its removal to Renshaw Street, when he associated himself with the Paradise-Street congregation; and there and at Hope Street he worshiped for the rest of his life. By his firmness and moderation he acquired the confidence of his fellow-worshipers; and to him they looked up for many years as their leader. When the foundation-stone of the Hope-Street church was laid in 1847, to him was assigned by the congregation the post of honour as President of the day's proceedings; and happily did the gifted pastor of the church allude on that occasion to the manifest success of a work begun by "an eye so steady and a hand so firm." As a merchant, Mr. Bolton rose to eminence among his class in Liverpool. His unquestioned integrity, his fearlessness in stating and maintaining what he knew to be right and true, and his disinterested support of whatever tended to promote the commercial prosperity of Liverpool, soon gave him a high place in the estimation of his neighbours. All the qualities of Mr. Bolton's character came out in their strength in his conduct in the legal controversy respecting the town dues. Believing as he did that their enforcement by the Corporation exceeded the limits of law, and knowing that they interfered with the freedom and success of the commerce of the town, he induced his firm, Messrs. Bolton, Ogden and Co., to defend the action commenced against them by the Corporation. It is believed by some well acquainted with the circumstances that this suit had some influence, if not in procuring yet in moulding some of the clauses of the Municipal Reform Act. When that valuable measure of reform came into operation, Mr. Bolton was elected a member of the Council; and in the year 1840 accepted from the hands of his fellow-townsmen the office of Mayor —being the fourth Liberal chief officer elected after the reform of the Corporation. One important service he rendered to the town and to the cause of religious liberty, was his opposition to and prevention of a scheme for endowing out of the Corporate funds the churches of Liverpool. His successful resistance to this meditated injustice was a subject on which Mr. Bolton always thought and spoke with satisfaction. In politics, Mr. Bolton was the strenuous supporter of the Liberal party —a party which in Liverpool has numbered some men of the purest patriotism, such as Mr. Rushton, Dr. Shepherd, Ottiwell Wood, George Holt, Thomas Thornely and William Rathbone. Year after year, these men, long a small minority, bore a fearless testimony in behalf of civil and religious liberty. Most of them lived to see the rich harvest which rewarded their patient toil. Mr. Bolton was of course placed on the bench of borough magistrates. His characteristics of mind well fitted him for judicial duties; for he was always punctual, patient, calm and unfailing in the desire to do justice between man and man. Mr. Bolton was permitted to enjoy life to almost the farthest limits of human strength. It was the privilege of the writer to renew an old intimacy with this excellent man during the last year, at the house of his daughter, the lady of Mr. J. R. Ogden, of Lakefield, Esthwaite. His mind was bright as ever, and he spoke with his accustomed animation and clearness on subjects bearing on religious truth and the welfare of the church with which he had been so long associated. Though for some years withdrawn from commerce, his liberal support of works of public usefulness and private benevolence was undiminished. It was only within the knowledge of very few how much he did and spent for the good of others. On the day that his death was announced in Liverpool, numerous were the utterances of respect for his memory; and the flag at the Town Hall was hoisted half-mast high. He was buried in the ground connected with the Renshaw-Street chapel, on the 3rd of April; and the last office of respect was conducted by the Rev. J. H. Thom, whose frequent visits and warm sympathy during Mr. Bolton's decline were most consolatory to him. In the church of Hope Street, where he had been from the first a worshiper, and where he was the last of his generation, the officiating minister at the close of the discourse on Sunday, April 6, read a touching memorial drawn up for the occasion by one of the elders of the succeeding generation. In the other Liverpool Unitarian chapel, Mr. Thom preached a sermon, described as "beautifully discriminating and appreciative," in reference to the departure of his aged friend, from the words, *Set thine house in order*. It is an act of justice to the *Unitarian Herald* to state that the writer has been largely indebted to that journal for many of the facts and some of the words of this obituary tribute.

April 1, at Hull, aged 73, Mr. Samuel Cook Frankish.

April 5, at Bath, Anne, the beloved wife of George Noton, Esq., in the 61st year of her age.

April 6, at Rochdale, aged 63, Mr.

Digitized by Google

James Taylor, formerly an Unitarian minister, first at Rivington and afterwards at Dob Lane.

April 11, at her residence, Hackney, Mrs. Elizabeth Mary Stevens, aged 58 years.

April 12, at Clifton, aged 66, Anne, widow of the late Thomas W. Stansfeld, Esq., of Burley Wood, near Leeds.

April 14, at her residence, Gatley Hill, in the county of Chester, aged 66, Elizabeth, widow of the late John Alcock, Esq., of the same place. She was the second daughter of the late Randal Hibbert, Esq., of Brookside, Godley, in the same county. The religious principles and habits which she had learnt under her father's roof were shared and confirmed by her husband. They were her guide during a long, useful and eminently happy life, giving her moral strength to perform her duties as a mother, a neighbour and a friend. By her intelligence, the simplicity of her manners and the cheerfulness of her disposition, she made a bright and happy home for her husband and children. Her tastes were simple but refined; her leisure, gained from more important pursuits, was given to social intercourse, books, and the enjoyment of the quiet rural beauty of her home and neighbourhood, which enjoyment she felt thoroughly to a late period of her life. Habitually frugal and self-denying, she had always ample means for charitable deeds. A school for the poor children of the village had found in her its principal and generous supporter. Hospitality was with her a constant source of pleasure to herself and friends. After a painful illness of some duration, borne with great fortitude, she breathed her last in peace, prepared for the great change by her useful life and her well-established religious principles. She was interred in the cemetery at Stockport, the funeral service being read by her pastor, the Rev. A. M. Creery, with whom only a few hours before her death she conversed and prayed with perfect calmness and undoubting trust.

MARRIAGES.

March 12, at the Unitarian chapel, Cross Street, Manchester, by Rev. William Gaskell, M.A., Mr. William Alexander Sothern to Agnes Margaret, eldest daughter of George C. Burrows, Esq., of Norwich.

March 16, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. Franklin Baker, M.A., Mr. John Price to Harriet, daughter of the late Mr. Joseph Parkinson, of Bolton.

March 19, at St. John's church, Godley cum Newton Green, by Rev. R. K. Bateson, incumbent, Samuel Henry, fourth son of the late John Alcock, Esq., of Gatley Hill, to Anne, third surviving daughter of the late John Turner, Esq., of Godley.

March 20, at the Unitarian chapel, Hull, by Rev. John Shannon, Mr. William Wilson, Jun., to Sarah, youngest daughter of the late T. A. Wilkinson, Esq.

March 30, at Lewin's-Mead chapel, Bristol, by Rev. William James, Mr. C. W. Light to Emma, second daughter of Mr. Thomas Bunce.

April 9, at Northgate-End chapel, Halifax, by Rev. R. L. Carpenter, B.A., Mr. John Standeven to Miss Maria Hallowell.

April 23, at the Unitarian chapel, Bradford, by Rev. Edmund Kell, M.A., uncle to the bride, assisted by Rev. T. W. Freckleton, Charles John Philip Weiss, Esq., of Huddersfield, to Mary Elizabeth Caroline Pesel, of Bradford.

Recently at Adelaide, by Rev. J. Crawford Woods, B.A., William White, Esq., Reedbeds, to Charlotte Louisa, only daughter of the late Mr. R. Osborne, Cornwall, England. Also, Louis Weichard, Esq., Woodside, to Mary Ann Bennett, eldest daughter of Mr. Edward Bailey, Port Adelaide.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCX.] JUNE, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

THE CHURCH THAT MIGHT BE NATIONAL.*

Church alleged to be helpless.

It is not by any means clear to some such persons, by what power the Church *could* be reformed, if the needful alterations were agreed upon. "The Church of England," says Dr. Vaughan, "has practically lost its machinery for self-modification. To deal conclusively with questions of doctrine or even of ritual, Convocation has no power and Parliament little fitness. The one represents but a part of the Church—but a part even of the clergy—even of the clergy of one province; the other includes many who are not of the Church at all. If the demand for change could be made as precise as it is now vague, and as harmonious as it is now discordant, there would still remain the questions, to whom is it to be addressed? and where resides, if not the power, yet the right, to grant it or to refuse." (*Revision of the Liturgy*, Introd. pp. ix, x.)

Was ever such a confession of helplessness! The National Church of England has no power of self-adjustment to the nation's requirements! Then it is high time that the nation should look after their own affairs.

Parliament can reform it.

We hold as Englishmen that Parliament has the indisputable power and right (which Convocation happily has not) to deal with the English Church as Parliament may think proper. Parliament has done this several times already, and can do it again as often as may be necessary. There is no fear of its being done needlessly often, judging by the perpetual evasion or postponement of the work for the last ninety years. We know not why the unfitness of Parliament for re-arranging the basis of a National Church should be assumed on account of its including many who do not worship with the existing sectarian Church. As they are shut out by its want of nationality, they are the very persons to be consulted how to make it national. For *National* is the word that describes its professed aim and duty, and its claim to respect and support.

The alternative: Lax Subscription and Non-natural Sense.

But what is the alternative recommended by those who think the Church so helpless and hopeless of amendment? It is truly saddening to the natural conscience of what is right and straightforward, to read such suggestions as the following from the pen

* Continued from p. 296.

Digitized by Google

of an eminent scholar and divine, who, if report spoke truly a few years ago, might now have been upon the Bench of Bishops to assist or retard the required legislation. In the Introduction to his Five Discourses on Revision of the Liturgy (which might have been more descriptively intitled, "Discourses *against* Revision"), Dr. Vaughan says, "The difficulties of revision are made more apparent, and its advantages more problematical, by every discussion." "What is needed for the comfort of the scrupulous" (and "in themselves," he says, "scruples are a weakness, are an evil, are a disease") "is rather construction than change; rather interpretation than alteration; the authoritative assurance that there is no dishonesty in their position, rather than such an adjustment of that position as, in accommodating them, must exclude others." He claims it as "no small blessing, in the eyes of all but party theologians, that there should be room within the pale of a common worship for men of various opinions." He speaks of the Articles and Formularies as "drawn from various sources, and incapable perhaps in some points of a perfectly logical coherence;" and adds, "It is thus that excellent men of conflicting doctrinal notions on many topics of secondary and on some of primary importance, have been enabled to worship together, and even to minister together, in a common Church and at a common altar." He distinguishes between *compromise* and *comprehension*. By the former he means "vagueness of expression, the omission of all that is distinctive and pointed, and such a softening and lowering of the tone of doctrine as should make it equally agreeable to the Calvinist and the Arminian, to the Romanist and the Socinian." *Comprehension* he would find in "the interpretation of that position which a minister, and even a worshiper, in the Church of England occupies as such." How then would he *interpret?*

Dr. Vaughan on Revision of Liturgy.

He would have it "not timidly whispered but boldly said" by the Bishop to the candidate for ordination: "In declaring your acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer, you do not profess that there is nothing in that book which you might yourself have been glad to express somewhat differently..... It is enough to justify your place amongst the ministers of a National Church, if you can say from the heart that, of the various Christian communities known to you in this country, this is the one which most commends itself to your judgment and conscience; that it is the Church of your choice and of your affection; that you are able with confidence and comfort to worship in its words, to minister in its offices, and to teach in its spirit."

"Emphasis of Subscription enfeebles it."

In reference to the declaration required to be made by an incumbent on institution to a benefice, of his "unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common

Digitized by Google

Prayer, as well as to the Thirty-nine Articles of Religion," Dr. Vaughan actually says: "No doubt the language of the last (more particularly) of these three declarations is needlessly stringent. *Its very emphasis enfeebles it.* Common sense puts upon its terms a construction which alone makes them tolerable, but which at the same time leaves *little save the promise to conform*, and the certainty that no honest man will promise conformity to that with which he does not *in the main sympathize*." He is willing, indeed, to see "the terms of subscription" altered, but not on any account the Prayer Book itself altered; and he thinks the "bold assertion and candid recognition of the practical meaning of any such forms of declaration" will do instead of their alteration.

Consistently with these extracts from the Introduction, the Discourses themselves undertake to justify the retention of everything that has been so repeatedly objected to in the *Absolution*, the Church doctrine of *Regeneration*, the *Athanasian Creed*, the *Burial Service*, and the Service for *Holy Orders*. The justification is attempted by *explaining away* all objectionable expressions as "enfeebled by their very emphasis."

The alternative is thus plainly stated to lie between *revision and reform* on the one hand, and *lax subscription and interpretation* on the other. And the latter is the course recommended.

Nowhere in the writings of Broad Churchmen or politicians is this mode of evading the difficulty more unblushingly avowed. Essayists and Reviewers imply it and act upon it, but Dr. Vaughan explains and vindicates it. We have therefore quoted him so fully.

Question lies between obsolete Formularies and nice Morality.

Is not the alternative as expressed by him equivalent to saying, that the question lies between antiquated Church formularies and nice morality? One or the other must be sacrificed. Most deeply is it to be regretted that the manifest difficulties which beset the question of Church reform should drive able and high-minded men into reasonings which, if the question were any but a Church question, would at once be condemned as sophistical or evasive. The moral aspects of this matter are very serious indeed.

Casuistry of Theologians.

The fact is as notorious as it is shameful, that on no other subject have so many laboured pleas for laxity in regard to promises, vows, oaths or engagements been put forth, as where religious beliefs are concerned. The subtleties of lawyers are as nothing to the casuistries of subscribing theologians. The world of business would shun a man as dishonest who paltered thus with a double sense. Mr. Macnaught has rightly said, that if the same laxity were used in mercantile contracts which prevails in regard to the Church Articles, there would soon be an end of faith between man and man. If "the emphasis of a declaration enfeebles it," as Dr. Vaughan declares, then an oath

Digitized by Google

in a court of justice may be broken because it is more emphatic than a simple word. But the secular world has never admitted such jesuitry. It would be ashamed to say that articles of partnership, or a lease or conveyance of property, was enfeebled by the emphasis of legal phraseology and signature. But with subscription to Church Articles, it seems, we may play fast and loose, insisting upon their retention as necessary to the Church, to morals, to piety, to Christianity itself; and then pleading for laxity in interpreting both their meaning and the import of our own act of signing them. Are those Articles so sacred that they must not be touched, yet so meaningless that they may be slighted? And does the Church make no account of the morals of subscription and the morals of belief? Are perfect sincerity and simplicity to be dispensed with in religion, at the fountain-head of thought and life? A systematized insincerity is more corrupting than a passionate sin repented of.

Advocates of Lax Conformity.

From Paley downwards (who "could not afford to keep a conscience"), the defenders of lax conformity have put into plausible words the thought on which lax conformists had already acted in signing Articles without believing them,—namely, that to require "the actual belief of each and every proposition contained in them" is equivalent to supposing "that the Legislature expected the consent of ten thousand men, and that in perpetual succession, not to one controverted proposition, but to many hundreds." And Paley adds: "It is difficult to conceive how this could be expected by any who observed the incurable diversity of human opinion upon all subjects short of demonstration." Yet the obvious rejoinder is, They *did* require it, and therefore seem to have *thought it possible.* They certainly made a law, which has ever since been enforced, that the ten thousand men must *say* they fulfil the impossible conditions. In fact, men in those times did think it both possible and necessary. They did *not* observe the incurable diversity of human opinion, or they thought it *curable* and *resolved to cure it.* They did *not* carefully distinguish between demonstrable and probable beliefs, or they thought the proofs of the subjects concerned to be *as absolute as demonstration.* It is hardly fair to maintain that articles of agreement were written in order that men might freely differ respecting them, and that the emphasis of the demand for uniform belief was meant to enfeeble it.

Uniformity was once thought possible.

The plain historical fact is, that the Legislature of those days, guided by the Churchmen, thought uniformity of belief both necessary and possible. Neither Churchmen nor Statesmen recognized the fundamental rights and duties of the individual mind. The theologians of the day stoutly proclaimed the necessity and sufficiency of a true belief to salvation, and confided in their own

Digitized by Google

faculty of defining unerringly what that true and safe belief was. And the real question for us of the present day is, whether it is right to retain and sign and vindicate those same Articles on the very ground that we have discovered their fundamental principle to be erroneous,—that many of their doctrinal statements are to us untrue and the accompanying requirements absurd,—that, in short, we accept neither the Articles nor their alleged awful sanction. Who shall give the "authoritative assurance" suggested, "that there is no dishonesty in such a position"? The "authoritative assurance" of the whole Bench of Bishops or both Houses of Convocation would but shew that the morality of the Church was less scrupulous than that of the shop and counting-house.

True conclusion from discovered mistake.

Surely the more natural and honest conclusion would be, that the mistaken basis adopted three hundred years ago ought to be exchanged for a truer one now that the mistake is discovered; that uniform belief being now known to be impossible in point of fact, it should no longer be attempted in appearance; that the blessing of having "room within the pale of a common worship for men of various opinions on matters even of primary importance," should appear on the face of the constitution of the Church; that subscription to Articles should cease, and the presumptuous dogma of salvation by orthodox opinions be no more officially spoken. This would be true *comprehension;* and here would be no *compromise*, unless it be compromise to relinquish the asserted right of thinking for others.

The Question for to-day.

To effect such a change in the constitution of the Church of England would, no doubt, be a work of difficulty and a work of time. But sooner or later (and apparently the time cannot be very far off) the difficulty must be faced. If the clerical conscience can reconcile itself to the "science of insincerity," the lay conscience cannot. Pity that the efforts which might possibly bring health and freedom, should be devoted to the vain task of teaching a *non-natural* meaning for plain but mistaken words!

Lax Subscription out of the question.

Rejecting, therefore, the expedient of lax subscription and interpretation, as neither honourable in itself nor a possible solution of the acknowledged difficulty, let us consider such suggestions as have been made for the reform of the Church of England.

Reform of Articles and Liturgy?

One proposal is, to revise the Articles and Liturgy. The practical difficulties that beset this method seem to defy all hope of success. The diversities of theological opinion confessedly existing among the clergy, and others unconfessed which must be presumed to exist, render it impossible. The few suggested schemes of revision are so cautious, and their proposed alterations so few, as scarcely to

Digitized by Google

touch the great diversities of national opinion outside the existing Church. To omit or modify the Absolution of the Sick, to strike out the much debated passages implying Baptismal Regeneration, the anathemas of the Athanasian Creed (or even the Creed itself), the too "sure and certain hope" expressed in the Burial Service, and the assumption by the Bishop of power to communicate the Holy Ghost to the candidate for holy orders, is perhaps the extreme of expurgation that has been proposed by any clerical advocates of revision. But even this would be strenuously resisted by the High-Church party, and, if effected, would do little to conciliate the wider beliefs of educated and thoughtful men both within and without the Church. To agree upon the revision of the doctrinal and metaphysical Articles would be utterly impossible; and if (for argument' sake) we suppose it was agreed upon, the Articles in their new form would only settle matters for a while, because the thing really required is not a minute statement of what all believe, but provision for freedom and diversity.

Relief from Subscription?

Another plan would be that which was proposed by the 250 petitioners to Parliament in 1771, chiefly clergymen, with Archdeacon Blackburne at their head, and some eminent laymen assisting, who desired that a declaration of assent to the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures might be substituted in lieu of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer. Had this prayer been granted, the Church of England would have been put into pretty much the same position as the Church of Geneva. It was of course rejected; and since that time (strange to say) no attempt of the kind has been repeated. It is not because the need is less; for the diversities of human belief are become greater through the greater activity of thought and more comprehensive range of scientific inquiry. But the dread of change, the fear of heresy, and the policy of delay which then prevailed, have prevailed ever since; and hopelessness of relief has taught a convenient laxness of interpretation.

Repeal of Act of Uniformity.

The most thorough reform would be, the repeal of the Act of Uniformity. And perhaps, all things considered, it is as much within reasonable prospect as any other scheme. For a moment let it be supposed done; and what would be its results?

How it would work.

It would leave the question of subscription or no subscription to articles to be settled, from time to time and from place to place, between the respective patrons, parishes or congregations and their clergy. It would give the clergyman power (unless restrained by those who appoint him) to omit or modify various obsolete or objectionable phrases, to his own great relief and that of his congregation. It would leave the revision of the Liturgy open to any who chose to attempt it,

Digitized by Google

and would put it within the choice of each congregation to select one or other of the many revisions which would probably soon make their appearance, or even to adopt free prayer instead if they and their clergyman please.

Gradual changes.

Certainly this would be a sweeping change in the constitution of the Church of England. But the alterations in its practice would be very gradual and gentle. The love of change is not a prominent impulse in matters relating to religious worship. Quite the contrary. Even among Dissenters the habits of the olden time long resist all needless changes, and sometimes try the patience of the advocates of what seems natural progress. If the Established Church were thus set free from its legal bond of uniformity, the immediate result would be to enable clergymen to satisfy their own scruples by the omission of those few things in the Liturgy which grate even upon orthodox minds. Few persons would find fault with the omission of the Athanasian curses, or the exaggerated confession that "there is no health in us." Few clergymen would be called to account by public opinion for burying the unbaptized. A Maurice, who comes to think scripturally and reasonably about the term *everlasting* or *eternal*, would be in little danger of losing a Professorship on that account. A Robertson, in perfect sympathy with his congregation in their pursuit of scriptural inquiry and practical religion, would not have to sustain the odium of heresy. A Macnaught, while ministering to the religious intelligence of men who would fain bring the same open minds and hearts to God in worship that they bring to their worldly business, would not feel that he could serve them only during the sufferance of the law. A simple-hearted mystic like Mr. Heath might utter obscure or doubtful theories of scripture doctrine and prophecy for the edification of his country parishioners, without being lionized in the Court of Arches. And real scholars like Jowett and Rowland Williams would escape both the persecution and prosecution which are the present scandal of a University and an Episcopate.

Opposition to be expected.

No doubt the proposal to repeal the Act of Uniformity would excite a loud burst of theological indignation. "To what endless diversities of doctrine are you opening the way!" "You will have heresy in the same Church with orthodoxy!" "What concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?" would be asked with presumptuous parody upon St. Paul's reprobation of Corinthian idolatry and vice. "The Church," it would be said, ought to preserve the true and orthodox doctrine. To which the reply is obvious: The Church does not at present, and cannot do, any such thing. It has tried all these centuries to do it, and tried in vain, devoting more zeal to doctrine than to practice. Endless diversities of belief *do* exist among those of its clergy

Digitized by Google

who study and think. What is called orthodoxy and what is called heresy now exist side by side within its pale, and the Church is impotent to prevent what her theory condemns. Instead of upholding an irrational and impossible standard, it will be better to recognize the facts of human nature and provide for their free and honest developement. Let the Church of England openly avow and defend the rights of the mind, and accept the divinely-ordained diversities of human belief as its genuine, healthy and virtuous growths. The Church will then be truly National.

No wrong to any one. Nor could any one say that he was individually wronged by being thus put in possession of freedom, though he might complain if the Articles of subscription were changed for others. Not the most orthodox or the most bigoted could pretend that he was damaged or persecuted by the step suggested. He would still be just where he is and as he is, unless he choose to move; for he would be free to do as his own conscience might next direct him. No one's belief would be interfered with; only the power of interfering with the belief of others would be taken away. But while the monopoly of orthodoxy was thrown open, vested interests would be untouched. No one would be aggrieved, unless it be a grievance to lose the power of calling another heretic.

Freedom for all. In this respect the proposal to repeal the Act of Uniformity has a great advantage over that of revising the Articles and Liturgy. A revised Liturgy and Articles would still offend against the conscientious beliefs of many. It would still leave the national mind and conscience bound. But the repeal of the Act of Uniformity would be our simple acceptance of that diversity of beliefs which is manifestly ordained by Him who formed the human mind. Freedom for all is injury to none.

Is the repeal possible? Still the question recurs, Is the possibility of such a reform in the constitution of the Church of England conceivable?

Without disguising its difficulties, we believe it to be more within rational expectation than any other. And we believe it would be, in its very nature, final and satisfactory; and that no other would be so.

Depends on its promoters. On the question of practicability, all depends upon the agents to whom we look for reform.

A doctrinal reconstruction of the Articles and Liturgy would be naturally supposed to devolve upon the clergy, who, as already observed, could never heartily agree as to what constitutes orthodox doctrine, or could only do so in appearance and through temporary compromise. All Dr. Vaughan's objections are valid here. But the repeal of the Act of Uniformity is the proper work and duty of laymen, equally with scholarly and philosophi-

Digitized by Google

cal clergymen, who, by repealing it, would not pretend to decide a single theological question, but would simply leave all such questions open to discussion.

The Clergy less likely than the Laity.

It is scarcely to be expected that the clergy in general should take the lead in this or any other demand for reform. The invidious names of Orthodoxy and Heresy forbid the idea. To advocate the repeal of the restraining statute would be taken as an avowal of heretical theology. The laity, whenever they shall become sufficiently interested in the subject, will feel no such grounds of hesitation. They will have no scruple in setting their clergy free, even against their will; though they might not presume to decide questions of orthodox belief. They will feel themselves competent to knock off the fetters of three hundred years ago, and to leave thought free henceforth. To lay action we must therefore chiefly look, though not exclusively.

Liberal Churchmen and Dissenters.

If the actual state of things has now been described with something of the fairness attempted;—if its continuance involves a more and more lax conformity to unbelieved opinions, and is fast reducing insincerity to a system and a science, and making the secular world cry shame upon the Church;—if the idea of uniformity is radically unsound and impracticable;—if the revision of the Articles and Liturgy is hopeless through theological diversities, and would, if effected, be still a bone of contention and a bar to free thought;—if the mere repeal of the enactment which so insultingly demands uniformity would make free thought and sincerity legal within the Church of England;—and if this remedy can only be applied through the vigorous and resolute exertions of the laity (that is, of the nation) to make the Church national in something more than name;—we may perhaps find the answer ready to those immediately practical questions, whether free-minded Dissenters would promote this end by coming into the Church, or free-minded Churchmen by going out of it? If a few words of obvious deduction do not point the answer, no laboured argument or exhortation will.

Liberal Dissenters must not conform.

As to the free-minded Dissenter going into the Church in hope of reforming it,—there can be little hesitation in answering, that such a step on his part would be simply to give up his vantage ground. As an Englishman, he has the same right as any Churchman to think, to act and to legislate for the government of that national institution and the distribution of that national property, the Church. He would therefore gain nothing in political power or position by conforming. But by conforming he would give up his moral power and position. He would renounce his strong individuality and visible freedom. Worst of all, he would forfeit his personal claim for reform by having adopted the personal expedient of

Digitized by Google

lax conformity. He need not ask to have the door opened when he has already picked the lock. He has compromised his own opinions and given his sanction to that false morality respecting belief and unbelief which is eating the heart of sincerity out of us.

Must Liberal Churchmen dissent?

It is less easy to give a peremptory answer to the question, whether the Churchman who is too liberal-minded for the Church as it is, must come out of it in order to reform it. We cannot forget the power of young habit and venerated associations, nor expect that all the united faculties of the soul will follow the first call of the opinionative reason. Even among our numberless Dissenting sects, the Churchman who is dissatisfied with his Church through love of free thought, might in many localities be at a loss to know where to find the freedom, and yet more the culture, which he seeks. But while still frequenting the established service, he must feel that "unbelieved words thrust by legislative authority upon the hour of worship" are a perpetual damage to the soul's sincerity, and that the habit of "mental reserve" is inconsistent with earnest devotion or truthful character. And, judging by all parallel cases of reforms long delayed if gained at length, we must believe that the silence and passiveness of the laity, and their tendency to become indifferent through not actively remonstrating against those things in the Church Service which offend their belief or feeling, is the real cause of the non-reformation of the Church. *Quieta non movere* is always the rule with the passive adherents of legalized forms and institutions. But when things are actively in motion for reform, the hint is seldom lost upon the ruling powers.

Difference between Clergy and Laity.

As to the duty of secession from the Church when its doctrines no longer express one's own belief, there is an evident difference of degree (but only of degree) between the case of the clergyman and that of the layman. The former has solemnly subscribed his assent to the formularies of the Church, and is bound to use them without variation or omission. He has entered into engagements which forbid either change of belief or a free exercise of theological thought. As a clergyman, he is bound to believe all the Creeds and Articles of the Church, and the implied doctrines of its offices, in the legal (which is usually the natural) sense of the words. Common morality requires this. And when he no longer conscientiously does what he has solemnly undertaken to do, common morality says he ought to resign. It is for every man's own conscience to decide whether he will accept the guidance of common morality or the casuistical distinctions of writers in behalf of subscription to unbelieved Articles.

The layman, on the other hand, has not signed the Articles, and is not their official representative and exponent; and he may perhaps bear to hear what grates upon his convictions a

Digitized by Google

little longer than a clergyman ought actively to repeat and vouch for it. This difference is clear. But it is a difference of degree, not of principle. And the change, when felt to be right, is much easier for the layman to make than for the clergyman, as it involves no sacrifice but that of habit and perhaps worldly *status;* whereas to the clergyman it may be the sacrifice of his children's bread, and must be the breaking up of his life's best purposes.

False analogy pleaded for Conformity.

Apologetic conformity has somewhat violently strained a pretty simile by representing the Churchman as born to the Church, just as the Englishman is born to his country, and insisting that the act of dissent is parallel to emigration. It might indeed be well that the Church should reconstruct itself upon the wide national basis implied in this comparison. But, *with the Church as it is*, an Englishman is no more born to Churchmanship as an incident of his life than to a chancery suit, or the county jail, or the parish poorhouse. All these are no doubt, in some sense, national institutions, and are parts of his national privileges or liabilities. But he only claims or incurs them according to circumstances. There are qualifying conditions in each instance to be fulfilled. He only claims his national position as a chancery suitor in case of legal necessity, or his parish allowance in case of poverty;—he only incurs the jail by right of crime. And he becomes a member of the Church (as at present constituted) only through expressed or implied belief in her complicated and exclusive creeds. They are the condition of his membership. It is therefore a false, or at least a strained, analogy which represents an Englishman as a Churchman by birth, and would have him dissent only as he would emigrate.

"Allowing," "acknowledging" and "assenting to" the Articles.

A truer sensitiveness to the *morals of belief*, we cannot but imagine, would lead multitudes of liberal-thinking clergymen, of that order from which victims are every now and then selected for episcopal censure or deprivation by ecclesiastical courts, to emigrate at once (if that be the parallel) to a freer shore. Their special pleadings about "allowing," "acknowledging" or "assenting to" the Articles, grate sadly on the freer, if not more sensitive, conscience. And, if the laity were as outspoken on State enactments respecting religious belief and worship, as they are on those which regulate commerce, taxation, criminal law and other secular matters, it is not to be believed that the Legislature could long turn a deaf ear to the demand for Church reform. Nor would the laity endure to see the Church called National shutting out from its pulpits and professorships the best minds of the nation, and falling into that miserable sectarianism which will be inevitably stamped upon it if its ministry shall come to be represented by men whose single qualification is their sincere

Digitized by Google

or well-feigned content to abide by the theological doctrines of Cranmer.

The Secular Press. Already the secular press is asking with contemptuous impatience, in reference to the ecclesiastical prosecutions now in progress, whether it has ever occurred to the Bishops to consider the natural effect of such prosecutions, in deterring the best minds from entering the service of the Church, and leaving its ministry to "those who are unfit for any busier vocation, or those to whom a clergyman's position is a rise in life;" offering "an easy entrance to the stupid, optional work to the idle, a brevet of gentility to those who feel their need of it." Already the secular press decides that "a church which depended upon them alone would not hold its ground for two generations." "This is an age in which men bear every sort of rule impatiently; but the restraint at which they chafe the most is that which curbs free thought or speech. People may view the fact how they will—they may count it as praise or as blame to our generation—but fact it remains still, to be dealt with, not to be ignored." (*Saturday Review*, Nov. 23, 1861.)

Should not blame the Bishops, but demand Reform. The tone of other secular papers is similar. But we miss in such complaints the earnest purpose of men who would go to the root of the evil and place "free thought and speech" beyond the reach of episcopal censure. It is one thing to reproach the Bishops for using the ecclesiastical law according to the existing constitution of the Church; it would be a better and truer thing to demand the repeal of the law. It is one thing to invoke silence and compromise; it were a nobler thing to seek redress. The raillery spent upon narrow-minded Bishops who are acting conscientiously and consistently under a narrow Church Establishment which the age has outgrown, should be turned into earnest resolution and effort to rectify those laws which give them such power and make such acts their duty. While the constitution of the Church remains as it is, the most consistent Bishops are the narrow and intolerant ones. Shall we hope to cure intolerance by invoking insincerity to protect us? Or shall we not rather call for the repeal of those laws which make intolerance possible and sorely tempt to insincerity?

Prosecutions and Secessions will necessitate Reform. Long before the Church shall have lost all its best learning and talent through the slow but vexatious processes of the ecclesiastical courts, the righteous jealousy of Englishmen for the credit of their National Establishment will surely be roused into activity. Or the advent of needful reform may perhaps be hastened by the more decisive action of that class of minds whose free and scholarly habits constitute at present the chief difficulty, the chief danger and the chief discredit of the Church as it is.

If all who have already made themselves liable to ecclesiastical

Digitized by Google

law by the publication of free theological thought, and all others who would become liable if they made their beliefs equally public, could see it to be their duty to resign their benefices, the Church could not afford to lose them, and the nation assuredly *would not*. The Church could not exist for two generations under such destitution of talent and scholarship as she would then suffer. Reform would become a necessity palpable even to statesmen.

St. Bartholomew's Day in 1662 and 1862.

There was a day when, for infinitely fewer and less important diversities of religious opinion than now prevail within the Church, Two Thousand of its noblest-hearted clergy left its communion. That was in 1662, when on St. Bartholomew's Day, the 24th of August (a day previously black with religious persecution in France), the treacherous Act of Uniformity came into operation, dispossessing the Puritan clergy and necessitating dissent thenceforth.

Will 1862 pass by without some attempt to repeal that cruel and irrational yet futile Act? Dissent has grown ever since that stern enactment of Uniformity; with its repeal the Church of England might at least deserve to become again National.

ARCHBISHOP WHATELY ON CHRISTIANITY.*

Few persons who are acquainted with the writings of Archbishop Whately, will see an announcement of a new work by him without feeling a strong desire to peruse it, and a sanguine expectation of receiving from it both pleasure and instruction. The vigorous sense of the Archbishop, his clear and nervous style, and, to a great extent, his independent thought, entitle him to the respectful attention of his readers. With these and many other excellences, a reflecting reader can hardly fail to perceive errors in his works, arising apparently in part from a peculiarity of his own mind, and still more from his position in the world. That position is sure to command attention to his works; and many just and noble sentiments which might escape notice if they fell from the pen of one in the common walks of life, will, coming from one of the highest dignitaries of the Established Church, produce their full effect on his readers.

We have no intention to write a regular review of the author's work on Christianity; but we think that the attention of our readers may be called to some passages of the work which will well repay their attention, and which are calculated greatly to promote just and important views of religion, and to others to

* Whately on the Rise, Progress and Corruptions of Christianity: a preliminary Treatise in the Encyclopædia Britannica.

Digitized by Google

which we are compelled to refuse our assent, and which appear to us quite unworthy of the eminent writer from whose pen they flow.

We will begin with the more agreeable part of our task:

"Any one who regards the Bible (as many Christians do) as *one book* containing Divine instructions, without having formed any clear notion of what does and does not belong to each dispensation, will of course fall into the greatest confusion of thought. He will be like a man who should have received from his father, at various times, a great number of letters, containing directions as to his conduct, from the time when he was a little child just able to read, till he was a grown man; and who should lay by these letters with care and reverence, but in a confused heap, and should take up any one of them at random, and read it without any reference to its *date*, whenever he needed his father's instruction how to act."—Pp. 509, 510.

The sound sense of this passage, and its lively and striking language, require neither comment nor commendation.

The essay contains many just and well-expressed remarks against the *Judaizing* character of the High-church party (although he does not use that word), and states distinctly the difference between the duties of the Jewish and what he calls the Christian priest. The sentiments expressed are sound and excellent; but why does the Archbishop use the word *priest* at all as the designation of a Christian teacher? That word is never applied in the New Testament to those who exercised the office of instructors in the Christian church, and it was unwarrantably given to them in later times in lieu of the name elder or presbyter. We consider that the introduction of the word *priest* in this sense, has produced some of the most lamentable corruptions of the Christian religion. The business of a priest is to offer a sacrifice; and in the progress of Church history arose the monstrous doctrine, that in the Lord's Supper the priest offered a real sacrifice to the Almighty. The death of Christ may be called, in an important sense, a sacrifice; but the doctrine that his death was a satisfaction to Divine justice, and that without such a sacrifice the Deity could not, consistently with his justice, pardon penitent sinners, robs the Father of all of the lovely attributes of mercy, and transfers the love of Him to the so-called Second Person of the Trinity, in spite of what was said by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who refused the title *good*, and declared that God alone is good.

In p. 517, we have the following passage:

"We are inclined to think, that if all Christians had always studied the Scriptures carefully and honestly, and relied on these more than on their own philosophical systems of divinity, the Incarnation, for instance, and the Trinity would never have been *doubted* nor even *named*."

That these doctrines, under the circumstances assumed, would not have been *named*, we, who reject them, fully agree; but it

Digitized by Google

is beyond our comprehension to understand how the truth of doctrines which had not even found a name, could have been fully admitted and never doubted; yet this must be the meaning of the author, who fills one of the highest stations in the united Church of England and Ireland, which holds and strongly enforces the truth of these doctrines.

We come now to the last quotation to which we shall call the attention of our readers. It occurs at pp. 485, 486, and has reference to John v. 18: "Therefore the Jews sought the more to kill him, because he not only had broken the Sabbath, but said also that God was his Father, making himself equal with God."

"It is worth remarking," says the Archbishop, "that they (the Jews) understood his calling himself the Son of God, and saying that God was his *own proper* Father, as a claim to be a Divine person. His words, indeed, might in themselves conceivably bear another meaning. But he must have *known* that *they* so understood him; and if they had mistaken his meaning, he would not have failed to correct their mistake, else he would have been bearing false testimony against himself."

Let us attend to what is said respecting this text by the very able and learned Dr. Samuel Clarke: "The Jews," he says, "'tis evident, did not by these expressions mean to charge Jesus with affirming himself to be the supreme, self-existent, independent Deity; nay, not so much as with taking upon himself to be a Divine Person at all, but only with assuming to himself the power and authority of God." He refers to John x. 33 and Mark ii. 7, as illustrations of the text. This explanation of the text seems to us satisfactory. We will now examine the grounds on which the Archbishop supports a very different interpretation. What he means his reader to understand by distinguishing the words "*own proper*," before the word Father, by the emphatic Italian type, we do not precisely understand. If it means only that Jesus was the Son of God in a higher sense than other men who are sometimes called the sons of God, we have no disposition to dispute it. In the very next verse Jesus clearly declares his absolute dependence on his Father; but in that and the following verses he claims power from God far beyond what had ever been given to any other person. The most exalted of the patriarchs and prophets would not have presumed to use such language as is found in those verses. Which of them would have dared to say (John xiv. 23), "If a man love me, he will keep my words: and the Father will love him, *and we will come unto him and make our abode with him*"? In this sense we have no objection to make to the Archbishop's language; but this we cannot understand to be his meaning. Bearing in mind that this essay is written by a Prelate of a Trinitarian Church, we cannot fail to perceive that by the words, "claim to be a Divine Person," the author must be understood to assert that Jesus

Digitized by Google

claimed to be God the Son, the Second Person in the Trinity. Now this requires a great deal to be proved which we feel confident that the Archbishop cannot prove. If the Jews understood our Saviour to declare himself to be the Second Person of the Trinity, they must have been aware that the doctrine of the Trinity had at some time or other been held by their nation, or at least had been taught among them. Now, in the whole of the Old Testament, from Genesis to Malachi, not a single word is to be found asserting a Trinity of Persons in the Godhead. Neither is the word Trinity found in the Old Testament, nor any words whatever having the like meaning. The doctrine of the Trinity is not held by the Jews of our own times, nor has it ever been held by their nation at any period of their history.

JOSEPH ALLEINE, ONE OF THE EJECTED CLERGYMEN OF 1662.*

On the 26th of May, 1663 (a Sabbath eve), Mr. Alleine was seized on a charge of having violated the Act of Uniformity. The justices and their associates before whom he was taken, reviled him with scurrilous phrases; and it is sad to read that even ladies disgraced their rank and sex by violent abuse. The unmoved countenance and serene expression of the prisoner seemed only to increase their wrath. Slight as the case against him was, the magistrates ordered his committal; but gave him a respite from prison till the following Monday. Watched too closely by the officers of the law on the following day, he could not preach; but he received many of his friends on that sorrowful day. When his enemies' vigilance was relaxed, an hour or two after midnight some hundreds of his people, old and young, flocked to his house; and for nearly three hours did this holy confessor preach and pray. Then followed the sorrowful parting of the beloved pastor from the flock he loved.

On that day he proceeded to the county jail at Ilchester. No officer attended him; he himself was entrusted with the mittimus, —a circumstance not without its parallel in those strange days, shewing how firm was the confidence felt by their persecutors in the integrity and honour of the Nonconformist sufferers, and their assurance that whatever they undertook they would perform. As Joseph Alleine left his lodging, the streets were lined with friends—some followed him for miles; and their piercing expressions of lamentation proved the bitterest part of his trial. When he reached Ilchester, the gaoler was for a time absent; and the good pastor used his short remaining liberty in preaching to the people then gathered together to see him enter his prison-

---

* Continued from p. 302.

Digitized by Google

house. This he called his "consecration service." Could a painter have a better subject for his art than this travel-worn minister standing outside the prison in that quaint old borough town, and preaching with apostolic earnestness and courage to the astonished people? When the gaoler returned, Mr. Alleine entered his prison, probably with a lighter heart than they who quit such a place generally have. In the Bridewell chamber over the common gaol he found his friend Mr. Norman, the ejected minister of Bridgwater. By the help of Mr. Stanford's description, let us look at the interior of the prison:

"Crowded in this one apartment night and day, he, with his companions, spent the next four months. Fifty Quakers were there, seventeen Baptists, and very soon thirteen ministers were brought, all taken like himself, for the high crimes of preaching and prayer. The stifling atmosphere was made more stifling still by the many visitors. The summer sun struck fiercely on the roof all day, and so low was the roof-tree, that at night, when lying on their mattresses, they could touch the glowing tiles. Gasping for life, they had sometimes to break the glass, or rend away one of the tiles for air. Night and day they had but the same scanty accommodation; their beds were their only tables, and all the privacy that they could contrive, was made by a mat drawn across the room. Night and day their ears were stung by the songs, the curses, and the clanking chains of the felons in the cells below. If they ventured out of their deadly vapour-bath into the prison court, besides these sounds, they were still more afflicted by the sights of loathsome and pestilential wretchedness that crossed their path, for the criminal prisoners were sure to be all there too. When they rushed back to their chamber, and sought peace in united prayer, sad to say, they were disturbed by some of their associates in suffering for conscience sake. Mrs. Alleine says, that 'the Quakers would molest them by their cavils in the times of their preaching, praying, and singing, and would come and work in their callings just by them, while they were at their duties.'"—Pp. 214, 215.

The imprisoned preachers held a daily religious service, sometimes a public one, preaching from behind the prison bars to the people without, some of whom came ten miles to hear these good men, faithful and earnest though in bonds. Alleine's good wife followed him to Ilchester, and was presently permitted to bear her husband company. He was sometimes allowed the luxury of a morning and evening walk in the country. Supplied by the watchful love of friends with all he needed, he endured his bonds with a cheerful spirit. When the time of his trial approached, the grand jury did not find the bill against him; but he was nevertheless put on his trial before Sir Robert Foster, then the unworthy Lord Chief Justice of England.

The account of his trial is given from a narrative in Alleine's own hand, now, we suppose, for the first time printed from the Baxter MSS. in Williams's Library. The defence was entrusted to Mr. Thomas Bampfield, a timid man, but reputedly a good

Digitized by Google

lawyer, and one whose convictions and sympathies were with the persecuted Nonconformists. Threats were used in the first instance to deter the counsel from appearing in court; but when these failed and he entered at the call of the prisoner, the Judge disgraced himself by attempting to intimidate the counsel. "Mr. Bampfield," said he, "I must tell you, before you plead for another,—I must tell you that you had need answer for yourself. You are here presented to me for being a Nonconformist to the Church of the land, and an abettor of Nonconformists." The counsel knew his position too well to heed the implied threat, and said, "My Lord, to that charge I shall answer in due time and place." The trial proceeded. A witness was produced who was willing to swear this or that, and to extend his evidence at the suggestion of the Bench to any extent; and, notwithstanding inconsistencies and contradictions in the evidence, the jury followed the direction of the Judge, and brought Alleine in guilty. Before sentence was passed, Alleine thus addressed his Judge:

"My lord, I am glad that it hath appeared before my countrey, that whatever I am charged with, I am guilty of nothing but doing my duty; all that did appeare by the evidence being, that I had sung a psalme, and instructed my family (others being there), and both in mine owne house; and if nothing that hath been urged will satisfy, I shall with all cheerfulnesse and thankfulnesse accept whatsoever sentence your lordship shall pronounce upon me, for so good and righteous a cause."

And then the Judge, addressing Alleine, said—

"Inasmuch as you are the bell-wether of a naughtie flocke, and a ringleader of evil men; and this county, and especially this place, are noted for these seditious meetings, by reason whereof the King and the Counsell are in many feares, and new warres like to be hatched, and as you doe, insteade of repenting, aggravate your fault by your obstinate carriage, the judgment of the Court is that you be fined a hundred markes, and lie in jayle till you have paid it, and given security for the good behaviour."

When the prisoner left the bar, his words were, "Glory to God, that hath accounted me worthy to suffer for his gospel!"

For twelve months Mr. Alleine lay in that foul and narrow prison at Ilchester. Presently he had too many companions in bonds, men whose only crime was their piety, and their determination to fear God rather than man. The names of some of them are preserved. There were Mr. Stephen Coven, ejected from Sanford Peveril; Mr. Thomas Powell, from St. Sidwell's, Exeter; Mr. Humphrey Phillips, late a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford; Mr. Henry Parsons, Mr. Tobias Willes and Mr. John Torner. Here were mingled in the same prison, Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents and Quakers,—all (except the poor fanatical Quakers) agreeing to carry on public worship, and to preach each in his turn from the prison grate. It was in the gloomy and filthy dungeon at Ilchester that Joseph Alleine com-

Digitized by Google

posed many of the devotional and other religious works, of which the dingy copies still extant are highly prized by the collectors of Nonconformist literature. But one employment by which he solaced his prison months was the composition of letters on religious subjects, chiefly practical, which he sent commonly each week to distant friends, and especially to his bereaved flock at Taunton. We can well understand how fondly these costly epistles were read and listened to by little knots of Nonconformists sorrowing for their persecuted pastor, and how deep the impression made by these pastoral counsels! Copies of them were circulated from family to family and from district to district; and as the letters penned by the Marian martyrs were zealously circulated amongst the people and tended much to bind them to the Reformation, so a century later the letters of the persecuted ministers awoke in the minds of numbers, especially amongst the yeomen and common people, a life-long interest in the principles of Protestant Nonconformity.

Mr. Stanford must describe for us the other prison toils of Joseph Alleine:

"His labours in the ward were not merely those of a writer. 'Here,' writes his wife, 'he and his companions had very great meetings, week-days and Sabbath-days, and many days of humiliation and thanksgiving. The Lord's days many hundreds came.' Here, too, he held constant conferences with his people; here he taught all the children who were sent to him, and invented plans for the elder to teach the younger when he was gone. He also sent out catechisms to be distributed among the poor families of Ilchester and the surrounding villages. The gaol chaplain falling ill, he dared to take his place, and, until prohibited, was much with the felons, preaching to them, talking to them, and, by gifts to relieve their physical misery, trying to win his way to their souls. Unhasting, unresting, month after month, he thus worked on, and sometimes after these varied toils all day, kept on his day-clothes all night, having only time for one or two hours' sleep; for he always rose at four o'clock in the morning, to begin those secret prayers which he felt to be more essential than ever."—Pp. 276, 277.

These things excited the wrath of the justices, and Alleine and his friend Mr. Norman were plainly told, if they did not desist they should be banished. When at length he was released, he immediately resumed those ministerial offices the exercise of which had cost him so dear, preaching on the Sunday to not less than four different assemblies of his people. He continued as before, during the week days, his visits to distant and destitute churches. There came into force the Conventicle Act, that abominable law by which the flock as well as the pastor was exposed to penalties, imprisonment and banishment itself for the offence of joining in social worship. The presence of five persons in addition to the ordinary household, made the act of worship an illegal conventicle; imprisonment followed a second conviction, and banishment a third. Many of the Taunton Dissenters were,

Digitized by Google

under the provisions of this Act, carried off from the meeting-place to prison.

The toils and anxieties of Mr. Alleine, acting on a frame previously exhausted by the rigours of a twelvemonth's imprisonment, broke him down, and he fell into a dangerous sickness. By the next persecuting law, the Five-Mile Act, he was driven from Taunton and the hundred hospitable homes ever open to him amongst his flock. He sought a shelter from the storm of persecution at Wellington, where he presently resumed his preaching. Informers were quickly on his track. It is not a little to the honour of the Nonconformists of Somersetshire, that at this the hottest hour of persecution, three candidates sought and received ordination from the hands of Mr. Alleine and others. Men who could enter on the duties and dangers of such a ministry, were worthy to preach the gospel of the crucified and risen Christ!

Mr. Alleine's feeble condition made it expedient that he should visit the mineral waters at Devizes. Before setting out, he proposed holding a meeting for thanksgiving for special mercies. In the midst of their worship, informers and magistrates broke in upon them, and Mr. Alleine was again in the power of enemies. He refused on conscientious grounds to pay the fine, and was committed to prison. Some of his Taunton flock were on this occasion the companions of his tribulation. He found sweet employment in ministering to them and strengthening their souls by his pastoral counsels. On the morning of their release, he gave to the inmates of the prison a parting address, full of practical wisdom and the moderation of the true Christian. He warned his companions in sufferings not to revile their persecutors—not to allow their thanksgivings to God to degenerate into vain glory and carnal triumph—not to be seduced by a vain spirit of martyrdom, and become prodigal of their liberty and slight the rules of prudence. On the other hand, he cautioned them against allowing the spirit of fear to make them decline from the path of duty. "Hold on in your duty," said this consistent apostle, "whatsoever it cost you."

Not much now remains to tell of the life of this holy confessor. The oil was nearly spent, and the hour of darkness was nigh. The last imprisonment, coming at a time of great bodily weakness, and hindering as it did the rest and other remedial means recommended to him, had hastened the beginning of the end. He spent a month at Devizes, the place having the double recommendation to a sick Nonconformist minister of medicinal advantages and comparative quiet from the disturbance of apparitors and informers. He was enabled to return to Taunton, apparently better. Then he visited Dorchester, and put himself under the care of Dr. Loss, a benevolent physician, who was a great benefactor to the persecuted Nonconformist divines of that

Digitized by Google

district. Here kindness and reverence, such as a saintly man like Alleine well deserved, cheered his passage to the grave. The widow of a minister named Bartlett opened her house and gave the dying man the kindest welcome. The physician proved a good Samaritan, visiting his patient twice a day for fourteen weeks, always declining to receive a fee. But the case was in fact hopeless. Paralysis had seized and disabled the poor sufferer. He lingered through the winter, cheered by innumerable tokens of respect and sympathy. At this time there came to him the tidings of the death of his friend, brother and fellow-prisoner, Mr. Norman, of Bridgwater. For a short time there was amendment, and Mr. Alleine was carried back in a litter to his beloved Taunton. Thence he was taken to Bath, where he was sufficiently well to enjoy the society of Mr. Howe, of Mr. Fairclough, and of the ministers of Bristol who went over to visit him. He had also sufficient strength to pay a visit to his friend, Mr. Joseph Barnard, who lived about five miles from Bath, and in concert with him devised and carried into effect "a thank-offering to God," which consisted in the printing and gratuitous circulation amongst the churches in Wiltshire of 6000 copies of the Assembly's Catechism. And now the work of life was done. Before he left the roof of his friend, his life strength began rapidly to ebb. He was carried back to Bath, and there, in November 1668, after some restless buffetings, doubtless the manifestations of disease acting on the brain, his spirit quietly passed on. His noble-hearted wife was with him, soothing him and praying with him to the end. In accordance with his wish, his body was carried to Taunton, followed by Mr. Howe and other sincere mourners, and buried in the chancel of the church where he had loved to preach. A beautifully pathetic sermon was preached on the occasion, and afterwards printed, by Mr. George Newton, from Luke xxiii. 28—"Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me, but weep for yourselves and for your children."

Of Joseph Alleine, it has been well said by the late William Rhodes, in words quoted by Mr. Stanford:

"He possessed all the intensity and refinement of the Puritan piety—a piety hitherto unequalled in the history of our race—without any tincture of its undue austerity and seclusion from the innocent graces of life. In religious fidelity and tenderness, in holy severity of self-government, in constant solicitudes and toils for the salvation of men, in ardour and elevation of soul under prolonged sufferings, in frequent and lofty converse with eternal things, he was scarcely inferior to Paul himself. * * * He united in perfection what is so seldom attained, the delight and grandeur of contemplative devotion with untired activity in performing the common duties of time."

The sanctity of his life, and his Christ-like patience under undeserved sufferings, made a profound impression on the minds of his contemporaries.

Digitized by Google

Reference has already been made to a tribute to the character of Alleine from one of the Fellows of his College, who contributed an important chapter to the life of Dr. Edmund Staunton. He is speaking of those who had been trained under him, and says,

"I cannot refrain, but must mention one of them, viz., Mr. Joseph Alleine, late minister of the gospel at Taunton, in Somersetshire; for as he was a great comfort to this holy man while he continued in the College, so it did revive him to hear (for he was often enquiring after such as had been of his house as a father after his children) that he proved so eminently pious and useful a man in the Church of God. But had he lived to see the relation of his life now published since his death, he would have fallen into an extacie of joy. And I have so much charity for some that were instrumental about his great sufferings and often imprisonments, as to believe that, if they would please to read the relation aforesaid, wherein both Conformists and Nonconformists agree to give him a high testimony for his great parts, learning, peaceable spirit, quiet deportment, zeal of the right kind, with ardent love to God and man, extending to the worst of his enemies, their hearts would smite them for giving so good a man so much trouble; however, he is now *where the weary are at rest.*"

Mr. Alleine's repute for holiness and patience had something to do with the extraordinary popularity of his works, and especially of his "Alarm to the Unconverted," a posthumous publication which did not see the light till 1671. But the fact that it has run through very many large editions, and that it has been translated into several languages, shews that its pathetic appeals to the religious conscience, its earnest devotional spirit and the unmistakable zeal for practical religion which, notwithstanding its Calvinistic doctrine, characterize it throughout, have met some of the deepest religious wants of the human soul.

In parting with our subject, we desire to express our hearty commendation of the spirit, catholic and tender, with which Mr. Stanford has executed this biography. Its literary execution is in good taste, and the narrative never flags. Well would it be could the history of Nonconformity in each county or considerable district of England be presented to the public in a shape equally respectable and attractive.

Before parting with the volume, we must notice one or two slight defects. The remarks on Glanville, the latitudinarian rector of Bath, are scarcely conceived in the liberal spirit of the other parts of the volume. Mr. Stanford might surely have found better reasons for thinking it possible to esteem him than that Anthony Wood reviled him. True, he was strong in his antipathy to Calvinism, but his feelings against the men who held its dogmas were not bitter. In his account of the trial of Alleine (p. 233), Mr. Stanford gives a wrong explanation of the legal phrase *to traverse.* It does not mean "to arrest judgment,"

Digitized by Google

but to postpone the trial—to put it over to another assize or session.

Mr. Stanford names a work which he finds announced in one of Mr. Newton's books, and supposes it to have something to do with the sternness of Puritan domestic discipline. The work is entitled, "The Husband's Authority Unvailed; wherein it is moderately discussed whether it be fit or lawful for a Good Man to beat his Bad Wife. From an Inner Cloyster of the Temple, by Moses a Vauts, a Faithful Votary and Free Denizen of the Commonwealth of Israel. London, 1650." 4to, 100 pp. Had Mr. Stanford the good fortune to possess this curious book, he would have known that it is mystical and allegorical. It is not easy to attach a meaning to all of it; but the leading design of the writer is to represent Christ as the good husband, and the bad wife is the unfaithful church, which needs by the stripes of persecution to be recalled to truth. It is not safe to trust any title-page as an exponent of the subject, least of all in a book of the Puritan era.

HISTORY OF TOXTETH-PARK CHAPEL.

The following history is taken principally from a history compiled many years ago by Mr. Henry Taylor (now of London), and existing only in manuscript, which I have his permission thus to make public. To this I have made some additions from a manuscript kindly lent to me by the Rev. Dr. Raffles (distinguishing these by brackets), and from other sources within my own knowledge.

John Robberds, B.A., Minister.

Toxteth Park, Liverpool, May, 1862.

"The history of Toxteth-Park chapel is, in fact, that of Nonconformity in Liverpool; most of the other Dissenting churches having sprung from this source, as the increase of population in the town, or scruples as to matters of doctrine or discipline, from time to time led to secessions from it.* The reversion in fee-simple of Toxteth Park (a short time previously a Royal domain), was granted by King James I. in 1604 or 1605 to Sir Richard Molyneux. At this time it contained no place of worship. On the disparking of the domain, it was allotted to various tenants,

* "An exception must be made to this as regards the Calvinistic Baptists, who came originally from Hill Cliffe, near Warrington, in 1700. A house was licensed by them at Low Hill, and about fourteen years after a chapel was there erected, adjoining to a piece of ground which had been given as a burial-ground, and which still remains. Mr. Peter Davenport was the first minister. About the year 1729, another chapel was erected in what is now called Byrom Street, where the first preacher was Mr. John Turner. In 1772, Mr. Samuel Medley became the minister. He was very popular, so that it became necessary to build a larger chapel in the same street, 1789. The old chapel is now called St. Stephen's church."

Digitized by Google

for whose use, in 1618, the chapel was originally erected, but whether at their own charge, or that of Sir Richard Molyneux, is uncertain. It is at least clear that it was built on his land, and this may have given rise to the tradition that it was designed for Catholic worship, to which religion Sir Richard Molyneux belonged. The payment, during many years, of the tithes of Toxteth to the minister of the chapel, must undoubtedly have been by permission of the Molyneux family, the King not interfering."*

[In the Bishop of Chester's (Gastrell) Notitia Cestriensis, there occurs this notice:

"Park chapel, in Tocksteath Park, near Childwall, supposed to be extra-parochial, or in the parish of Lancaster, possessed by Dissenters, held by a lease from Lord Molineux, and was given in as a house belonging to his lordship by his agents when they registered his estate, anno 1718. This was a park and waste land without inhabitants in Queen Elizabeth's reign. There is a tradition that an Irish bishop has preached several Sundays in this chappell."—Ed. C.R.]

[I add the following from Dr. Raffles: "The birth-place of Nonconformity in these parts is Toxteth Park. This suburban district of Liverpool was originally a Royal forest, and so continued till the 35th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth (1593), when it was granted by that sovereign to the Earl of Derby. It was shortly after disparked and let out on leases in several farms. A few years after, in 1605, it was sold to Sir Richard Molyneux, an ancestor of the Earl of Sefton, who, notwithstanding the large sales made in more recent times, holds a considerable portion of it to this day. An inquisition was held by order of James I., from which it appears that there were on the estate, at the period of its passing into the Molyneux family, only twenty dwellings, and no church or chapel. But though the population was scanty, it seems to have been of the right sort, for it consisted almost entirely of Nonconformists, and on that account tradition says that it was commonly called the 'Holy Land.' There was not a Churchman or a Roman Catholic in the whole district. The

* "The family possessed the advowson of the neighbouring parish church of Walton, on behalf of which they had, previously to the erection of the chapel, put in a claim (then undecided) to the tithes of Toxteth Park. They were paid to the minister of the Park chapel till the passing of the Bartholomew Act in 1662 (or a little before), when a claim was again advanced by the parson of Walton, probably because the former had refused to comply with the provisions of that Act. [Toxteth Park is now extra-parochial, paying no tithes or church-rates.] The property of the chapel appears never to have been vested in the congregation in any way whatever." [Dr. Raffles says, "The exact date of the erection of the first chapel in Toxteth Park is not known. It was doubtless shortly after Mr. Mather's coming as a minister, if not at that precise time, and it was in connection with the then existing establishment; tithes were paid to the minister of this chapel at any rate till the year 1650, after which they were claimed by the rector of Walton."]

Digitized by Google

land being chiefly in the hands of the Dissenters, owing to the persecuting spirit of the times, they wisely resolved not to become the instruments of their own torment by admitting their enemies to take root in the soil. They were in the habit of meeting for worship in a retired glen, then perhaps but little known, but familiar to us under the name of the 'Dingle;' when one or two were placed upon the watch to give timely notice of the approach of informers. 'Down with the Rump!' was the cry that assailed them wherever they went, often mingled with the foulest abuse and the most horrid blasphemies. A relic of these prayer-meetings, for such they were, remained in the memory of persons yet living, when I went to reside in the Park in April, 1812."]

"Many circumstances combine to prove the pious disposition of the settlers on the disparking of Toxteth, who were doubtless distinguished as of the class denominated Puritans, though in many points perhaps willing to conform with the requisitions of the Established Church. For a series of years tradition speaks of these people as pre-eminent for peaceable conduct and general respectability of character; and the names given to particular portions of the domain (some of which still remain) give testimony, by their scriptural origin, to their religious zeal.* No doubt these dispositions and habits were cherished by the example and precepts of the person chosen to fill the office of first pastor of the Park chapel. This was Mr. Richard Mather, a name at once celebrated in the long list of sufferers in his time in the cause of religion and conscience, and venerable as the ancestor of a noted race of preachers and authors during several generations, both in England and America. A notice of Mr. Mather is to be met with in Neal's 'History of the Puritans,' Vol. II. p. 264. In Elliott's 'New-England Biographical Dictionary' is the following, under the head 'Richard Mather:' 'For more than a century the name of Mather was known and celebrated through every part of the land; many branches are now cut off, and we must go out of the State of Massachusetts to find one engaged in the work of the ministry, though formerly so many of them were distinguished among the angels of the churches. In all ages there have been stars to lead men to the knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ; angelical men employed in the ministry of our Lord have been these happy stars. And we in the West have been so happy as to see some of the first magnitude, among which was Mr. Richard Mather.' The life of Mr. Mather was written by his grandson, the celebrated Dr. Cotton Mather, which may be seen in his 'Magnalia Christi Americana,' published in 1702. A more detailed account of him had previously been

* There is, for example, a farm still known by the name of Jericho; the stream flowing from it into the Mersey is called the Jordan. The prominent rock between the two branches of the Dingle is called David's Throne, and a neighbouring cave is called Adam's Buttery.

Digitized by Google

given by his friend the Rev. Samuel Clarke, in his book (now very rare) entitled, 'The Lives of sundry Eminent Men in this later Age,' printed in 1683. From this latter work, the following extracts are taken:* 'Richard Mather was born in a village called Lowton, situate in the parish of Winwick, in the county of Lancaster, Anno Christi 1596. His parents, Thomas and Margaret Mather, were of ancient families in Lowton aforesaid; but by reason of some mortgages they were reduced into a low condition in regard to their outward estate. Nevertheless, God so disposed and inclined their hearts that they were willing and careful to train up their son in good literature. And now, his parents being strongly bent to have their son a schollar, they sent him to the school at Winwick,'"—["at that time," says Dr. Raffles, "in great repute as a seminary of learning; and with so much diligence did he avail himself of the advantages he there enjoyed, that at the early age of fifteen he himself became a most accomplished and efficient instructor of others."†]

"'Having thus continued long at school, he had a call and opportunity of leaving his father's family, the occasion whereof was this. At a place called Toxteth Park, near unto Liverpool, there were many prudent and religious people, who, being desirous of their own good and of their posterity after them, designed to erect a school among them for the better education of their children; and upon consideration God put it into their minds to send to the schoolmaster at Winwick to inquire whether he had any of his scholars whom he would recommend to them as fit for such a service. And he having received such a message, presently communicated it to this his scholar and to his father. The son was rather desirous to have gone to the University, but his father closed with the motion, and in conclusion it was embraced by all. And now our young Mather left the school and his father's house, and removed to Toxteth, Anno Christi 1611, there to teach school,'" ["wherein," says Dr. Raffles, "he taught and ruled with such admirable skill, that he soon became highly distinguished in his profession, 'carrying it,' as Cotton Mather quaintly expresses it, 'though but 15 years of age, with such

* The life given by Clarke in his "Lives" is, however, a mere abridgment of a work published at Cambridge (N.A.), in 1760, by Increase Mather, the youngest son of Richard Mather. The exact title of that interesting volume, which is equally scarce in England and America, is, "The Life and Death of that Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather, Teacher of the Church in Dorchester, New England." It has been recently (1850) reprinted at Boston for the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, and forms with the "Journal of Richard Mather, 1635," No. 3 of that Society's "Collections." The Life was not professedly written by Increase Mather, but was sent forth under his name and sanction in the form of a dedication "To the Church and Inhabitants of Dorchester in N.E."—Ed. C.R.

† According to Dr. Cotton Mather, he was treated with cruel severity by the schoolmaster; so much so that, had it not been for his father's wisdom and firmness, he would have been taken from school, in compliance with his own earnest importunity, and devoted to some secular calling.

Digitized by Google

wisdom, kindness and grave reservation, as to be loved and feared by his young folks much above the most that ever used the *ferula*.' His lodging at that time was with Mr. Edward Aspinwal, of Toxteth. He was a man of eminent piety and most exemplary walk. And it was the deportment of that holy man that first arrested his attention and induced in his mind the serious apprehension that he was himself *out of the way*. This, with the preaching of Mr. Harrison, who was then a famous minister at Huyton, and the perusal of Perkins's work, shewing *How far a Reprobate may go in Religion*, were the means of his saving conversion to God. So strong were his convictions of sin, and so terrible the agonies of his mind on their account, that he would often retire into secret places to bemoan himself; but when about 18 years of age, God graciously appeared to heal his broken heart, and he experienced joy and peace in believing. At length, having trained many for the University who were sent to him from remote places for that purpose, he resolved to go there himself."] "'In prosecution of his resolves, he went to Oxford, and was admitted into Brazennose Colledge; and being settled there he was variously affected; for it much rejoiced him to find many there who had been his quondam schollars.' 'But not having spent so much time in Oxford as he could have wished that he might have done, the people of Toxteth, whose children had been trained up by him, sent to him, desiring him that he would return to them, to instruct, not so much their children as themselves, and that not in mere human literature, but in the things of God: and this call, after mature deliberation, he accepted of. Being returned to Toxteth, he preached his first sermon, Nov. 30th,* Anno Christi, 1618, most probably at the opening of the chapel.' 'There was a very great concourse of people (the word of God being precious at that time in those parts) to hear him, and his labours were highly accepted of by those who were judicious. Such was the vastness of his memory, as that the things which he had prepared and intended to deliver at that time, contained no less than six long sermons.'" ["But assuredly," says Dr. Raffles, "if on that occasion he delivered the whole of what he had thus prepared, of all the long sermons ever preached, that must have been the longest."] We certainly must have sadly degenerated from our Presbyterian forefathers in our powers either as preachers or as hearers. I transcribe in a note below, from a MS. lent me by one of the present family of Mather in Liverpool, a curious illustration of the humble reverence of congregations, even a century later, in relation to those who preached to them the "precious" word of divine truth.† "'The people having now had some taste and tryal of

* Dr. Raffles's MS., following Cotton Mather, gives the date Nov. 13.

† "To the Rev. J. L. [Lawton.] We whose names are subscribed or endors'd, the adult part of Christ's church statedly meeting and now met in Gate-acre

Digitized by Google

his gifts, were the more importunate in their desires to have him continue and fix amongst them; and because that could not be done without ordination, they urged him to accept thereof; and he, having not at that time studied that part of ceremonious conformity, yielded unto the motion, and accordingly he (together with many others on the same day) was ordained by Dr. Morton, the then Bishop of Chester, after the mode of those times. The ordination being ended, the Bishop singled out Mr. Mather from among the rest, saying, 'I have something to say to you, between you and me alone.' Mr. Mather was hereupon afraid that some informations had been given in against him to the Bishop for his non-conformity, and because of his Puritanism, thereby to prejudice him. But it fell out to be far otherwise; for when the Bishop had him alone, he spake thus unto him: 'I have an earnest request unto you, and you must not deny me; it is that you will pray for me; for I know (said he) the prayers of men that fear God will avail much, and such an one I believe you to be.'" [This act of conformity afterwards was a weight on his conscience. In the Life by Increase Mather, there is this remarkable passage: "Nevertheless, after that the Lord gave him to see the evil of the sin of conformity in the whole latitude of it (for as to the substance of conformity, even from his first entrance upon the ministry, he saw the evil thereof, and was by Divine grace kept from being stained therewith), his conforming (although it was at the desires of his people) to accept of this *ordination* from the *Prelate* was no small grief of heart to him. Many years after, one of his sons, taking notice of a

---

chappel, being much concern'd for its lasting prosperity, do in behalf of ourselves and all we can influence, resolve and declare that none of us will, without necessity pressing us, and plain to all, remove our dwellings to such distance as would suspend our present special relation to the said church, or render our attendance there impracticable. The same concern moves us ardently to desire you to be and continue our pastor, to catechize and administer all other ordinances to and amongst us publickly and privatly (according to their respective natures), in such manner as you shall judge agreeable to God's word and most conducive to our souls' good. Having hitherto acquies'd in and approv'd all your past administrations, we are the more zealous in the above request, and the more cordialy promise to OBEY YOU, and submit ourselves so long as God Almighty shall permit and incline you to officiate amongst us. We will seperatly and joyntly endeavour to have our conversation in all things becoming the Gospel of Christ. We will exhort and reprove one another in a spirit of meekness on all proper occasions, and take care that sin be not encourag'd by our neglect of these duties, nor you nor others griev'd and burthen'd by the hearing of private crimes, small or great, which one or a few of us can be instrumental to reform. As to irregularities, great or small, otherwise circumstanced, in cases wherein our private labours do not succeed, we engage to accept and aid your exercise of discipline; and if any of us thus engag'd, or others of us not so explicitly engag'd, withdraw in resentment of censure pass'd, or design'd, or expected, we will not be so injurious as to judge or imagine YOU a disturber or diminisher of our society, it being obvious that only the obstinate person or persons so withdrawing are guilty. We are most sincere and cheerful in all and every of the above resolutions, promisses and engagements, as witness our hands this 12th day of July, Anno Domini 1730."

Digitized by Google

torn parchment in his father's study, inquired what it is; unto whom his father replied, that he received it when he was ordained by the Bishop: *And (said he) I tore it, because I took no pleasure in keeping a monument of my sin and folly in submitting to that superstition, the very remembrance whereof is grievous unto me.*"—Ed. C. R.]

"'Being thus settled in his ministry at Toxteth (where I was acquainted with him), he resolved to change his single condition, and accordingly he became a suitor to Mrs. Katharine Hoult,* the daughter of Edward Hoult, Esq., of Bury, in Lancashire: she had (and that deservedly) the repute of a very godly and prudent maid.' 'And the match was consummated on Sept. 29, 1624.' 'By her God gave him six sons, four whereof, namely, Samuel, Timothy, Nathaniel and Joseph, were born in Old England, and two, namely, Eliazar and Increase, in New.† After his marriage, he removed his habitation three miles from Toxteth to Much Woolton; yet he was wont constantly, both summer and winter, to preach the word at Toxteth every Lord's-day.' 'And once a fortnight, on the Tuesdays, he kept a lecture at a market town called Prescot.'" [I add from Dr. Raffles's MS.: "For fifteen years this excellent man conducted his ministry in Toxteth Park; a chapel being erected, wherein he preached twice every Sabbath, and often on holy days, which in those times were of frequent occurrence, not because he regarded any day as holy but the Christian Sabbath, but because on those days the cessation of labour gave the people who were so inclined an opportunity to hear."] [He valued the opportunity of teaching the people, of whom large assemblies could then be obtained in other parishes as well as at Toxteth; for, as his biographer remarks, "it is good casting the net where there is much fish." He also did not, like some of the early Nonconformists, scruple to preach at funerals. He avoided the practice, however, of praising the dead, "his speech on such occasions being taken up with instructing the living concerning death, the resurrection, the judgment to come, and the like seasonable truths."—Ed. C. R.]

"'After he had thus spent painfully and faithfully fifteen years in the work of the ministry, He that holds the stars in his right hand had more work for him to do elsewhere; and therefore Satan's rage must be suffered to break forth, to the stopping of his

* Cotton Mather spells it Holt. She died in New England, to his great sorrow. He afterwards married the widow of Mr. John Cotton.

† "Many years before Mr. Mather died, he had the comfort of seeing four sons that were preachers of no mean consideration among the people of God." "And since his death our common Lord has been served by Mr. Samuel Mather, pastor of a church in Dublin; Mr. Nathaniel Mather, pastor after him of the same church, but before that of Barnstaple, and then of Roterdam, and since that of a church in London; Mr. Eliazar Mather, pastor of a church at our Northampton; and Mr. Increase Mather, teacher of a church in Boston, and President of Harvard Colledge."—Dr. Cotton Mather's Magnalia, &c.

Digitized by Google

mouth. The lecture which he kept at Prescot caused him to be much taken notice of, and so he became more, to the adversaries of the truth, an object of envy.' 'Where complaints being made against him for his nonconformity to the ceremonies, he was suspended in August, 1633, under which he continued till November following; but then, by means of the intercession of some gentlemen of Lancashire, and by the influence of one Simon Biby (who was nearly related to the Bishop), he was again restored to the exercises of his public ministry. But this restored liberty continued not long; for, Anno Christi 1634, Bishop Neale (who was sometime by King James pleasantly admonished of his preaching Popery, because by his carriage he taught the people to pray for a blessing upon his dead predecessor), being now become Archbishop of York, sent his visitors into the diocess of Chester, who being come into the country kept their court at Wigan, where (among others) Mr. Mather was convened before them, and by them was suspended meerly for his nonconformity.'" [Dr. Raffles says, "The result of this suspension, however, was, on his part, a closer investigation of the subject of church government and discipline, which led him to the firm conviction that the congregational form, as taught by Cartwright and others, was alone scriptural;* and as he failed not to act up to his convictions, this led to a second suspension, which was not withdrawn. This took place in 1634, when Dr. Cousins was sent into Lancashire as one of the visitors of the Archbishop of York, to discover and root out nonconformity from the land." "He held his court at Wigan, and Mr. Mather was summoned to appear before him. No charge was brought against him but that of nonconformity, his reasons for which his judges were reluctant to hear; but he, like another Stephen, was so filled with the spirit of God, that he spake freely and boldly his mind before them, and they were constrained to listen to what he had to say. On a review of that day's proceedings, he made the following entry in his diary: 'In the passages of that day I have this to bless the name of God for, that the tenor of their threatening words, of their pursevants and the rest of their pomp, did not terrify my mind, but that I could stand before them without being daunted in the least measure, but answered for myself such words of truth and soberness as the Lord put into my mouth, not being afraid of their faces at all; which supporting and comforting presence of the Lord I count not much less mercy than if I had been altogether preserved out of their hands.' All efforts to obtain a removal of this suspension were in vain; but when the visitors were informed that he had been a minister for fifteen years, and all that time had never worn a surplice, one of

* Dr. Cotton Mather also says of him, however, "He wrote a treatise to prove that whatever *privilege* and *liberty* may belong to the *fraternity*, the *rule* of the Church belongs only to its *presbytery*."—Magnalia, &c., p. 128, fol. ed.

Digitized by Google

them swore that it had been better for him that he had gotten seven bastards."*] "'The case being thus, he betook himself to a private life; and no hope appearing that he should enjoy his liberty in the land of his nativity, foreseeing also the approaching calamities of England, he meditated a removal from thence into New England.'" [He drew up a detailed statement of the arguments whereby he was convinced that his departure from his native land and his removal to New England partook of the nature of a "Divine call." His biographer inserts them at length in the Life, that posterity might see "what were the swaying motives which prevailed with the first fathers of New England to venture upon that unparalleled undertaking, even to transport themselves, their wives and little ones, over the rude waves of the vast ocean, into a land which was not sown."

This statement of arguments was placed before many of the "godly ministers and other Christians in Lancashire at several meetings for that end." He was greatly strengthened in his purpose of emigration by letters from Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, written from New England. The latter used these expressions: "If I may speak my own thoughts fully and freely, though there are very many places where men may receive and expect more earthly commodities, yet I do believe there is no place this day upon the face of the earth where a gracious heart and a judicious head may receive more spiritual good to himself, and do more temporal and spiritual good to others."—Ed. C. R.]

"'Being now fully satisfied concerning the clearness of his call to New England, and his people at Toxteth, who did so dearly love his person and highly prize his ministry, yet now thought that God called him to leave them: after many prayers and extraordinary seeking unto God, he resolved and engaged upon the transportation of himself and family thither.'

"'His parting with his people and friends in Lancashire was like St. Paul's taking his leave of Ephesus, with much sorrow, many tears being shed by those that expected to see his face no more in this world. He began his journey in April, 1635, and travelled to Bristow, purposing to take shipping there.† In this journey he was forced to change his outward habit, that he might travel incognito, because pursevants were designed to apprehend him. But by this means he came safe and unmolested to Bristow. From Bristow they set sail for New England, May 23, 1635.'" ["After a most tempestuous passage,‡ he landed in Boston,

* A significant indication what "whited sepulchres" many of the surpliced clergy at that time were reputed to be!

† A curious contrast to the present day, that he should find it necessary to travel from Liverpool to Bristol in order to set sail for America.

‡ The incidents of Richard Mather's voyage are graphically told in a diary, happily preserved in the collections of the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society. We had marked passages for insertion from this curious and little-known work, but must, from regard to our available space, postpone them and some other illustrative extracts to another occasion.—Ed. C. R.

Digitized by Google

Aug. 17 of the same year, and there in that land of his adoption he soon became as highly distinguished as he had been in his own, and was honoured to be the father and grandfather of Increase, Samuel and Cotton Mather, divines scarcely less celebrated than himself, and the last, the well-known author of Magnalia Christi Americana, or the Ecclesiastical History of New England, still more so. He was also the father of Richard Mather, ejected from Burton Wood, in the county of Lancaster, and Nathaniel Mather, both men of eminent talents and usefulness in their day."]

"'Being thus, by a mighty hand and an outstretched arm, brought safe into New England, motions were soon presented to him from sundry towns, desiring that he would employ the talents which the Lord had enriched him with for the work of the ministry amongst them.' 'Being thus again settled (at Dorchester) in the Lord's work, he therein continued to his dying day;* the Lord making him an eminent blessing, not only unto Dorchester, but to all the churches and plantations round about him, for the space of almost four-and-thirty years.' 'Thus did that light, that had been shining in the church above fifty years, expire, April 22nd, Anno Christi 1669, and of his age seventy-three.'"

I add here a few extracts from Cotton Mather, characteristic both of the subject and of the writer. "His way of *preaching* was very *plain*, studiously avoiding obscure and foreign terms, and unnecessary citation of *Latine* sentences; and aims to shoot his *arrows*, not over the *heads*, but into the *hearts* of his hearers. Yet so *scripturally* and so *powerfully* did he preach his *plain sermons*, that Mr. *Hooker* would say, My brother Mather *is a mighty man;* and indeed he saw a great success of his labours, in both *Englands*, converting many souls unto God. His *voice* was loud and big, and, uttered with a deliberate vehemence, it procured unto his ministry an awful and very taking *majesty;* nevertheless, the substantial and rational matter delivered by him, caused his ministry to take yet more wherever he came. Whence, even while he was a young man, Mr. *Gellibrand*, a famous minister in *Lancashire*, hearing him, inquired what his name was? When answer was made that his name was Mather, he replied, *Nay, his name shall be* Matter; *for believe it, this man hath good substance in him.*" "Nevertheless, after all these works, he was, as *Nazianzen* saith of Athanasius, Ὑψηλος τοῖς ἔργοις, ταπεινὸς δὲ τοῖς φρονήμασι,—as *low* in his *thoughts*, as he was *high* in his *words*. He never became *twice a child* through *infirmity*, but was always one, as our Saviour hath commanded us, in *humility*."†

[To adopt Dr. Raffles's words: "I have dwelt thus long on

* "Albeit his old people of *Toxteth* vehemently sollicited his return unto them, when the troublesome *hierarchy* in *England* was deposed."—Magnalia, &c., book iii. chap. xx. § 11, p. 126.

† Ibid., § 14, pp. 127, seq.

Digitized by Google

the life of this good man, inasmuch as it presents us with the state of religion in these parts, and informs us how it fared with our forefathers 200 years ago."]

"The successor to Mr. Mather at Toxteth was most probably* a Mr. Huggon [or Huggin], who, it may be supposed, was less scrupulous than his predecessor as to the use of the 'garments.' A notice of Mr. Huggon is to be found in a Parliamentary survey, taken at Wigan, June 22, 1650, of Walton and its members, consisting of Walton, Toxteth Parke cum Smithdon, Kirkby, Formbye, Everton, West Derbye, Kirkdale, Liverpoole and Bootle cum Linaker, as follows: 'We also present and finde that there is in Toxteth Parke a sic chappell, called Toxteth chappell, and that Mr. Huggon is minister there, and is an approved minister, and hath for his salary or maintenance the proffits of the tythes of the said towne or hamell, which we conceive to be worth cleerely ffortye-five pounds p. annum, and an additional sum of tenn pounds from Mr. Ward, rector of Walton, and that the said chappell of Toxteth Parke is farr distant from any other church or chappell, and therefore we think it very fitt to be made a parish, and that these houses in Aigburgh, formerly within the parish of Childwall, to bee added unto it, viz., John Wallworth's, Thomas Seddon's, Richard Fisher, Ralph Whittfield, Nehemiah Brette, John Holland and George Lawrenson.'"† [In the notes to *Notitia Cestriensis*, it is stated that the Committee of Plundered Ministers allowed "Mr. Thomas Huggins, an honest man and a graduate," the tithes of Toxteth, which amounted to £60 a year.—Ed. C. R.]

"In Dr. Edmund Calamy's History of the ministers ejected from their churches by the Bartholomew Act, passed in the year 1662, we find as under, Vol. II. p. 407: 'Walmesly chapel. Mr. Michael Briscoe, bred up in Trinity Colledge, near Dublin, in Ireland, pastour of a congregational church in this chapel. He afterwards removed thence to Toxteth Park, where he preached in the chapel jointly with Mr. Thos. Crompton. And he continued there till he died, which was in September, 1685, aged 66. He was a good scholar and a fine orator. His sermons were judicious, but his voice was low, which was more than compensated by his taking way of delivery.'

"It thus appears that Mr. Briscoe and Mr. Crompton were co-pastors at the Park chapel after Mr. Huggon, which continued till the death of the former, neither of them being removed by the Act of Uniformity, as it is recorded in Dr. Calamy's History, in the following quotation: 'Torkscarth-Park chappel, near Lever-

* In the list of the presbytery for the county of Lancaster, 1646, Robert Port is named as minister of Toxteth, and a member of the fifth classis of the presbytery.—Ed. C. R.

† Copied from the Parliamentary Survey of Livings, &c., in the Library at Lambeth.

Digitized by Google

pool. Mr. Thomas Crompton, M.A., born at Great Leaver, bred in Manchester school and at the university of Oxon. After the Act of Uniformity took place, he continued to enjoy the liberty of the public chappel, being some way privileged. Mr. Brisco (who lived also in the neighbourhood) and he joined together to supply it, one preaching one Lord's-day, and the other the next. He was a man of excellent ready parts and good education. After Mr. Baldwin's death he removed to Eccles. He dyed at Manchester, September 2, 1699, aged 64.'

"Mr. Baldwin, of Eccles, herein alluded to, died, as we are informed on the same authority, on the 9th of June, 1695; previously to which date, Mr. Crompton had as his associate in the ministry at the Park, Mr. Christopher Richardson, an ejected minister from Kirk Heaton, in Yorkshire, who at the same time preached in Liverpool to a society which had formed itself into a distinct congregation, being the first among the Nonconformists known there. What is known of Mr. Richardson is gathered from Palmer's Nonconformist Memorial (Vol. III. p. 439).

"Kirk Heaton. Mr. Christopher Richardson. After his ejectment he retired to his house at Lassell Hall. Besides preaching on Lord's-days, he had a lecture in his house once a month, in which several of his brethren united. He afterwards went to Liverpool, where he preached once a fortnight, and the intervening day at Toxteth-Park chapel. His preaching was, to the last, very neat and accurate, though plain and popular. He had a healthful constitution, which continued till old age. He died in December, 1698, aged about 80. He was mighty in the Scriptures, being able on a sudden to expound and improve any chapter he read in the pious families which he visited. In Yorkshire he was much followed. A neighbouring minister, whose parishioners used to go to hear him, complaining once to him that he drew away his flock, Mr. Richardson answered, 'Feed them better, and they will not stray.'"

We learn from Mr. Hunter's Life of Oliver Heywood (p. 288), that in the year 1678 that eminent Presbyterian minister visited Liverpool in the month of February, and preached twice in Toxteth-Park chapel, visiting while in the neighbourhood, Mr. Briscoe, Mr. Crompton, Mr. Litherland and Mr. Atherton.

"It is probable that the rising population of Liverpool, and the increased confidence of the Dissenters, soon after the Revolution of 1688, induced them to think of a separate chapel in the town. Hitherto, both from policy and necessity, all had resorted to Toxteth-Park chapel; and tradition speaks of this even, from the persecuting spirit of the times, as attended with much difficulty. There is no doubt that Mr. Richardson was the first pastor of the new chapel, which was most likely erected about this time (for the exact date cannot be ascertained) in Castle Heys (since called Harrington Street), Liverpool. No distinct

Digitized by Google

congregation of the Independent persuasion existed in Liverpool till the year 1777, when the chapel in Newington was erected, in a considerable degree by contributors to Benn's-Garden and the Park chapels, who wished to retain in their religious system a great proportion of the Calvinistic creed. This was followed by the founding of the first church in connection with the Kirk of Scotland, in Oldham Street, in 1793."

To return to the Park chapel. [We are able to add another name to the list of early ministers at Toxteth Park. In the Dukinfield chapel register there is this entry among the deaths: "1698, Feb. 20th. Mr. Samuel Angier, of Toxteth Park, minister of the gospel, dyed Feb. 20th, was buried Wednesday the 23rd."* To which branch of the Angier family this Samuel Angier belonged, we cannot discover. He was certainly *not* the son of John Angier, of Denton, who is mentioned in the minute-book of the Manchester classis of having been guilty of some irregularities of life not specified, and for which he was rebuked by several divines of the classis (his own father being one of them) before he was admitted to ordination. The name of this person was *John* Angier, and he settled first at Ringley chapel, near Prestwich; he was at the time of his father's death (1677) living in Lincolnshire. (See Chetham Miscellanies, Vol. II. p. 74; and Heywood's Life of John Angier, Works, Vol. I.)

There was a Samuel Angier, a pupil of Mr. Frankland's, at Natland, entering the academy April 24, 1677.

It is probably the same Samuel Angier whom Oliver Heywood calls "cousin," and of whose ordination at the house of Mr. Heywood, June 1, 1687, an account is given in Mr. Hunter's Life of Heywood, p. 244.—Ed. C. R.]

It seems difficult to account for the fact that the original parochial chapel was suffered to subside into a Presbyterian meeting-house. The rector of Walton might find it convenient to discontinue the annual payment of ten pounds, and the farmers might have no objection to discontinue the payment of tithes, but it is less easy to comprehend how the rector of Walton consented to forego his claim to the tithes of Toxteth Park, in default of a conforming minister at the chapel. All that can be ascertained is, that Mr. Crompton continued to preach there, although an ejected minister, "being some way privileged," and that Toxteth Park became "extra-parochial." [During the ministry of Mr. Crompton and Mr. Briscoe, Dr. Raffles remarks that the chapel "glided into the Presbyterian form of church government, and that again, becoming less and less rigid, passed into the congregational or independent, or something nearly approaching to it. At the time of the Commonwealth, it was

* Perhaps this entry does not make it quite certain that he was the minister of the chapel. He might only be resident in Toxteth Park, where grave-stones indicate that there was a family of that name.—J. R.

Digitized by Google

included in the fifth of the nine classical presbyteries into which the county of Lancaster was then by Act of Parliament divided; and I have understood that the last meeting of this presbytery took place at Toxteth chapel, when the celebrated Matthew Henry, the commentator, preached. From this time the succession of ministers can be accurately traced. The first was John Kenyon.* He was brother to an eminent physician of that name in Liverpool. He was a man of finished education and polished manners, and withal was an excellent preacher, so that the chapel was well attended during his ministry. He laboured at Toxteth Park for twenty years. He died August 16, 1728 (aged 55), and was buried in the chapel-yard.† He appears to have been succeeded by a Mr. Gillibrand. He was minister but a few years, dying early of a decline. He was an amiable young man, but by no means orthodox in his theological creed, if certain MS. sermons preached at the Park chapel, and preserved in the Renshaw-Street Library, and presumed to be his, are so in reality; for in them the doctrine of the Trinity is distinctly denied.‡ He was followed by Wm. Harding, who became the minister about the year 1738. He was a man of no education or regular training for the ministry;§ but was a farmer originally at Partington, in Cheshire, and followed the same occupation in the Park. He was in the habit of reading his sermons, which are described as being long and tedious, seldom less than an hour and a half, and so destitute of evangelical truth that no one could gather his theological sentiments from them. It is no marvel that under him the congregation 'should decline, and during the greater part of his ministry be very small.'"] Mr. Henry Taylor's account states that Mr. Harding came from Congleton, in Cheshire, in 1737, and remained minister till his death, July 15, 1776, aged 85 years. Two grandsons and a granddaughter of his, members of the congregation, died not many years ago. Mr. Harding's grave is in the burial-ground adjoining the chapel. I am not able either to confirm or to correct Dr. Raffles's description of him and his preaching from any other authority. ["It was in Mr. Harding's time that

---

* John Kenyon was a pupil of Mr. Frankland's at Rathmel, entering the academy January 9, 1691.—Ed. C. R.

† There are tablets in the present chapel to the memory of John and Peter Kennion, possibly of the same family, ob. 1785 and 1788.

‡ I have not been able to verify more conclusively this early indication of heretical doctrine.—J. R.

§ There is some reason for doubting the accuracy of this statement. Mr. William Harding was a pupil of Dr. Charles Owen, of Warrington, and was regularly ordained by the Cheshire classis, August 7, 1716. He defended on that occasion a thesis, *Quænam est consecratio Eucharistiæ?* The ministers who assisted at his ordination were Mr. Lea, Mr. Waterhouse, Mr. Fletcher and Dr. Owen. He officiated for a time at Middlewich. In 1730, he was at Partington. The following year his name is found attached to a Latin certificate of the ordination of Mr. Bond, of Stand. The minutes of the Cheshire classis are the authorities of these statements.—Ed. C. R.

Digitized by Google

the chapel in Toxteth Park was rebuilt. It first underwent considerable repairs, but these were scarcely completed when the walls began to give way, and it was found necessary entirely to rebuild it. So much had the building been neglected that, prior to the first repairs, bushes actually grew out of the walls and within the pews. After the completion of these repairs, some incendiaries endeavoured to burn it down, but the combustibles which they had placed in one of the seats for that purpose happily did not ignite, though matches which had evidently been alight were found among them."] "The Park chapel was rebuilt by voluntary subscription in the year 1774." ["After the death of Mr. Harding, which took place at an advanced period, and after he had been laid aside for some years by the infirmities of age, the prayer-meetings which had been established in troublous times were discontinued. They were held in the afternoon of the last Thursday in every month. There were twelve houses licensed for the purpose, amongst which they circulated. They had greatly degenerated, and it was high time that they should cease, for there is reason to believe that conviviality had to a great extent supplanted the spirit of devotion. On the death of Mr. Harding, the Rev. Hugh Anderson succeeded in 1776. He was from Galloway, in North Britain. He was not decidedly evangelical in his doctrine at the first. But in his preaching he did not avow his real sentiments, if indeed he had fixed theological sentiments at all. Some who knew and loved the truth, and who had their suspicions, hoping the best, voted for him. Soon, however, they perceived their error, and joined with others in a remonstrance addressed to Mr. Anderson, but in vain; and at length, seeing no prospect of his removal, they withdrew, and, taking the Jews' synagogue in Liverpool as a temporary place of worship, they chose the Rev. David Bruce, from the academy at Heckmondwike, in Yorkshire, as their pastor, and built Newington chapel. From Newington chapel proceeded the first Great George-Street chapel, the foundation-stone of which was laid by the lamented Spencer;* and subsequently, in 1840, the present edifice, on the site of that building, which was entirely destroyed by fire, Feb. 19, 1840."] To Dr. Raffles's statement respecting Mr. Anderson, it is only fair to add that he "was ordained, with the Rev. John Yates, 1st October, 1777, when a sermon was preached and published by Dr. Enfield." His public association with those two at the outset of his ministry, seems to indicate that, from the very first, he made no profession of orthodoxy. It is unquestionable that a division, on doctrinal grounds, took place in the congregation, which culminated in a secession of the orthodox members; but the natural inference

* Dr. Raffles's immediate predecessor, of whom he published a Memoir. He was drowned while bathing in the Mersey.

Digitized by Google

seems to be that the seceding members were the minority. Certainly many, if not the most important, of the contributors to the cost of building the present chapel, in 1774, were members of families subsequently belonging to the Unitarian body. It is, however, a fact, I believe, that, towards the close of Mr. Anderson's ministry, the congregation dwindled away.* It revived, however, when the Rev. John Porter, now minister of the second Presbyterian meeting-house in Belfast, was chosen as his colleague in 1827. On his removal to Belfast in 1829, he was succeeded by the Rev. J. H. Thom; on his removal to Renshaw-Street chapel, Liverpool, in 1831, he was succeeded by the Rev. Charles Wicksteed; on his removal to Mill-Hill chapel, Leeds, in 1835, he was succeeded by the Rev. Henry Giles, subsequently a lecturer and author in the United States, whither he retired in 1839, and in the following year the present minister was appointed. Mr. Giles took part, in conjunction with Mr. Thom and Mr. Martineau, in the celebrated Liverpool Unitarian Controversy in 1839, the three ministers accepting a challenge to discuss the points at issue with thirteen evangelical clergymen of the Church of England. As all the successors of Mr. Anderson are thus still living, and most of them well known and highly esteemed in our churches, I abstain from any further details respecting them; but will confine myself, in conclusion, to a few statements respecting the present chapel. Though rebuilt, as stated, in 1774, it retains some traces of the older structure, such as a pointed arch which supports the roof. On the stone covering of a vault in the main aisle is a brass, with the following inscription:

"Edward Aspinwall,† of Tocksteth Park, Esquire, Departed this life in March the Twenty-ninth, A.D. 1656. It is sown a naturall, it is raised a spirituall, body; for this corruptible must put on incorruption; so when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, death is swallowed up in victory. 1 Cor. chap. xv. verse xliv. liii. liv."

Some of the old oak doors of the pews have ancient dates carved on them, shewing that they formed part of the original structure. The most ancient is that on the door of the spacious

* It may be mentioned here that a number of small endowments, left by individuals early in the 18th century, for the benefit partly of the minister of the chapel and partly of the poor of Toxteth Park, and amounting in all to about £12 per annum, were withdrawn from the Park chapel about the year 1827, and for some years altogether alienated from the locality. Recently the last surviving trustee of these endowments has discovered them and restored them to Toxteth Park, the proceeds being now applied, by direction of the Judge of the Liverpool County Court (authorized by the Charity Commissioners to decide), for the benefit of the Independent chapel and the Trinity Presbyterian church (in connection with the Kirk of Scotland) now existing in the same neighbourhood. The deeds were worded in the terms of the Toleration Act, as the law then made necessary (prescribing adherence to the doctrinal Articles of the Church of England), which took the matter out of the scope of the Dissenters' Chapels Act.

† Not improbably the very person with whom Richard Mather lodged when schoolmaster, and to whom he owed his conversion to God. See above, p. 347.

Digitized by Google

pew of the Mather family, adjoining the pulpit on the preacher's right. On this door is carved D 1650 M, the initials standing, it is believed, for Daniel Mather, a name borne by a recently deceased member of the family. The floor of the pew is the old family vault. On the wall has been placed a handsomely-mounted and decorated brass, with this inscription:

"Near this wall rest the remains of several generations of an ancient family of yeomanry, named Mather, who were settled in Toxteth Park as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth. They were distinguished by many virtues and by strong religious feeling, and were among the fairest specimens of those who in former times were called Puritans. Not least so was their representative, Daniel Mather, a member of this congregation, born 6 of Oct., 1723; died 30 of June, 1782: Isabel, his excellent wife, daughter of Edward Turner, of Grange, in Cartmel, born 9 of October, 1723, and died 15 of Dec., 1801, is also here interred. They had 9 children, of whom Ann, the last in the family laid in this grave, was born 29 of April, 1762, and died 22 of August, 1826. Let this brass also bear the name of Sarah, the youngest of these children. She was born in the ancient house of the family, and there died on the 2d of April, 1850, at the age of 80, being the oldest member of this congregation, and was interred at the chapel in Renshaw Street, in Liverpool; where rest also her sisters, Elizabeth, Mary and Hannah,* with her brother, Thomas Mather, of Mount Pleasant, in Liverpool, whose 2d son, John Mather, has here placed this tablet, in grateful remembrance of these his worthy Nonconforming ancestors, A.D. 1852."

On the same wall, on the preacher's left, is a marble tablet erected by Dr. Dobson, a Liverpool physician and author, to the memory of his daughter, with the following Latin inscription, which has been much admired, both for the tenderness and beauty of the sentiment and the purity and elegance of the Latinity:

"Abiit
Dilecta mea filia
Elisa!
Pulchra, Jucunda, Benigna,
Mea Filia abiit!
Ingenua perquam et perquam acuta
Bonis artibus et studiis honestis ornata
Sancta et Religiosa
Mea Filia abiit!
Vale, mea Elisa, vale!
Te diu desiderandam luget pater:
Desiderandam, sed, Deo Optimo gratias, non amissam:
Nam veniet felicior ætas
Quando iterum, mea filia, te aspiciam,
Et tecum sempiterne vivam.
Matthæus Dobson, caræ, dulci et beatæ suæ Elisæ,
Quæ annos Septendecim nata,
Et A.D. 1778
In cælum placide migravit."

Several other marble tablets adorn the walls, in memory of former members of the congregation, two having been added within the last few years, one in memory of the late Joseph Brooks Yates, Esq., and the other in memory of Mr. Thomas Brown, both simple in their inscriptions, but of beautiful design and workmanship.

* Another sister, Jane, was mother to the late Thomas Thornely, Esq., whose memoir appears in these pages.

Digitized by Google

In former days the quiet, rural burial-ground of the Park Chapel was the last resting-place of the most distinguished Nonconformist families in the neighbourhood, including the names of Mather, Whitfield, Aspinwall, Angier, Mercer, Andrews, Kenyon, Brooks (father of the late Archdeacon of Liverpool, the Rev. Jonathan Brooks), the Rev. John Yates and many others. About twenty years ago, the late Richard Vaughan Yates, Esq., purchased a considerable piece of adjoining land and laid it out as a garden cemetery, including a range of vaults, covered by a corridor, with open arches, in one of which his own remains are now laid, surmounted by a marble slab, erected by his sisters, with the following most appropriate inscription, composed principally by the Rev. J. H. Thom:

"Sacred to the Memory
of
Richard Vaughan Yates,
Third son of the late Rev. John Yates.

"He held nothing as his own, but, in stewardship to God, devoted his time, his means and himself, to a conscientious self-discipline and to the happiness and improvement of man.

"Touched by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, he was never weary of well-doing, but, in the simplicity of an humble, cheerful and childlike heart, pursued his faithful way, unheeding the judgments of the world.

"With firm attachment to his views of Christian truth, he blended universal charity; and whilst, as a citizen and magistrate, he shrank from no civic strife on behalf of just laws and free institutions, he better loved the promise of peace on earth and goodwill to men.

"Monuments of his benevolence remain. In the Harrington School he taught weekly the children of the poor. In the Liverpool Institute he contributed munificently to the instruction of all classes. He gave the Prince's Park for the enjoyment of the people.

"Whilst exercising the largest public spirit, he freely ministered to private sorrow. Not willingly would he let his left hand know what his right hand was doing. But his goodness could not be hid, and he found the honour that he did not seek.

"Born August 4th, 1785. Died November 30th, 1856."

The cemetery which he laid out has subsequently been purchased from his widow by friends of the chapel, and vested in trustees to be used as a burial-place for the several congregations; so that, the Renshaw-Street ground being now closed by law except for a few surviving relatives of persons already interred, the Park cemetery has resumed its ancient importance. Among the Liverpool worthies whose remains lie near those of Mr. Yates, may be mentioned the late Samuel Holland, John Cropper, Christopher and James Rawdon, William Mather, George Holt, Richard Rathbone, Thomas Harvey and John Finch.

At the same time that Mr. R. V. Yates laid out the additional cemetery, the chapel was slightly enlarged and improved by the removal of the old school-house adjoining and the erection of a new front. Within the last two years the whole has undergone a thorough internal repair; so that, though the modest little building with its simple belfry (for it has the rare distinction of

Digitized by Google

a bell) now looks somewhat incongruous with the pretentious suburb of Liverpool which has invaded its precincts (great changes having taken place since its bell summoned farmers from their quiet fields), its green and bowery burial-ground is still renewed from year to year by the ever-fresh influences of Nature, and its interior presents a pleasing character of its own, not unsuitable to a place where those who assemble come to forget the passing world with its busy cares, and to worship the ever-living and unchanging God, in the soothing faith that all the departed still live unto Him.

MEMOIR OF THE LATE THOMAS THORNELY, ESQ.

THE life and character of this truly estimable and useful man present many points of instructive interest, not merely to those to whom he is endeared by the affectionate remembrance of personal knowledge, but also to all who would learn betimes the true principles of genuine and honourable success in whatever sphere of duty the Providence of God may place them. By the kind help of his relatives and other friends, we hope to be able to place succinctly before our readers the main features and lessons of his life.

Mr. THORNELY was born on the 1st of April, 1781, in Lord Street, Liverpool, where his father carried on business for many years as a woollen draper. His father was one of the old Presbyterian family of Thornely, at Hyde, in Cheshire, and his mother belonged to a still more noted family in the annals of Presbyterian Dissent, the Mathers, of Toxteth Park. When he was about nine years old, he was placed at school with the Rev. Bristowe Cooper, the minister of Hyde chapel (immediately preceding the Rev. James Brooks), to which fact he made affectionate reference when presiding at the dinner on occasion of the opening of the new chapel at Gee Cross, nearly sixty years later, in 1848. He no doubt received a sound commercial education, but with no pretension to finished classical training; yet by self-culture and practical experience he became a writer of much force and clearness of expression; and his letters and circulars were highly valued among the commercial circles of New York. When he became a candidate for Parliamentary honours, his addresses were selected by the publications of the day as among the best that were issued at the general election of 1832. At the close of his school education, he was apprenticed to the mercantile firm of Messrs. Rathbone,* Hughes and Duncan, having for fellow-ap-

* Father of the present William Rathbone, Esq., of Greenbank, near Liverpool.

Digitized by Google

prentices two of his attached friends through life, the late Thos. Bolton, Esq. (of whom an obituary notice appeared only in the last No. of the Christian Reformer), and John Ashton Yates, Esq., who still survives. In the year 1802, Mr. Thornely became junior partner in the new firm of Messrs. Martin, Hope and Thornely, doing business chiefly with the United States of America; and in the year 1805 he went to America to represent the firm as resident partner in New York. Here he remained five years, forming many valuable friendships which furnished him with interesting recollections in after life, and inspiring general esteem and confidence by his character and conduct. We believe that one of his political opponents at a subsequent Liverpool election, spoke of him from personal knowledge at this period, saying that he remembered him as one of a number of young English merchants at that time resident in New York, and that he was even then looked upon with great respect, and had considerable influence, not only among his own countrymen, but also with the native merchants of New York and the American public in general; and that he used that influence very effectively in the promotion of peace and good feeling between his own countrymen and the people of the United States at a critical and sensitive period in their international relations. It was at this period, doubtless, that Mr. Thornely first made acquaintance with Dr. Channing, Dr. Freeman, Dr. Greenwood, Mr. Ware, Mr. Furness, Judge Story and others, whose names are now widely honoured as household words. On his return from America in 1810, he took much interest in public affairs and in all matters connected with civil, religious and commercial freedom. In the year 1811, a series of able letters, signed "Mercator," appeared in the then recently established Liverpool Mercury, in condemnation of the celebrated Orders in Council by which the British Government designed to retaliate the Berlin and Milan Decrees of the Emperor Napoleon; which Orders and Decrees were considered so insulting and injurious by the Government of the United States, that they laid an embargo upon the shipping, prohibiting all commercial intercourse with either England or France so long as they remained in force. These letters have been attributed to Mr. Thornely, and, whether he wrote them or not, he took the greatest interest in the subject. A requisition to the Mayor of Liverpool, Mr. John Bourne, to call a meeting on the subject, was signed by William Rathbone, Thomas Booth, Thomas Bolton, Thomas Freme, David Hodgson, Thomas Cropper, Thomas Mather, Thomas Thornely and others. The Mayor not only refused to call a meeting, but interfered to prevent a meeting projected independently of him. Mr. Thornely was chosen Secretary to the Managing Committee of the Deputations sent up to London to remonstrate with the Government, thus having the onerous duty of collecting and arranging the

Digitized by Google

mass of important evidence which was submitted to the Parliamentary Committee, and subsequently laid before the House of Commons by Mr. Brougham with so much skill and effect that the Government were compelled to give way, and the Orders in Council were forthwith rescinded, though not in time to prevent a declaration of war against Great Britain by the United States. It was while Mr. Thornely was in London on this important errand, which occupied him for several months, that he happened to be near enough to the lobby of the House of Commons, on the 11th of May, 1812, to hear the report of the pistol with which Mr. Percival was shot. At an important public meeting held at the Golden Lyon, Dale Street, Liverpool, after the rescinding of the Orders in Council, a piece of plate was voted to Mr. Thornely for his valuable services, which testimonial, however, he declined to receive, thus early exemplifying the disinterested manner in which throughout life he freely gave his public services. Shortly after this year, the mercantile firm to which he originally belonged was dissolved, and he formed a partnership with his only brother, under the firm of Thomas and John D. Thornely, which partnership continued until he finally retired from business in 1839. Such was the confidence placed in his character and judgment that he frequently went to London on deputations to Government from the merchants of Liverpool, and took an honourable part in many public meetings called to promote the cause of civil and religious liberty. He entered zealously into the agitation which preceded the passing of the Reform Bill, and was one of the earliest advocates of the repeal of the Corn Laws. He was also in favour of vote by ballot and a shorter duration of Parliament; but though thus identified with the most advanced views of the Liberal party, his character was even then marked by that sound and cautious judgment which was remarkably blended in him with freedom from prejudice and prompt sagacity. Before retiring from business he paid two more visits to the United States, thus adding to his store of knowledge on commercial subjects, and renewing those relations of friendly intercourse with eminent American citizens and divines, which tended greatly to enlarge and enlighten his judgment on social, moral and religious questions.

In the year 1830 took place the noted contest for the representation of Liverpool between Ewart and Denison, with its enormous expenditure on both sides. Soon after the unseating of the successful candidate, because of "gross bribery, treating and corruption," a dissolution of Parliament ensued, when, on a new election, Messrs. Ewart and Denison were returned by a large majority over General Gascoyne. Mr. Denison (the present Speaker of the House of Commons) having been also returned for the northern division of the county of Nottingham, and electing to sit for that division, a vacancy again occurred in

Digitized by Google

the representation of Liverpool, when the Reform party agreed to bring forward Mr. Thornely in opposition to Lord Sandon, the Conservative candidate. Mr. Thornely being summoned from 'Change in accordance with the resolution of the meeting, at once assented to become the Liberal candidate, adding that, in the event of being elected, he would perform his duties faithfully and diligently, attending the House as regularly as the Speaker himself; and as during the recess he would be found on the Exchange among his constituents, he would be so thoroughly informed of their wants and wishes as to relieve them from the trouble and inconvenience of sending deputations to London to instruct their representatives. His subsequent career as Member for Wolverhampton proved that these were not empty words. As the constituency then consisted entirely of the old freemen, however, Mr. Thornely was nominated more with reference to the future than with any hope of being successful on that occasion; and when, after a few hours, he had polled only 670 votes out of nearly 2200, he retired from the contest. The following is the address issued by him at this election:

"To the Electors of Liverpool.

"Gentlemen,—Although I have been solicited by several of my friends, it is not without some hesitation that I announce to you that it is my intention to offer myself, at the ensuing election, as a Candidate for the honour of representing you in Parliament. I feel impelled to make this declaration, because I believe that negociations are now in progress for bringing among us individuals who are totally unacquainted with our local interests, and who, if elected on the present occasion, would unquestionably expect to be returned hereafter. To me it does appear that, keeping in view those great principles by which the choice of electors ought unquestionably to be guided, there would be the greatest advantage in returning to Parliament at least one Member who, educated in the midst of this great commercial community, would carry with him to Parliament a knowledge of its interests and its wants.

"For myself, I come forward the decided friend of Parliamentary Reform, and of that great measure which has been already introduced to Parliament by the present enlightened Administration. I come forward as the friend of Education, anxious for its benefits to be diffused in every part of the British dominions. I come forward as the friend of Peace with foreign nations, and good Government and Economy at home.

"I am the enemy of Commercial Monopolies, especially of that iniquitous Charter by which we are deprived of commercial intercourse with China; and I am of opinion that our Corn Laws should be modified, so that our manufacturers should be always at liberty to exchange the produce of their industry for the corn of other countries, freely admitted here at a moderate duty.

"If then, Gentlemen, these are the principles which you desire your Representative to possess, you have only to decide whether you will intrust the power of advocating them into my hands. I can at least assure you, that the habits of industry which I have acquired as a

Digitized by Google

Liverpool Merchant shall not be wanting in the promotion of the public good.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen, your obedient servant,
"Liverpool, 25th May, 1831." THO. THORNELY."

In the following year, 1832, after the passing of the Reform Bill, there was a general election, when the registered householders were permitted for the first time to vote in the election of Members of Parliament. The Conservatives nominated Lord Sandon and Sir Howard Douglas; the Liberals, Mr. William Ewart and Mr. Thornely. A deputation, with Colonel Williams, the Chairman of the meeting, at their head, waited upon Mr. Thornely with a requisition, signed by no less than 1720 names. Mr. Thornely replied in the following terms:

"I receive with gratitude and with pride the requisition which you have had the kindness to present to me, and which, though signed by so great a number of the electors of Liverpool, it is gratifying to me to be informed did not originate among my personal friends, but was commenced by zealous and independent reformers, with many of whom I was not even personally acquainted. I have abstained from coming forward as a candidate, partly on account of the great responsibility of the situation of a Member of Parliament, and also because I have thought that it was rather the part of the electors to select their representative, than for the candidate to offer himself for the public choice. The requisition which I now receive, subscribed by so many of my fellow-townsmen, at once fixes my determination; and I beg to announce to you, Gentlemen, that I shall immediately take the most public mode of offering myself as a candidate for the honour of representing this town in Parliament. Should the exertions of the electors secure my return, I can truly say that I shall enter upon my duties without any personal or selfish object in view, and shall steadily endeavour to promote every measure calculated to advance the public good. I beg to offer you, Gentlemen, my sincerest acknowledgments for the honour you have done me in placing the requisition in my hands."

We append the principal passages from the full and elaborate address which he issued on this occasion to the electors:

"Called upon by a requisition so numerously and respectably signed, I no longer hesitate to declare that, if elected one of your Members, I will withdraw from every other pursuit, and devote my whole time and energies faithfully to fulfil the duties to which I may be called.

"* * * I have always been a friend of Parliamentary Reform, and, in addition to the great measure already accomplished, I trust that the duration of Parliaments will be shortened, so that the elections may be triennial, whereby the people will have a greater control over their representatives, and the House of Commons will more faithfully embody the tone and character of public opinion. I have always been favourable to the Vote by Ballot, and I shall be much mistaken if the ensuing elections do not demonstrate the necessity of resorting to that measure.

"* * * I consider it essential that our Corn Laws should be repealed, and that a fixed, moderate duty should be laid on the importation of foreign corn. * * * To increase the commerce of the country, by the

Digitized by Google

gradual removal of such other restrictions as impede the freedom of trade, ought to be the constant aim of an enlightened Government; and the commercial protection to be established should be the protection of the whole community against the efforts of commercial monopolists.

"In early life my opinions were strongly opposed to the African Slave Trade: I am, in the present day, equally opposed to Negro slavery; and * * * I confess that I see no other course that can be pursued than an emancipation of the Negroes as early as shall be consistent with the personal safety of all parties concerned; and if it shall appear that a system of free labour cannot be introduced without loss to the planter, then I am of opinion that a just and reasonable compensation ought to be afforded to him.

"The charters which regulate the municipal proceedings of our corporate towns should be revised. It is an absurdity that the enormous income of the Corporation of Liverpool, with its extensive patronage, should be in the hands of forty-one self-elected individuals. I trust that a general Act of Parliament will be passed to supersede the existing charters, and especially to provide that the Common Council shall be chosen to serve for a limited period by the electors of each town.

"Looking forward with increasing solicitude to the means of improving the condition of society in every part of the British dominions, it is essential that we should have a National System of Education, and thus provide for the future against that state of ignorance and degradation into which a large proportion is now sunk. In connection with this subject, it is most important that all taxes that tend to limit the diffusion of knowledge should be repealed at the earliest possible period.

"I have been informed that it is objected to me that I am not a member of the Church of England. It is perfectly true that I am one of that great body, the Dissenters of Great Britain, who build their own places of worship and pay for them,—who elect their own ministers and support them; and on the subject of my own religious opinions, as I have ever been in reference to others the warm friend of religious liberty, and, I believe, have joined in every petition that has been presented from this town in favour of Catholic Emancipation, so in my own case I give you this assurance, that no hope of public favour, no fear of public displeasure, shall ever induce me to flinch from that great principle of Protestant Dissent, the right of individual judgment in matters of religion.

"* * * If by your exertions I should become a Member of the Reformed Parliament, I pledge myself to use every effort in my power to assist in carrying into effect all those great measures which have yet to be brought forward to advance the good of our country."

This pledge, though in connection with another constituency, Mr. Thornely fully redeemed; and it is remarkable that he assisted to carry out, in some instances more than carry out (with the single exception of triennial Parliaments, as to which we believe his views underwent some modification), every one of the measures thus indicated as essentially-needed reforms.

A crowded meeting of Mr. Thornely's friends was held in the Liver Theatre, Mr. Rathbone in the chair, when able speeches were delivered by Mr. Blackburn and Mr. Egerton Smith (among

Digitized by Google

others), the latter relating a humorous and telling anecdote of Andrew Marvell, to whom he compared Mr. Thornely in respect of thorough honesty and unassailable disinterestedness of purpose. Mr. Thornely addressed an assembly of three thousand persons in Clayton Square from the window of the Union Hotel, entering at large into his political views. In the course of his speech he said:

"Do you ask me if I have made up my mind about the Corn Laws? Undoubtedly I have. I consider abundance as one of the great blessings of Providence, and I think it wicked in man to attempt to impede the blessings of Providence. A reformed Parliament will do that for you which a corrupt Parliament would not; it will liberate you from the odious monopoly of corn." "If I am returned to Parliament, there is no subject that I shall be more anxious to promote than the early emancipation of the Negro." "If you honour me by making me one of the Members of your choice, I will never deceive you. I will promote, to the utmost of my power, economy in every department of the State; I will strive to increase the commerce of the country by sweeping away all impediments; and I will do all in my power to acquit myself worthily of the great honour which you bestow upon me."

At the nomination, where Mr. Thornely was no doubt looked upon as an extreme Radical, the crowd, which had listened with vehement applause to Mr. Ewart, compelled the other candidates to address themselves within the hustings, and Mr. Thornely was long in obtaining a hearing at all, and then only in detached sentences. He was proposed and seconded by Mr. Rathbone and Mr. Blackburn. At that time the polling at borough elections extended over two days. The result of the first day's polling was a large majority in favour of both the Liberal candidates, the householders polling promptly and zealously for the representatives of the party through which they were enabled for the first time to exercise the right of voting. On the second day, however, the freemen (who did not relish the new mode of voting) were brought up in large numbers, and at the final close of the poll Lord Sandon defeated Mr. Thornely by the small number of 164 votes, Mr. Ewart being at the head and Sir Howard Douglas far in the rear. The total number polled for Mr. Thornely was 4096. Such was the excitement of feeling created, that it was deemed prudent to forego the ceremony of chairing the Members, which had up to that time been the custom. We cannot help regretting that Mr. Thornely did not succeed in obtaining the honour of representing his native town, which he thus so narrowly missed. Judging from the experience of his actual constituency, we cannot help thinking that, had he been returned, he would have gained the confidence and regard of all parties in Liverpool, as he did at Wolverhampton; and that, when once the electors had made trial of his merits, they would never have let him go. Useful and important as was his

Digitized by Google

actual career, it would have been a still greater service if he could have united the constituency of the second port in the empire in favour of civil, religious and commercial freedom, giving the weighty sanction of Liverpool to his own upright and enlightened views. Looking back on the political history of England for the last half century, we certainly cannot envy the feelings of a thoughtful and candid Tory (if such there be), as he reflects in how many instances during that period his party fiercely and blindly struggled to preserve what are now confessed to have been ignorant and pernicious errors, and to prevent what are now acknowledged to be useful and even indispensable reforms. But to return to Mr. Thornely. Although not quite successful in Liverpool, the manner in which he contested the election, and the full and free expression of his liberal and enlightened views, drew to him the attention of other constituencies; and before the general election in 1835, he accepted an invitation from the electors of Wolverhampton to become a candidate for that important borough (one of the fruits of the Reform Act), in which, we believe, he had not at the time a single personal acquaintance. The contest was not a severe one, and Mr. Thornely became Member for that important town in conjunction with the Hon. C. P. Villiers, so long the prominent and persistent advocate of the repeal of the Corn Laws,—continuing to represent the same borough, together with the same colleague, to the close of his public life nearly a quarter of a century later,—at each succeeding general election no opposition, with one paltry exception, being offered to his return. With regard to his relation to the borough between which and himself there was this enduring and strengthening connection, we append an extract from the *Wolverhampton Chronicle*, published subsequently to his death:

"Our old Representative has long outlived any feeling of party, or any of the heats arising from triumph or from defeat, among even those who originally supported or opposed his election, who must themselves now almost belong to a past generation; and in the minds of the far more numerous present he is only associated as the kind, honest and benignant old man, always ready to afford his assistance to everything connected with the borough which he represented, or to its inhabitants, whom he regarded with so friendly an interest. * * * We may say with truth of him, that no man was ever less boastful: modest, sincere, honest and considerate for others, he gradually won the respect of all who came in contact with him; and this respect was ever enlarging the circle of its boundaries, till it at length embraced the whole of the borough, without distinction of party or of politics; and at the time of his retirement there was, perhaps, no Member of the House of Commons who in so emphatic and complete a manner might be said to represent his borough as did Thomas Thornely the borough of Wolverhampton."

We also append the principal portion of an excellent and feeling letter with which we have been furnished, from the Rev. Stephenson Hunter, of Carmarthen, formerly minister of the

Digitized by Google

Presbyterian chapel at Wolverhampton, between whom and Mr. Thornely there existed a deep mutual regard:

"Mr. Thornely's life and services, uniformly beautiful and good, yet present few salient points adapted to give interest to a biography. No intelligent spectator of the progress of public opinion and political action in Wolverhampton could fail to be sensible of the immense advantage conferred on that town, in respect of both, by our late excellent friend. The constituency which he served so long and so faithfully, is, and has long been, one of the most respectable in the kingdom for intelligence and political purity. Some tendencies to violence which appeared there before Mr. Thornely's first election, never appeared afterwards. His calm and truthful words convinced his audiences without inflaming any evil passion, and his upright and consistent life presented no available ground of attack, even to those who were politically opposed to him.

"When he visited his constituents periodically, he made no distinction, in his personal attentions to them, between supporters and opponents at the hustings; and when any of them required his advice or assistance elsewhere, these were offered with the same kind and cordial impartiality. Though at first elected by a party, it was soon generally and strongly felt that in every important respect he was an excellent Representative of the whole constituency. All felt the growing advantage, national as well as individual, of the policy which he advocated and supported; nor was it easy to determine whether it was by Whig or Tory that his presence among his constituents was most cordially welcomed.

"The simplicity and integrity of character which gained for Mr. Thornely the high standing which he secured in the House of Commons, was remarkably displayed at his first election. There was a contest for the representation which was expected to be very severe; and the doubtful result was rendered still more doubtful to his friends by the circumstance that he was not only a Dissenter, but an Unitarian. The election was to take place on a Monday, and many of his friends advised him to spend the preceding Sunday in Liverpool, in order that his religious views might not be made unnecessarily conspicuous, and one more obstacle be thus thrown in the way of his return. He rejected this timid counsel, however, absolutely and at once, resolved to practise no concealment whatever of his religious convictions more than of his political opinions, for any purpose whatever. His fidelity to principle had its reward in being appreciated even by his political opponents, while it did not even temporarily stand in the way of his success. Having attended the services in the Unitarian chapel on the Sunday, he was on the Monday returned to the House of Commons as one of the Members for Wolverhampton by a commanding majority.

"He found the Unitarian chapel in the town which he so well represented, encumbered with a heavy debt, which by his own liberality and that of some of his friends was soon liquidated. Without the slightest tendency to intolerance in regard to the religious convictions of others, he made it a matter of conscience to give a zealous and consistent support to his own. When the lapse of a few years had given to his constituency sufficient opportunity to know Mr. Thornely's character and to understand his political principles, his return was for the most part unopposed. A paltry and hopeless attempt at opposition was made

Digitized by Google

at his last election, but it did no more than throw a passing cloud over the conclusion of a long and honourable career of public service and favour. And when his final resignation of his seat was tendered, and only of necessity accepted, that brief and only seeming change of public approbation was quite forgotten in the public and unanimous expression of esteem, admiration and gratitude, which his resignation elicited."

This will perhaps be the most appropriate place in which to introduce the farewell address in which Mr. Thornely took leave of his constituents, when compelled by the infirmities of advancing age to retire from public life:

"To the Electors of the Borough of Wolverhampton, including Bilston, Willenhall, Wednesfield and Sedgley.

"Gentlemen,—As a dissolution of Parliament will shortly take place, it becomes my duty to announce to you that, from the failing state of my health, it is not my intention to offer myself for re-election.

"It is now more than twenty-four years since I and my Rt. Honourable Colleague were first chosen by you to be your Representatives in the House of Commons.

"Since our first election in 1835, we have represented you continuously, and on the last four occasions we have been re-elected without opposition.

"Let me add, that there is not in the kingdom any other large or independent constituency, returning two Members to Parliament, which during the same period has been represented by the same two Members.

"These are most significant facts. They shew, I trust, that there has been confidence on your part; and, for myself, I can assure you that they quicken my deep sense of the honour I have enjoyed at your hands, and add to the pain I feel in now taking leave of you.

"The period during which it has been my privilege to be one of your Representatives has been a most conspicuous one in our history; and, through your kindness, I have been able to give my zealous support to the many excellent measures which have followed the Reform Act of 1832, and have contributed so largely to our country's good.

"Without entering at length into an enumeration, I may mention those important measures in which you have always taken so lively an interest,—I mean the Repeal of the Corn Laws and the adoption of the principles of Free Trade. Some disappointment has indeed been expressed that other nations have not more generally imitated our Free Trade policy; but, in the words of Mr. Roebuck, I would ask, 'Why should we practise folly because other nations lack wisdom?'

"The establishment of cheap Postage and of other Postal Reforms has contributed materially to the welfare of all classes in the country.

"Large measures of Law Reform have been carried out, and additional ones are now under consideration.

"The Jews have been admitted to Parliament, and the principles of Civil and Religious Liberty appear at length fully recognized, and, I trust, will always continue to be the guide of our legislators.

"I esteem it a privilege that, during my political life, I have shared the responsibilities of my position with my excellent Colleague, and have invariably enjoyed the benefit of his abilities and kind advice. I hope and trust he may long continue to represent you in Parliament.

Digitized by Google

"And now, Gentlemen, I must say farewell.

"With the best wishes for the prosperity of your borough, and with my most friendly regards to every individual in your constituency,

"I have the honour to remain, Gentlemen, your obliged and faithful servant,

THOMAS THORNELY."

"London, 24, Regent Street, 5th April, 1859."

Even in the short period that has intervened since the publication of the above address, Mr. Thornely has had the satisfaction of witnessing the partial fulfilment of one of its aspirations in the adoption and in the signal results of the French Commercial Treaty; though, in another direction, the convulsion of civil war by which the United States are torn (a country endeared to him by so many associations of friendly intercourse), must have been to him a source of anxious and painful interest during his final months of weakness and decay.

Mr. Thornely was first elected in January, 1835, and took his seat on the 19th of February, giving his first vote that night, in the election of Speaker, for Mr. Abercromby, who was chosen by a majority of ten over Sir C. Manners Sutton in a House of 622 Members. We hardly need remind our readers of the importance of the period in Parliamentary history during which Mr. Thornely took his faithful part. Whatever the future may have in store, few past periods of the same length have been equally prolific in political and social progress.

Mr. Thornely having always been a staunch and intelligent advocate of the policy of Free Trade, naturally took deep interest in the long and difficult struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws and the removal of all other mistaken and iniquitous restrictions. He was a member of the very important Committee on Import Duties appointed in 1840, the evidence taken before which, of J. Deacon Hume and others, decided Sir Robert Peel in his earlier measures for repealing and reducing those duties. Mr. Thornely from the first condemned the sliding scale of duties on imports of corn, by which the duty was raised or lowered inversely as the price in the markets fell or rose, rendering the speculations of the importer most hazardous and uncertain, besides injuring the consumer by the artificial scarcity maintained. Often when Sir Robert Peel was accustomed, session after session, to dilate with his specious rhetoric on the blessings and beauties of the sliding scale, Mr. Thornely was heard to say in conversation, "If Peel would take up the repeal of the Corn Laws, he would be the first man of the day." When, after Sir Robert Peel had at length yielded to the overpowering force of evidence and argument brought to bear upon him by Mr. Cobden and his coadjutors, and, bravely casting aside his party ties and prejudices, suffered himself, as pilot of the State, to be borne on the triumphant tide into the harbour of Free Trade, and Mr. Thornely

Digitized by Google

was paying his fourth and final visit to the United States in 1842, accompanied by his eldest nephew, he lost no opportunity of urging upon the Americans, whether persons in office, manufacturers or merchants, the justice and the advantages of the free-trade measures which Sir Robert Peel had recently carried.

In the year 1839, his father, who had retired from business and taken up his residence with Mr. Thornely and his sister, died, having almost completed his 95th year. Mr. Thornely often spoke of him as "the most upright of men;" and this characteristic has happily been reproduced in the succeeding generations. While thus touching on the subject of his domestic relations, we may add that in the year 1848 he lost his former partner and only brother, John D. Thornely, to whom he was much attached, and whose death he felt very deeply. From that time, he became almost as a father to his brother's numerous children; and though himself never married, yet in his devoted affection to the sister who lived with him, and in his kindly supervision of the orphaned family, he virtually fulfilled a wide range of domestic duties.

One subject which occupied much of Mr. Thornely's interest and attention, a subject peculiarly fit to be gratefully referred to in these pages, was the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, by which all the old meeting-houses, burial-grounds and endowments of the English Presbyterians were preserved from alienation to the uses of "orthodox" strangers, in consequence of the final judgment in the celebrated suit of the Lady Hewley Charity. The principle of law by which congregations that had gradually adopted Unitarian views of Christianity lost all title to their religious property, simply from the fact that prior to a recent date it was illegal to impugn the doctrine of the Trinity, and therefore that the language of all wills and deeds must be interpreted in a sense legal *at the time*, was felt to be so hard and iniquitous in its operation, that the leading men of all parties, in both Houses of Parliament, when made acquainted with the true bearings of the question, threw themselves with admirable generosity into the cause of the oppressed few, in many cases at great risk to their popularity with their orthodox Dissenting constituents. But, as a preliminary measure, it was necessary to have a constant and hard-working Committee to promote petitions, prepare evidence, and wait upon Members; and to this Committee Mr. Thornely rendered invaluable aid by his knowledge of men and Parliamentary business, his judicious counsel, and, above all, by his own hearty and active co-operation. The value of his aid was rather felt in its results than prominently seen or distinctly recognized; for it was one of Mr. Thornely's characteristics to be utterly devoid of vanity and self-glorification. So long as the end in view was promoted, it never entered into his mind to consider whether due credit was accruing to himself. He had

Digitized by Google

none of the fidgetty misgivings of a vain and exacting man, always hankering after personal prominence, and pettishly imagining that his own merits are not duly recognized. He simply gave himself up to the cause which approved itself to his judgment, without any selfish consideration that the cause should do something for him in return. As generally happens, indeed, he found the honour that he did not seek. It was felt at the time, and it has perhaps been still more distinctly felt in recollection since his removal, that his constant and ready co-operation, calm judgment, and cheerful, steady perseverance, were of real and inestimable value. In the words of Mr. Charles F. Tagart, who was officially connected with the Committee for promoting the Bill, "He rendered undoubtedly very valuable and cordial aid to its promoters, but so unobtrusively, that, on looking over the general *resumé* of the Committee's labours, drawn up by myself and revised by Mr. Field on the dissolution of that body, I do not find any record of an occasion on which he took a prominent part, nor was any *special* vote of thanks made to him for his services. I, however, well remember that he was always ready to attend any call made upon him for specific services, such as to introduce or accompany deputations to the members of the Government and the Legislature; and owing to the general respect and esteem in which he was held, he had great opportunity of obtaining a knowledge of the views and probable course which would be taken by leading men in and out of Parliament, which information was extremely useful to the Committee of the measure. And the Committee had generally the utmost reliance on his sound judgment and hearty sympathy." We happen to remember that Mr. Thornely deliberately checked any conspicuous appearance in the great debate in the House of Commons, of himself or any of the Unitarian Members, who might be supposed to be speaking under the influence of their personal interests and feelings; and we believe he actually pulled down to his seat a less discreet and more impatient friend who was starting up to address the House. Mr. Thornely rightly judged that the arguments would fall with infinitely greater weight upon the House and upon the country if enunciated by impartial statesmen like Sir Robt. Peel, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Wm. Follett, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Sheil and others, whose great speeches seemed at the time to stun the ignorant and narrow clamours of the "evangelical" Dissenters into astonished silence; and now combine to form a volume of masterly reasoning, knowledge and eloquence, that deserves to be immortal from its intrinsic merits, even when the special topic is forgotten. Referring to this debate in a speech from the chair when presiding at the opening of the new chapel at Gee Cross, July 5, 1848, Mr. Thornely said, "The debate on the subject in the House of Commons called up all the highest talent of the House. Occupying only one night, it was not, as

Digitized by Google

was frequently the case with 'adjourned debates,' diluted by inferior speeches. It was, in reality, the best debate he had ever heard." It must have been an interesting and impressive interview when Mr. Thornely and the other Unitarian Members waited upon Sir Robert Peel, then Prime Minister, to express to him their sincere acknowledgments of the generous and courageous sense of justice which had led him to risk his popularity with large and determined bodies; while they did him the honour to believe that he would not for a moment imagine that they would therefore in the slightest degree sacrifice their independence, should their judgment lead them in future, as it often had led them in the past, to oppose his general policy.

Mr. Thornely on one occasion took a very active part in a Committee in the House respecting Sunday legislation, and helped to defeat some unwise attempts to make the "*bitter*" observance of the Sabbath more stringently enforced. In the year 1844, when railway companies were compelled to convey third-class passengers on every week-day, Mr. Thornely moved and carried a provision that third-class passengers should have the same privilege on Sundays, and at the same rate of fare, namely, one penny per mile.

His attendance to his Parliamentary duties was most assiduous. For many sessions only two Members, his valued friends Mr. George Duncan and Mr. Joseph Brotherton, were present in more divisions than himself. His influence in Parliament steadily increased. We have seen that he entered the House of Commons as a holder of rather extreme Liberal opinions, but under the influence of experience and of personal knowledge of the working of the great parties in the State, he became one of the steadiest supporters of the Liberal Ministry who conducted the Government. This change, indeed, may have consisted at least as much in the onward movement of the age as in any increased conservatism in him. It was not so much that he moved back as that the age moved on. With scarcely an exception, what were considered extreme views in Mr. Thornely's youth, are now looked upon as either accomplished or essential reforms. Moreover, though a general supporter of the Liberal Ministry, he often gave an independent vote, especially on questions of retrenchment and economy. Many years ago, in the height of the struggle for Free Trade, we remember Mr. Cobden, at a sort of private meeting of Liverpool friends of the movement, eulogize Mr. Thornely and his colleague as most useful Members, who "always voted right and had no crotchets." Mr. Thornely did not often address the House, being a worker rather than a talker; but he acquired great personal influence from his consistency, the regularity of his attendance and the habitual attention that he paid to every matter of business that had claims upon him. We have been told on good authority that when a deputation

Digitized by Google

from the manufacturing districts once consulted Lord Derby and Lord Stanley about the best mode of proceeding to secure a measure in the House of Commons, Mr. Thornely's name was mentioned by the latter as a gentleman of great influence, whose support should, if possible, be secured. As Chairman of the Committee on Petitions, he was exceedingly useful; and the fairness and good sense with which he administered that part of the business of the House were acknowledged on all sides. Our readers will probably remember how quietly and effectually he put an extinguisher on the empty bravado and shameless quackery of Feargus O'Connor, by his official exposure of the fictitious names and vulgar nonsense which swelled the signatures to that impostor's Monster Petition. We have a personal recollection of the minuteness with which Mr. Thornely discharged his duties as Chairman of this Committee, when he once called the attention of a minister to the fact that two of the signatures to a petition that had been sent up from his congregation were in the same handwriting; an irregularity which, if noticed, would vitiate the petition. It was one of the important duties of this Committee to determine what petitions should be printed. Mr. Thornely was also one of the small Committee for selecting Election Committees, whose delicate office it is to try the validity of disputed returns.

On the meeting of the new Parliament in 1857, Mr. Thornely was requested by Lord Palmerston to second the nomination of the new Speaker, which he did in a sensible speech in deprecation of long and late speeches, "keeping us here out of our beds." We beg to refer our readers to a brief but most interesting notice in the *Unitarian Herald* of May 17, in which an early instance is related of Mr. Thornely's prompt sagacity and energy in inducing Government to abandon the absurdities of the quarantine system; and we cannot refrain from quoting the touching expression of one of "those with whom he may be supposed to have had fewest points of sympathy," speaking of him when years began to tell upon him, "There is not a fast young Member who does not think it an honour to be allowed to help Mr. Thornely into his carriage."

In many respects Mr. Thornely was a model of what it is desirable, as a rule, that a Member of Parliament should be. Not that we would wish to exclude from the House of Commons brilliant eloquence and original genius; but soundness and promptness of judgment, clearness of view, intelligent and unremitting attention to business, great practical experience as a travelled merchant, and, to crown all, inflexible consistency and uprightness of purpose, are qualities indispensable to the safe working and sure guidance of the vessel of the State. Eccentric sons of genius, such as Charles Lamb, might perhaps feel that there could be only "imperfect sympathies" between them and

Digitized by Google

that more prosaic stamp of mind which is not relieved by the sallies of fancy or the grotesqueness of humour. It may be that we were not sufficiently intimate with him to see into his inner life, but we cannot remember that we ever knew him laugh. Deep and firm as were his personal attachments to relatives and friends, he never appeared to us to be in either extreme of hilarity or depression, but always, if we may use the expression, cheerfully grave, equably and serenely serious. He would never have said, with Sydney Smith, "Now let us talk a little nonsense." But if not often lighted up by the lively play of poetry or humour, he was, on the other hand, devoid of the wayward shortcomings and perverse excesses of eccentric genius. Though as far removed as possible from anything like self-righteous pride, we can hardly think he would feel sympathy with any inability at once to do what the judgment and conscience prescribed. His well-balanced and healthy nature, we imagine, would scarcely be able to comprehend what it was to see and approve the better course and yet to follow the worse. Sincerely humble as he was, he could not, we think, be very deeply touched by the apostolic confession, "To will is present with me; but how to perform that which I will, I find not. For the good that I would, I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I do." This sound and even temperament no doubt contributed to the steadiness of his attachment through life to that form of Christian faith which does not demand the utter vilification of our nature and exclusive reliance on the vicarious merits of Christ. And, on the other hand, it is not too much to claim for that form of faith itself, that to its truthful and wholesome lessons he probably owed important practical influences, contributing in no slight degree to determine the tendency and complexion of his excellent and blameless life. Weighty as were the national affairs which he helped to regulate, and much as he was looked up to by eminent men of all parties, his sincere and deep attachment to Unitarian Christianity seemed rather to increase than to diminish. On his return home, whether for the Easter or the summer recess, he was sure to be in his place in his accustomed house of prayer; and, as it has been remarked in the notice to which we have already referred, "His friends often noted the solicitude with which in a strange town he was accustomed to inquire out the Presbyterian or Unitarian chapel. And in those chance visits, many a little country church knows itself benefited by his sympathy and his purse." He was one of the Vice-presidents of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association and of Manchester New College, and a constant and willing contributor to the funds of every society or institution tending to promote the interests or extend the charities of his own denomination of Christians, besides being ever ready to respond to the deserving claims of educational or charitable efforts in general, and of private, per-

Digitized by Google

sonal appeals. We have already alluded to the fact that he was invited to preside at the opening of the new chapel at Gee Cross, Hyde, in 1848, which he did most appropriately and feelingly, alluding to his early days in that neighbourhood and to the ancient connection of his family with the old chapel, their names appearing in the original trust-deed. He contrasted the state of the district when the first chapel was built with that at which he spoke, and at the close of his parting address said, "From the place where I now stand, I witness a sight I shall never behold again. I see at the same time the ancient chapel of Hyde, built 140 years ago, and that elegant structure that has been opened this day."*

Though a stated member of the Renshaw-Street congregation and an attached friend of its respected minister, he maintained kind and friendly relations with the ministers and congregations of Hope Street and Toxteth Park, and took pleasure in exercising towards them, when at home, a cordial and extended hospitality. Nor did his Parliamentary importance diminish his attachment to his native town, though it had not chosen him as its representative. He continued to be a citizen of Liverpool and to take an interest in promoting its welfare. He was one of the original members of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society, which lately celebrated its fiftieth anniversary. He was also one of the founders of the Mechanics' and Apprentices' Library in February, 1824, becoming successively Secretary, Treasurer and President, the Annual Report in 1830 having been drawn up by him. This Library was removed to the Brougham Institute, and the objects at which both aimed, with but slender support, are now much more systematically and splendidly promoted by the Liverpool Institute (of which also Mr. Thornely was a friend from the first) and the Free Public Library, built by the munificence of Mr. William Brown. Mr. Thornely was one of the original proprietors of the Liverpool Athenæum, which was founded by Mr. Roscoe, Dr. Currie and others, in 1798, and which still remains one of the best news-rooms and the best library in the town. His was also one of the names of longest standing on the Commission of the Peace for his native county.

Until a comparatively recent period, his vigour of mind and body remained unimpaired; and, owing in part, no doubt, to his regular and temperate life and his methodical habits of business, and in part to his sound constitution and even temperament, his Parliamentary duties and London hours seemed to agree with him remarkably well, and he was a fine specimen of a hale English gentleman; and when the warnings of mortality at

* The whole proceedings, which were of great interest, may be perused in the Christian Reformer, New Series, Vol. IV. (1848) pp. 500—508.

Digitized by Google

length came rather suddenly upon him, he was, not unnaturally, slow to acknowledge the fact that he must submit to be an invalid. His growing infirmities, however, rendering it impossible for him to continue to give that thorough and unremitting attention to his duties which had always characterized him, in 1859 he retired from Parliament, issuing to his long-attached constituents at Wolverhampton that manly and dignified address, affecting in its simplicity and calmness, which we have already laid before our readers. In the following year, 1860, he paid one more visit to London; but in July of that year he was seized with an increase of weakness which confined him to his room as a confirmed invalid for the remainder of his life, quitting his house only on two occasions, one of them being to give his vote in favour of the Liberal candidate for the third seat allotted to the representation of the southern division of Lancashire. Up to the period just stated, he had been able to continue his unfailing habit through life of attending public worship; and during the twenty-two months of tedious but happily painless confinement, he would still speak hopefully of being "able to go to chapel again." He was not permitted to do this alive, but one of his cherished wishes was gratified in regard to the place of his final repose. The burial-ground attached to Renshaw-Street chapel, in which were the vaults of his family, had been peremptorily closed under the sanitary regulations of the Home Office; but Mr. Thornely, in a special interview with Lord Palmerston, had most earnestly, we believe even affectingly, entreated some relaxation of the rule in favour of himself and a few surviving friends—perhaps the only personal favour he ever asked at the hands of Government. Lord Palmerston, who had shut himself out of his own family vault under the same general regulation, at first, we have been told, did not sympathize with Mr. Thornely's earnestness. Ultimately, however, the rule was relaxed, under certain specified conditions, in favour of surviving near relatives of persons already interred. We have mentioned this fact as (to us) an affecting illustration of the deep and strong feeling which invariably characterized Mr. Thornely's personal attachments and religious associations.

Another wish cherished by him during his days of helpless weakness, was to keep up his old habits of hospitality; and though his voice was reduced to a whisper, his intellect remained clear, and he always took pleasure in the visits of old friends who could talk of old times, or in the innocent presence of young children. Our readers may have seen his name as a contributor to various good objects during his months of decline, and his previously well-principled and self-possessed character now manifested itself in the touching and beautiful aspects of gentle patience, kind courtesy, gratitude to those around him for the services affectionately rendered, and humble and hopeful sub-

Digitized by Google

mission to his Heavenly Father. After a fresh accession of weakness, from which he did not rally, he expired on Sunday, the 4th of May last, surrounded by his relatives and full of peace, aged 81. In the absence of his friend and pastor, the Rev. J. H. Thom, who had unfortunately been compelled to leave home for the continent for the sake of his health only a few days before, not anticipating that the end was so near, the funeral service was conducted by one who also had the privilege of counting him as a friend of many years' standing, the minister of the Ancient chapel of Toxteth Park. He was interred on the 8th of May, near his fellow-apprentice and constant friend for sixty years, Thomas Bolton, whose funeral had taken place only five weeks before. We append the following extract from the *Liverpool Mercury:*

"On Thursday morning, the remains of the late Thomas Thornely, Esq., were interred in the burial-ground connected with the Unitarian chapel, Renshaw Street. The general respect and esteem entertained for the deceased by his fellow-townsmen were manifested in the large attendance at the obsequies, though, so far as the relatives of the deceased were concerned, it was their desire that the mournful ceremony should be conducted with the strictest privacy. In addition to a number of gentlemen connected with the church with which the deceased was associated, there were many present belonging to other denominations of Christians, anxious to share in the wide-spread feeling of respect shewn to the memory of the departed. Amongst those present were Messrs. William Rathbone, William Brown, James Mulleneux, W. Ridyard, Rev. Dr. Raffles, Rev. S. A. Steinthal, Messrs. T. Avison, T. S. Raffles, D. Paton, P. Rathbone, G. Holt, P. Holt, W. J. Lamport, R. Rowlinson, J. Rowlinson, Thomas Haigh, Timothy Jevons, S. G. Rathbone, H. Booth, A. Stone, E. Fletcher, R. Benn, C. E. Rawlins, Jun., J. Y. Lee, S. Bright, J. Hand, W. Wood, S. T. Hobson, Thomas Thornely, Henry Jevons, &c., &c.

"The funeral *cortége*, which left the residence of the deceased in Mount Street shortly after ten o'clock, consisted of the hearse, two mourning coaches, and seven or eight private carriages, the latter being closed. In the mourning coaches were the seven nephews of the late Mr. Thornely, namely, Messrs. William Thornely, James Thornely, Francis Thornely, John Thornely, Alfred Thornely, Edward Thornely and Charles Thornely; also Mr. Samuel Thornely, a cousin, and Mr. George Jevons, a relative by marriage. Amongst the private carriages were those of Mr. Wm. Brown, Mrs. Harvey, Mrs. Holt, Mr. William Rathbone and Mr. W. Wood.

"The body having been taken into the chapel, the Rev. J. Robberds, minister of the Ancient chapel, Toxteth Park, read in a very impressive manner the usual burial service. He then delivered an appropriate address, as follows: 'My Christian Friends,—This cannot but be a solemn occasion to us all; but I may surely say that there can be no bitterness in the sorrow even of those to whom he who is gone was nearest and dearest. Every circumstance that can soften and sanctify the contemplation of death is present to us now. Our friend has not

Digitized by Google

been cut off in the midst of his days; he has fulfilled the allotted measure of fourscore years, and the brief period of declining strength has not been to him a season of labour and sorrow, but of peaceful resignation and tranquil hope. None can point, in his case, to powers unused or to opportunities of good neglected. We may humbly say that he has done the work which the Providence of God gave him to do. It was his lot to fill a useful and important post of duty, and he filled it with steady perseverance, cheerful firmness, unbending integrity and unfailing consistency, 'without haste and without rest,' till the natural decay of his earthly powers compelled him to repose. In the whole range of his relations in life—as an esteemed and beloved brother; as the kind and judicious adviser of a rising generation of relatives who looked up to him as their head; as an honoured and respected member of a wide circle of friends and early associates; as a valued citizen and honourable merchant of this his native town, taking his part manfully, yet temperately, in the cause of freedom and reform, from a time when that cause needed much courage and firmness in its friends; as a benevolent helper of every object of private or social charity; as a consistent adherent of the form of Christian faith which approved itself to his conscientious judgment, but with nothing of the uncharitable exclusiveness of a sectarian spirit; as a faithful, diligent and disinterested servant of his country in the labours of the senate for nearly a quarter of a century, during a most eventful and fruitful period in the world's history—in all these varied and extended relations, I am not aware that, tried by human judgment, he ever swerved from the straightforward integrity of purpose which was the ruling principle of his life. Our Saviour said to his disciples, 'Woe unto you when all men shall speak well of you.' Surely these words could be literally applicable only to the exceptional and critical period when the new and obnoxious faith of his gospel was working a spiritual revolution in the earth, for certainly I never heard that any men spoke otherwise than well of our departed friend, however widely they might differ from the theological or political convictions which he uniformly and steadily professed.

"But this language of eulogy, however natural and spontaneous to the feelings of affectionate survivors, is yet perhaps not that which our friend himself, could he now be consulted, would wish to be made the lesson of this hour. He has now done with earthly interests and mortal concerns, and is looking forward to the heavenly crown. He would rather say—let the lesson of this hour be the transient and perishable nature of all interests and duties that are merely of the earth, earthy. How short seems in retrospect the longest earthly life! Let us be solemnly reminded that all the labours and cares and busy interests of this life are of no real and enduring value save as they help to build up the character of the immortal soul. Let us seek how we may sanctify every earthly duty by doing it as to the Lord. Let us do all things heartily, as to the holy and eternal God, and not unto vain and fallible men. It is impressive and affecting to take leave, one after another, of valued and honoured friends and associates. Let us be reminded by these events to hold fast our heavenly hope, and thus to be truly faithful in the discharge of our earthly duties. When called upon from time to time to suffer bereavement by the will of God, let us commit the keeping of our souls to Him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator. And

Digitized by Google

when we in our turn are called away from the deeds done in the body, may it be ours to receive the sentence promised to all who diligently do their appointed work—'Well done, good and faithful servants; ye have been faithful over a few things, ye shall be made rulers over many things; enter ye into the joy of your Lord.'

"A suitable prayer closed this portion of the solemn ceremony, and the body, followed by the relatives and friends, was then conveyed to the place of interment at the rear of the chapel. The Rev. Mr. Robberds read the remainder of the service at the grave side, and the mournful proceedings terminated."

On the following Sunday, the Rev. Charles Wicksteed, who had previously engaged to take Mr. Thom's place on that day, most appropriately occupied the Renshaw-Street pulpit as an old and well-known friend of the minister and the congregation. We may just remark that Mr. Wicksteed was the preacher at the opening of the new chapel at Gee Cross in 1848, when Mr. Thornely so ably presided at the dinner. We are glad to be able to place before our readers some extracts from his discourse, which will form a fitting conclusion to this Memoir.

Mr. Wicksteed took his text from 1 Peter iii. 4, "Let it be the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible." After dwelling upon it as one of the peculiar and beautiful features of the religion of Jesus Christ that "the righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance," and illustrating the value of the remembrance of one departed in our estimate of his character as a whole, he felt prompted to ask the natural question, what manner of man it was that had now left them and been held in so much honour, and what lessons his example taught. He then proceeded:

"And here let me express a regret, most natural on my part, as on all of yours, that the duty which I am now attempting to discharge, it has not been possible for your respected minister and friend, and the respected minister and friend of the deceased for thirty years, to discharge in his own tender and delicately discriminating manner. His services in this place, I too well know, are rendered at an imminent risk to his health and strength; and imperative as on these grounds is his absence now, no considerations of personal comfort or safety would have been allowed by him for one moment to interfere with his discharge of this duty, or the expression of his own strong attachment and respect to him whom we have now lost, could he have known that the last severance would take place while he was away."

After remarking that the time was now come when they were authorized and impelled to say in all sincerity what they felt, he proceeded:

"I think, then, the foundation of this not only general, but, I think I may say, this universal respect and attachment to our departed friend, was, in the language of our text to-day, 'the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible.' His life and character formed an illustration and an example in actual human life of a man quietly and silently beginning with himself the culture of his own mind, the con-

Digitized by Google

trolling of his own dispositions, the conscientious formation of his own principles and habits—the attention first of all to those duties which were attached to his position in life, which related to himself, to his business, to the wants and interests of the community by which he was immediately surrounded. He was of opinion that

> 'A man's best things are nearest him,
> Lie close about his feet.'

Nor was it

> '——— the distant and the dim
> That he was sick to greet.'

In this way he went on for fifty years quietly and silently, gaining the means of independence, collecting the stores of information and experience afterwards so useful to him, gathering the respect and confidence of his fellow-citizens and of society around him, and finally, with very marked success, devoting his leisure and his attainments to the service of his country.

"This career shews that he was not insensible to nor unambitious of the distinctions attached to high public and private character. But perhaps, in the following out of this ambition, no man ever took a more exact guage of himself—of his own powers and aptitudes—of what was within his scope and what without it. The consequence of which was, that he was never found out of his place, and never put himself in any position in which he did not command entire respect.

"With a strong though quiet desire for public position and public usefulness, he was entirely free from ostentation. His ambition was never weak or silly, or such as to lead him into false positions. He had a manly confidence in what he could do, and an equally manly knowledge of what he could not do. The consequence was, that you always found him busy with what was within his knowledge and power, and never meddling with things and subjects outside them. And thus it was that this man stood, year after year, in the midst of superior rank, superior talent, superior wealth, superior authority and superior genius, for nearly a quarter of a century, and never lost his own respect or the respect of any one else. For he had the essential elements of all true dignity of character. He never appeared, or tried to appear, other than he was. He never stood where he had not a right to stand. In all places and all circumstances he was himself; and every one that looked upon him knew that what they saw with the outward eye was also 'the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible.'

"It was this entire correspondence between the outer and the inner man, this singleness of purpose and incorruptibility of character, which first gained him the confidence of his friends and fellow-townsmen, that afterwards secured to him a position of such pre-eminent respectability in the senate of his country.

"He entered the House of Commons to do his duty in it. He arranged most conscientiously his hours and mode of life, and adopted with admirable good sense the plans by which his health and strength could be made to go through most work. The result was, that in the fatiguing, unostentatious, and often unknown and unappreciated, labour of the Committees, where his knowledge and good sense made him a valuable and welcome counsellor, his usefulness was most marked; and in the assiduity of his constant attendance in the House itself, he was surpassed by, I believe, only two men.

Digitized by Google

"In examining the division lists, you invariably found him voting, not necessarily with his party, but always with his principles. Sometimes he swelled the numbers of a large and triumphant majority, and sometimes the fingers on your hand would have afforded numerals sufficient to count the minority in which his name appeared. But whether he voted with many or few, with the Ministry or against the Ministry, you always found him—at least so it seems to me on looking back over that quarter of a century—where you expected to find him. For he was never swayed by any side-motives. There were in him none of those sudden and unexpected changes, those startling and unlooked-for positions, which mark the career of many men.

"Personal motives and convenience—a disposition to please or to oblige—caprice of judgment or of temper—never led him to swerve from the course his conscience dictated to him was the best course for the nation and for the people he represented. And in truth, for the most part, the grounds on which he voted were as well known to you as to himself; they might have been written and published straight off his heart, and proclaimed in the daylight of the whole world. For in truth he voted from 'the inner man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible.' And what was remarkable was, that in his case, for twenty-four years, that senseless and fanatical cry on the specialties, or supposed specialties, of his personal religious faith, was either never violently raised, or was kept down in hopeless abeyance by the solid force of his character and the evident Christianity of his life."

After an admirable and forcible passage on the absurdity of distrusting a man because of his honest fidelity to his religious convictions, and on the instructiveness of Mr. Thornely's example in this respect, the preacher continued:

"I should not like to leave this attempted study of the character of our friend without alluding to one feature more, the constancy of his friendship.

"It is thirty years since I first stood a stranger where I now stand, and saw the eye of his kindly and encouraging attention fixed upon me in that way that always seemed to me to make him appear to take, even in his silent presence, a ministering part in the services of this place. And in the frank and simple greeting which followed, he shewed at once his kindliness and his caution, and also a peculiarity which was very marked in him, I should think amounting to a habit, of ascertaining of strangers not *what* they were or appeared to be, so much as, if possible, *who* they were, and whether, as he would express it, 'they came of a good stock.' The friendship thus commenced, more, I think, from these considerations than any personal ones, and more owing to a link with the past than from any attraction to the present,—though distance separated me from the privilege of his frequent society,—nevertheless seemed to be always gathering a little, and (as I look back upon the interval) chiefly, I think, by his own kind contrivance.

"And this is the impression which I believe must rest upon the minds of many—the fidelity of his friendships. In the business of human life—in the pressingness and the number of the occupations which fill up the time of an active and industrious man—in the absorbingness of special duties and pursuits—in the distances which separate us—it often

Digitized by Google

happens that we have but small actual intercourse with those who were once our friends, and who, had we continued to live near them or been united by common pursuits, would have been our friends still.

"It may be true that all this time our hearts may not have changed, nor theirs either, and that if circumstances brought us together again, we should find each other just where we were, and, taking up the threads of our intercourse where we had left them, continue weaving the suit of friendship, finding it interrupted and delayed in its progress perhaps, but unbroken in itself. But with Mr. Thornely it was not quite so. He was not quite content with this. Careful in his selection of his friendships, he was careful also to keep them up; and when once formed, 'he invariably held them till death.' And a friend of sixty years, who has just passed away, expressed the hope, a little before he died, that they should carry on their friendship in a better world.

"While the circle of his friendships was thus always preserved in its fulness and increasing in its extent, the nearer you got to the centre, the stronger became the power. 'The value of his character,' writes an old friend who sat side by side with him sixteen years in the House of Commons, 'can only be estimated by those who came in daily contact with him, and could see the true workings of a most kind, benevolent and large-hearted man.' The beautiful union of mutual affection which so long existed between the two brothers, and then again between the brother and the sister, and the reverential attachment of a numerous generation of surviving relatives, bear witness to his strong family affection; so that, without penetrating into the interior sanctities of private life, we yet do know that the public-spirited citizen, while honoured abroad, was both honoured and loved at home. And this we need not wonder at, if the foundation of the whole was, as we have said, 'the hidden man of the heart, in that which is not corruptible.'

"After a gradual decay, extending over eighteen months, during which the long confinement, to one of his active habits, must have been peculiarly trying, but which he bore without a word of impatience or complaint, except for the trouble which he thought he was causing to others, he passed away with scarcely a struggle, the oldest member of this congregation."

"Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace."

J. R.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND HER CREEDS.

THE Church of England has shovelled books and pamphlets by wholesale into the creed—the aggregate creed of her communion. It is hardly possible to over-estimate the difference between her practice and that of the primitive Church in this respect. The only creed that can be made out from the few approaches to one in the Epistles of the New Testament is about a third the length of the Apostles' Creed, and not so long as the Lord's Prayer. The creed of the Church of England, comprehending everything which a clergyman is required to declare his assent and consent to, is a course of sacred literature, written in various styles and for different purposes. The Roman Catholics have really not done so much as we have in this respect; for their Creed of Pope Pius is not, in bulk at least, a very considerable addition to the three old creeds of the Church.—*The Times*, May 28th.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCXI.] JULY, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

LIFE OF EDWARD IRVING.*

Edward Irving died in Glasgow, a victim of consumption, at the close of the year 1834. He had gone to the North on a mission, by order of his superiors in the new Catholic Apostolic Church, in which, though he had been so largely instrumental in its foundation, he yet held only a subordinate place. He had had to accept re-ordination in the spring of the year before, by the imposition of the hands of Mr. Cardale, one of the two new apostles, at the instigation of the voices of its prophets, as angel or chief pastor of the Newman-Street church; but he never became one of the gifted few, and prayed and waited in vain for the blessing of their inspiration. The records of his journey by the west of England and through Wales, to Liverpool, from which place he set sail for Scotland, are amongst the most interesting in this biography. His letters on the road, addressed to his wife and children, are very simple and natural, extremely characteristic of the affectionate disposition, open to all kindly influences, which neither his fanatical creed nor the strange circumstances through which his life had passed had been able to injure.

In the interval of nearly thirty years since his death, the great preacher and his agitated career have been almost forgotten, or he has been remembered chiefly by the popular association of his name with an obscure sect which repudiates the designation. It was fully time for some faithful and loving biographer to reinstate the credit of his benevolent and self-denying, though erratic character. It was only necessary to report the plain facts of his life in order to give the reader the image of a man of great power and of transparent sincerity, one to be respected and even venerated amidst his greatest errors. His defects lay on the surface of his nature; the elements of greatness were strangely commingled there with incongruous points of weakness. But in all that he was, he may be pronounced to have been genuine; and, for a man so narrow-minded and even bigoted, he was singularly sound at heart. Perhaps it was hardly possible for one who cared to exhibit at all the detailed biography of such a character, to be contented with the delivery of its "plain,

* The Life of Edward Irving, Minister of the National Scotch Church, London. By Mrs. Oliphant. London—Hurst and Blackett. 1862.

Digitized by Google

unvarnished tale." If Mrs. Oliphant assumes too much the position of an advocate, the fault may be pardoned in one who is ever willing to justify her hero from his own points of view, and does not seek to thrust upon him the responsibility of her private opinions. She speaks too often contemptuously, and sometimes bitterly, of his opponents. Justice to their memory is never thought of. This is the one great defect of her work, which in most other respects is a great and trying achievement. Her writing is admirable and very agreeable to read. She has written with so much love, care, and good sense, that the two volumes of this biography will certainly find a large and varied circle of admirers.

Mrs. Oliphant is careful to set her characters well in the history of the time. She generally does this for her chief hero in a masterly way. But it is somewhat overdone in the beginning of the book. Edward Irving was born in 1792, a troublous and critical time in the great world, which the revolutions in France had surprised into an absorbed and alarmed interest; and his biographer is tempted to notice this in its striking contrast with the unbroken and almost stagnant calmness of the Scottish country home-life of the period. It matters little to know either the place or the time at which the greatest of men first see the light. They bring their character with them, which after circumstances can only modify in its development, or alter the forms of its appearance. It is of more consequence to learn that Irving's father was a hardworking and honest tanner, and his mother the handsome daughter of a small landed proprietor in the neighbourhood of Annan, an active, cheerful, high-spirited woman.

"'Evangelicism,' said Edward Irving long after, 'has spoiled both the minds and bodies of the women of Scotland: there are no women now like my mother.' It is clear that no conventional manner of speech, thought or barrier of ecclesiastical proprieties unknown to nature had limited the mother of those eight Irvings, whom she brought up accordingly in all the freedom of a life almost rural, yet amid all the warm and kindly influences of a community of friends."

As a boy, Irving appears to have been more at home in the fields than amongst his books. He grew to be a man of gigantic frame and stature, as he had been distinguished in youth in athletic feats and sports of every kind. Mrs. Oliphant dispels the notion of anything about him at that time prematurely solemn or remarkable. The discipline of the parish schoolmaster under whom he was placed appears to have been severe, a circumstance which may have re-acted afterwards upon his own methods in teaching. Curious stories are told of his extreme severity towards his pupils when he had become himself a schoolmaster. It is strange to connect such early experiences and displays of character with all the ministerial devotion and fame of his after life.

Amongst his earliest companions was Hugh Clapperton, the

Digitized by Google

celebrated African traveller. They met in London afterwards, "both famous men; and the last communication sent to England by the dying traveller was addressed to his early friend." This intimacy may be remembered in connection with that restless love of excitement and change and adventure which created nearly all the romance of Irving's own career. It may have aided to give a direction to his thoughts and hopes which shews itself repeatedly in the course of those long, disappointed, early years which followed his preparation for the ministry. He seemed to long for the enterprize of a missionary career. He projected at one time a mission which he would undertake to Persia, passing first through Germany in order to acquire there the language in which he was to preach. He would have disdained both the support and the restraints of any Society's committee at home: his idea was to go like a primitive apostle, without scrip or purse, ready for any hardship or sacrifice, in the simple trust of the promised protection of Providence, preaching from place to place wherever men might be found to hear him. Several times in his life he thus converted journeys of business or pleasure into apostolic visitations, in the precise manner which he would have desired to adopt abroad. It is impossible not to feel interested in this working of religious habits and aspirations in very natural harmony with his simplicity of nature, his open-heartedness to strangers, and his early love of out-door exercises and adventures. Of missionary colonies and rules of government and necessary compromises of prudence he had no conception; and when in after years he was invited as the most popular preacher in London to deliver the annual sermon for the London Missionary Society, he terrified its directors and scandalized the religious world exceedingly by the line of thought which his discourse developed. Instead of hearing the usual complimentary strain of remark on "what God had wrought" by their instrumentality among the heathen, they had to listen, in a service of three and a half long and trying hours, to a description of the true apostolic missionary, which was one continued rebuke of all their politic ways, a censure from beginning to end, attributing their real want of any success worth naming to the faithless and temporizing ways in which they set about the work.

The idea of taking Germany on his missionary road to Persia was probably due to Thomas Carlyle, whose own aspirations had already set in that direction. The influence of this distinguished man upon a nature so susceptible as Irving's must have been considerable. He was a later pupil in the same school, and in Edinburgh afterwards they appear to have been much together. In the intimacy of college friendship they would discuss all subjects freely, and the dissatisfaction with the existing churches which diverted the well-known author from the profession of the ministry in Scotland, must have been often a subject of talk

Digitized by Google

between them. Carlyle discovered in the German theology and literature the future life-spring of his course of thought: to him the docile reception of Scottish orthodoxy was henceforth impossible; but it is extremely touching to remark in what faithful friendship the two contrasted men continued to the last. The noblest tribute of respect and love which has ever been framed by one man at the death of another who had been so long and variously known, was written by Thomas Carlyle to the memory of Edward Irving.

It was at the age of thirteen that Irving became a student at Edinburgh, and he took his degree there, four years afterwards, in 1809. This was the early, flourishing period of the Edinburgh Review, and Mrs. Oliphant cannot help remarking how little the new stir of political and literary life to which this publication led affected the obscure fortunes of one who was afterwards to become so celebrated. He went away, in 1810, to become, at eighteen, the master of a school at Haddington, to which he had been recommended by Sir John Leslie and Professor Christison. He had been only one session at the "divinity hall." The rest of his theological training he had to gain in a somewhat exceptional way in the capacity of what was called a "partial" student, dependent chiefly for his successful examinations upon the labour of private reading. He used to give private lessons to the daughter of Dr. Welsh, the chief medical man of the district, and lived in terms of intimacy with the best society of the place. It is of this period that the author writes:

"The main quality in himself which struck observers was,—in strong and strange contradiction to the extreme devotion of *belief* manifested in his latter years,—the critical and almost sceptical tendency of his mind, impatient of superficial 'received truths,' and eager for proof and demonstration of everything. Perhaps mathematics, which then reigned paramount in his mind, were to blame; he was as anxious to discuss, to prove and disprove, as a Scotch student fresh from college is naturally disposed to be. It was a peculiarity natural to his age and condition; and as his language was always inclined to the superlative, and his feelings invariably took part in every matter which commended itself to his mind, it is probable that this inclination shewed with a certain exaggeration to surrounding eyes. 'This youth will scrape a hole in everything he is called on to believe,' said the doctor,—a strange prophecy, looking at it by that light of events which unfolds so many unthought-of meanings in all predictions."

It is also said of him about this time that he was in the habit of broaching at the frequent social meetings of Haddington "some of his singular opinions about the high destinies of the human race in heaven, where the saints were not only to be made 'kings and priests unto God,' but were to rule and judge angels." His answer under the rebuke of a senior minister for the pursuit of such high and unpractical speculations was quite

Digitized by Google

characteristic of Irving. It was substantially the same reply with which in subsequent years he met objections to the spirit manifestations: "Dare either you or I deprive God of the glory and thanks due to his name for this exceeding great reward?" It never occurred to him to observe that it was a simple question of interpretation. To refuse his opinion was to dishonour the Almighty!

From Haddington, at the end of two years, he removed to Kirkcaldy on the Firth of Forth, to undertake the charge of a new school for both sexes of a somewhat higher character than the parish school already established there. Here he continued for seven years.

"Both French and Italian, in addition to the steadier routine of Latin and mathematics, seem to have been attempted by the ardent young teacher; and his own class read Milton with him, learning large portions of *Paradise Lost* by heart. . . . . Altogether a system of education of a lofty, optimist character, quite as rare and unusual in the present day as at that time. It is said that one of his older pupils came on one occasion to this same Milton class before the arrival of her companions, and on reaching the door of the class-room, found Irving alone, reciting to himself one of the speeches of Satan, with so much emphasis and so gloomy a countenance, that the terrified girl, unable to conceal her fright, fled precipitately."

It was one of his pupils in this school, the eldest daughter of the parish minister, that Irving many years afterwards married. The Rev. John Martin, her father, was of the party called "wild" or "highfliers," to distinguish them from the majority of the time in the Church of Scotland, the "moderates," of the school which the Autobiography of Dr. Carlyle, of Inveresk, has lately made better known. The association with this family may be supposed to have decided Irving's place among the "pietists" of the Scottish Church. He was always much influenced by those about him whom he could regard with love and reverence. Of this feminine cast of his mind his biographer seems little aware. She finds in him so much to love, that she can never really pass a critical judgment upon him.

In 1815, he was licensed to preach, having passed the necessary trials and examinations; but his early efforts were decidedly unsuccessful. He was "too grand," the people said; and he never lost this tendency to the bad taste of magniloquence. For three years further he continued to teach in Kirkcaldy, only occasionally preaching, and never with any great acceptance; but the drudgery became at last too irksome, and in 1818 he abandoned it and returned to live a short academical life in Edinburgh. Here, while attending certain classes in the college, he burned all his old sermons and resolved to make a fresh beginning.

"Warmed and stimulated by his own experience, he began to write

Digitized by Google

sermons to himself,—that impatient, vehement hearer, whose character and intelligence none of the other preachers had studied. Perhaps in the midst of all the modern outcry against sermons, the preachers of the world might adopt Irving's method with advantage. While he wrote, he had always in his eye that brilliant, dissatisfied, restless listener, among the side pews in Kirkcaldy church. He knew to a hair's breadth what that impatient listener wanted,—how much he could bear,—how he could be interested, edified or disgusted. I have no doubt, it was one of the greatest secrets of his after power; and that the sweet breath of popular applause, pleasant though it might have been, would have injured the genius which, in silence and unacceptableness, and dire, prolonged experiment of other people's preaching, came to be its own perennial hearer,—the first and deepest critic of its own powers."

All his efforts, however, seemed as yet vain. No offer of preferment is made, until in an almost dramatic fashion he is invited to preach in the principal church in Edinburgh, with the great Dr. Chalmers amongst his hearers, who is understood to be seeking an assistant. He preaches and is complimented, but nothing comes of it; and he will go to Persia, or home, or anywhere, sick at heart of the hope so long deferred. This was in the year 1819. In a caprice of desperation he went to Belfast, and wandered on foot, as he loved to do, over the north of Ireland, "finding shelter in the wayside cottages, sharing the potato and the milk which formed the peasant's meal." Returning to civilized existence, he found awaiting him a letter from Dr. Chalmers, inviting him to come to Glasgow. When he was proposed as assistant minister, he is reported to have said to the Doctor, "I will preach to them if you think fit; but if they bear with my preaching, they will be the first people who have borne with it." "He was generally well liked, but some people thought him rather flowery. However, they were satisfied that he must be a good preacher, since Dr. Chalmers had chosen him."

Unordained as yet, and living for two years and a half under the shadow of a great reputation which obscured for the present all promise of his own, Irving acquired in the parish of St. John's, the St. Giles' of Glasgow, a singular experience of the working of religious faith among the poor three hundred families, which in a season of peculiar and threatening distress it was his special duty to visit. He used to go amongst them with the solemn, apostolic manner which it seemed quite natural for him to assume. When he passed their thresholds he would invariably say, "Peace be to this house;" and he placed his hands upon the heads of the children to bless them. He always held a very high conception of the importance and dignity of the ministerial office, and his faith in the value of scriptural formulas was amongst his marked peculiarities.

It was in this parish that Dr. Chalmers was now engaged in testing his well-known theories of the superior efficiency of vo-

Digitized by Google

luntary relief to any system of compulsory poor-laws. Mrs. Oliphant gives an interesting account of the experiment, but the chief value of it in this biography naturally arises from the position into which Irving was thus brought in relationship with his great patron. It is pleasant to see throughout the remainder of his life with what friendly feeling the greater man regarded his younger and eccentric brother, notwithstanding the fears which he was perpetually compelled to entertain of what his hasty, imprudent temper might lead to. The biographer is widely at fault, we cannot but think, in the severe judgments she insinuates against Chalmers, because he was not enthusiastic, like herself, in his admiration of the wild ways of his assistant.

"'Irving's preaching,' said Dr. Chalmers, evidently not with any very great admiration of it, 'is like Italian music, appreciated only by connoisseurs.' But he does not hesitate to compare the influence of his assistant, on another and more cordial occasion, to a special magnetic spell, which went to the very hearts of those susceptible to it, though it fell blank upon the unimpressionable multitude. On the whole, Dr. Chalmers' opinion of him is the opinion of one who only half understands, and does not more than half sympathize with, a character much less broad, but in some respects more elevated than his own. A certain impatience flashes into the judgment. The statesman and philosopher watches the poet-enthusiast with a doubtful, troubled, half-amused, half-sad perplexity; likes him, yet does not know what he would be at; is embarrassed by his warm love, praise, and gratitude; vexed to see him commit himself; impatient of what he himself thinks credulity, vanity, waste of power; but never without a sober, regretful affection for the bright, unsteady light that could not be persuaded to shine only in its proper lantern. This sort of admiring, indulgent, affectionate half-comprehension, is apparent throughout the whole intercourse of these two great men. That Chalmers was the greater intellect of the two I do not attempt to question; nor yet that he was in all practical matters the more eminent and serviceable man; that Irving had instinctive comprehensions and graces, which went high over the head of his great contemporary, seems to me as evident as the other conclusion."

The reader will judge according to his own views and turn of mind. We confess that on every occasion in which this biography presents the two in any sort of divided judgment, we cannot avoid taking sides with "the greater intellect," as against "the poet-enthusiast." If the following of imagination is to lead a man so invariably and even deplorably wrong, it is not easy to see its high desert of praise. It may have its compensations for the man himself, but to others it must ever seem a wasteful and weak distinction.

The idea which a man like Chalmers held of Irving throughout his course is in itself worth recording, though the biographer presents it always with an air of fretful dissatisfaction. Soon after his settlement over the Caledonian church in Hatton

Digitized by Google

Garden, Dr. Chalmers preached for him a kind of ordination sermon, and he writes about him thus:

"'He is prospering in his new situation, and seems to feel as if in that very station of command and congeniality whereunto you have long known him to aspire. I hope that he will not hurt his usefulness by any kind of eccentricity or imprudence.' In these odd and characteristic words, Dr. Chalmers, always a little impatient and puzzled even in his kindest moments about a man so undeniably eminent, yet so entirely unlike himself, dismisses Irving, and proceeds upon his statistical inquiries."

The author's comment is certainly more singular than the writer's careful and friendly fears. In 1827, Dr. Chalmers came again to preach at the opening of the church in Regent Square. This was about five years after. He writes as follows to his wife:

"*Thursday.*—Irving and I went to Bedford Square. Mr. and Mrs. Montague took us out in their carriage to Highgate, where we spent three hours with the great Coleridge. His conversation flowed in a mighty, unremitting stream. You know that Irving sits at his feet, and drinks in the inspiration of every syllable that falls from him. There is a secret, and, to me, unintelligible communion of spirit between them, on the ground of a certain German mysticism, and transcendental lake poetry which I am not yet up to. *Friday.*—Mr. Irving conducted the preliminary services in the National Church. There was a prodigious want of tact in the length of his prayers—forty minutes; and, altogether, it was an hour and a half from the commencement of the service ere I began. . . . . Irving certainly errs in the outrunning of sympathy."

The congregation, it should be remembered, had been waiting most of them for three hours before the service began, in their eagerness to secure their seats. The biographer is somewhat sarcastic upon the great Doctor in regard to this sensible impatience. Irving always held out for the liberty of prophesying to the length of two hours and a half, and his people, it seems, were used to it.

"On the following Saturday, he records that 'Mr. Gordon informed me that yesternight Mr. Irving preached on his prophecies at Hackney chapel for two hours and a half; and though very powerful, yet the people were dropping away. I really fear lest his prophecies, and the excessive length and weariness of his services, may unship him altogether, and I mean to write to him seriously on the subject.' . . . . With dissatisfied and doubtful eyes, the celebrated Scotch preacher contemplated the apparently brilliant and encouraging position of his friend. The practicable, which did not trouble Irving, was strongly present in the mind of Chalmers. He, with both feet planted steadily on the common soil, cast a troubled eye upon the soaring spirit which scorned the common restraints of possibility. He shakes his head as he tells his wife of the mingled fascination and imprudence visible to himself in this incomprehensible man. Chalmers, too, was capable of following

Digitized by Google

one idea with the most absorbing enthusiasm; but his ideas were those of statesmanship, practicable and to be worked out; and with the eyes of a wisdom which, if not worldly, was at least substantial, and fully aware of all the restrictions of humanity, he looked on doubtfully at a man who calculated no possibilities, and who estimated the capacities of human nature, not from among the levels of ordinary life, but from the mountain top of his own elevated and impassioned spirit."

Three years afterwards they met again; but Irving was now already under the cloud which gradually settled down upon his closing years. He had been charged with heresy, and was becoming rapidly intoxicated with visions of the second advent. They went, as before, on a visit to Coleridge.

"*Now* the two elder men watched the younger with regret, amazement, and impatience, equal to their mutual incomprehension. He had left the calm regions of philosophy far apart and behind. He had left the safe limits of ecclesiastical restraint. The divine and the philosopher gazed at him with a certain mournful admiration and affectionate anger. Coleridge poured out 'an eloquent tribute of his regard' into the ear of Chalmers, 'mourning pathetically that such a man should be throwing himself away.'"

It is right to add here the continuation of this passage, if only as an example of many pages of eloquent and impassioned writing which Mrs. Oliphant devotes to the defence and honour of Edward Irving.

"They did not comprehend, neither the one nor the other, that nothing in this palpitating human world could be abstract to that passionate, splendid, human soul; that it was as truly his mission to render up love and life, to break his heart, and end his days in conflict with the shows of things, and vehement protestation for the reality, as it was theirs to dream, to ponder, to legislate, to abide the bloodless encounters of argument and thought. They watched him going on to his passion and agony, with wondering hopes that advice and remonstrance might yet save him; unperceiving that the agony and passion by which this man was to prove the devotion of a loyal heart to his Master's name and person, and unspeakable certainty of spiritual verities, was indeed the true object and purpose of his life."

This is in other language the substance of Carlyle's well-known Fraser article, written just after Irving's death. Later in the year Irving visited Chalmers, who writes,—

"'We parted from each other with great cordiality, after a prayer which he himself offered with great pathos and piety.' So the two made everlasting farewells, so far as this world was concerned, and parted in life, spirit, and career, each retaining a longing love for the other. The friendship of Chalmers, which was not strong enough to draw him personally into the conflict, or to give him any sympathetic understanding of the entire devotion with which Irving abrogated reason itself, in obedience to what he believed the voice of God, was yet enough to raise him above the vulgar lamentations which broke forth at Irving's death over his misused talents and sacrificed life. The

Digitized by Google

great Scotch divine knew well that his friend's life was not wasted; and with cumbrous but grand phraseology, and a labouring of tears in his voice, made that eulogium of 'the Christian grafted upon the old Roman,' by which he acknowledged his consciousness, notwithstanding separation and estrangement, of this primitive, heroic soul."

In order to bring into a single view the scattered expressions of Dr. Chalmers' judgment of Irving, the history of his career in London has been anticipated. He began preaching in the metropolis in 1822, and before the year was over the tide of his popularity had set in.

"The immediate origin of Irving's popularity, or rather of the flood of noble and fashionable hearers who poured in upon the little chapel in Hatton Garden all at once, without warning or premonition, is said to have been a speech of Canning's. Sir James Macintosh had been by some unexpected circumstance led to hear the new preacher, and heard Irving in his prayer describe an unknown family of orphans belonging to the obscure congregation, as now 'thrown upon the Fatherhood of God.' The words seized upon the mind of the philosopher, and he repeated them to Canning, who 'started,' as Macintosh relates, and, expressing great admiration, made an instant engagement to accompany his friend to the Scotch church on the following Sunday. Shortly after, a discussion took place in the House of Commons, in which the revenues of the church were referred to, and the necessary mercantile relation between high talent and good *pay* insisted upon. No doubt it suited the statesman's purpose to instance, on the other side of the question, the little Caledonian chapel and its new preacher. Canning told the House that, so far from universal was this rule, that he himself had lately heard a Scotch minister, trained in one of the most poorly endowed of churches, and established in one of her outlying dependencies, possessed of no endowment at all, preach the most eloquent sermon that he had ever listened to. The curiosity awakened by this speech is said to have been the first beginning of that invasion of 'society' which startled Hatton Garden out of itself."

It was, however, by no such accident, in Irving's own conception of the matter, that the great world came thus to his audience. If the world would not hear, it had been, he thought, the fault of the preachers, who had not studied properly how to address them. He came to London with enormous expectations, and bearing, as he believed, a commission to shew how preaching should be done. He said as much as this in the preface to his Orations which he published in the following year. Of course he was immediately assailed from all directions, and, as his manner was, he repelled the attacks of his opponents in a tone of defiance which was very far from representing the true, loving spirit that was in him. This was one of the many contradictions of his nature, and it helped greatly to mislead opinion respecting him: though a man of the gentlest impulses, he always proved himself too prompt in self-defence. It was in this year that he brought home his wife, who, happily for his comfort, believed in

Digitized by Google

and with him to the last. In 1824, he preached the missionary sermon which brought him into angry collision with the party which "calls itself," as he said, "the religious world." He published this sermon afterwards, with a dedication to Coleridge, in which he says to him, "You have been more profitable to my faith in orthodox doctrine, to my spiritual understanding of the Word of God, and to my right conception of the Christian church, than any or all the men with whom I have entertained friendship and conversation." On this matter Charles Lamb says in a letter,

"I have got acquainted with Mr. Irving, the Scotch preacher, whose fame must have reached you. Judge how his own sectarists must stare when I tell you, he has dedicated a book to S. T. C., acknowledging to have learnt more from him than from all the men he ever conversed with. He is a most amiable, sincere, modest man in a room, this Boanerges in the temple. Mrs. Montagu told him the dedication would do him no good. 'That shall be a reason for doing it,' was his answer. The kind Elia adds, 'Judge, now, whether this man be a quack.'"

The next great point of interest in connection with Irving's London career appears in 1825, when he began to preach upon unfulfilled prophecy. He had learned, it seems, from Coleridge to regard the world's conversion as hopeless without some further and great manifestation of power from on high, and becoming acquainted with Mr. Hartley Frere, an enthusiastic student in the prophecies, he began to turn his attention to the subject of the second advent. About the same period he lost his first child, a trial which manifestly affected him through the remaining years of his life. The two events stood closely connected in his own recollection, as appears from the following passage in the preface to *Ben Ezra*, a treatise on the prophecies, of which he had made a translation from the Spanish:

"Whoso studieth as I have done, and reflecteth as I have sought to reflect, upon the first twelve months of a child; whoso hath had such a child to look and reflect upon, as the Lord for fifteen months did bless me withal (whom I would not recall, if a wish could recall him, from the enjoyment and service of our dear Lord), will rather marvel how the growth of that wonderful creature, which put forth such a glorious bud of being, should come to be so cloaked by the flesh, cramped by the world, and cut short by Satan, as not to become a winged seraph; will rather wonder that such a puny, heartless, feeble thing as manhood, should be the abortive fruit of the rich bud of childhood, than think that childhood is an imperfect promise and opening of the future man. And therefore it is that I grudged not our noble, lovely child, but rather do delight that such a seed should blossom and bear in the kindly and kindred paradise of my God. And why should not I speak of thee, my Edward! seeing it was in the season of thy sickness and death the Lord did reveal in me the knowledge and hope and desire of his Son from heaven! Glorious exchange! He took my son to his own more fatherly bosom, and revealed in my bosom the sure expectation and

Digitized by Google

faith of his own eternal Son! Dear season of my life, ever to be remembered, when I knew the sweetness and fruitfulness of such joy and sorrow."

Before this publication was issued, Irving had assisted at a six days' conference of prophetic students at Albury Park, in Surrey, the residence of Henry Drummond, the late Member of Parliament, who became afterwards one of the two apostles of the spiritualist church. Joseph Wolff was there, and Hugh M'Neile. This was in 1826, the year before the opening of the Regent-Square church, at which time the great world suddenly ceased to trouble itself about Edward Irving. The chief interest of his remaining life is connected with prophetic developments.

"The solemnity of the meeting, the importance which all its members felt to attach to it, and the evident curiosity it awakened, make it of itself a remarkable incident in the history of its time. That time was clearly a time of expectation. An age of great events was just over, and the public mind had not yet accustomed itself to the domestic calm. At home, the internal economy of the country was swelling with great throes—agonies in which many people saw prognostics most final and fatal. Out of all the visible chaos, what a joyful, magnificent deliverance to believe,—through whatsoever anguish the troubled but short interval might pass,—that the Lord was coming visibly to confound his enemies and vindicate his people! No wonder they assembled at Albury to build themselves up in that splendid hope; no wonder the empire thrilled, through some thoughtful and many believing minds, at the mere name of such an expectation; least wonder of all, that a mind always so lofty and attuned to high emotions as that of Irving, should have given itself over to the contemplation; or should shortly begin to cast wistful looks over all the world, not only for prophecies fulfilled, but for signs approaching, watching the gleams upon the horizon which should herald the advent of the Lord."

The Albury meeting became an annual one, and Irving from this time lived and laboured in expectation of a speedy "second coming." He went to Edinburgh in 1828, to deliver twelve lectures on the Apocalypse. They were given at the early hour of six o'clock in the morning to facilitate the attendance of the Scottish clergy, who were at the time in General Assembly. The excitement was enormous, and the largest churches in which he lectured were overflowed. Dr. Chalmers writes of him at this time,—

"For the first time, I have no hesitation in saying, it is quite woeful. There is power and richness, and gleams of exquisite beauty, but withal a mysterious and extreme allegorization, which I am sure must be pernicious to the general cause. He sent me a letter he had written to the King on the Test, &c., and begged that I would read every word of it before I spoke. I did so, and found it unsatisfactory and obscure, but not half so much so as his sermon."

The allusion here is to the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, in his opposition to which, as well as to all the

Digitized by Google

ameliorations of past bigotry for which the liberal party of the time were striving, Irving was simply frantic. Mysticism is always conservative, as it is invariably dogmatic. It hates the light of any liberty but its own. And Irving was a perfect mystic. Liberalism was to him the work of Satan. It irritated and troubled him, for he could see that it tended to undermine everywhere the weak foundations of his own wilful and credulous faith. Mrs. Oliphant explains his political peculiarities in a rather singular manner, without appearing at all aware that what she advances in his defence reduces to the lowest point the value of opinions which nevertheless on all occasions he strenuously put forward, and not seldom with all the vehemence of an added theological bitterness.

"He was one of those men of inconsistent politics, governed at once by prejudice and sympathies, whose 'attitude' it is impossible to foretell; and of whom one can only predict that their political opinions will take the colour given by their heart; and that the side most strongly and feelingly set forth before them will undoubtedly carry the day. His nature was profoundly conservative; and yet the boldest innovation might have secured his devoted support, had it approved itself to his individual thoughts. His political opinions, indeed, seem to have been such as are common to literary men, artists, and women, entirely unconnected with politics, and who only now and then find themselves sufficiently interested to inform themselves upon public matters. Accordingly, he appears in after-life in strong opposition to every measure known as *liberal*."

In one who identified the Pope with the scarlet woman of the Apocalypse, opposition to the removal of the Roman Catholic disabilities is conceivable; but it is not easy to see how either heart or judgment could have had much to do with Irving's strong opinion that the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts was a deed of national wickedness. Mrs. Oliphant, with all her admiration of him, can never get rid of the conviction that he was a phenomenon which needs explanation. She has to follow him into regions of mystic thought and experience where few biographers would have cared to venture. But what he maintained upon such plain questions as come within the range of politics, the commonest appreciation can understand, and it goes far to shew what was the true character of his acute and ingenious but ill-balanced and wilful mind.

Another influence begins now to affect him, which his biographer represents as having had much to do with bringing about what she also regards as the great and final catastrophe of Irving's singular life. When "the voices" of the Spirit were heard, he was prepared to listen to them in unquestioning faith, not only from a predilection of temperament, always, as she says, "more ready to believe the miraculous than the common;" nor as a natural consequence of the condition of enthusiastic expec-

Digitized by Google

tation into which he had passed as a student in millenial prophecy; but the definite conviction appears to have been reasoned into him, that such things were to be prayed and hoped and looked for. He had invited to London as his assistant Mr. Alexander Scott, now of Owens' College, Manchester, a licentiate at that time in the National Scotch Church. To him Irving himself attributed the formation of this conviction in his mind. It was he also who, in working upon the mind of Mary Campbell to the same effect, the first of the possessed women who were thought to "speak with other tongues," "bent all his powers," Mrs. Oliphant says, "to laying this splendid train of mischief."

"Mary Campbell seems to have been possessed of gifts of mind and temperament scarcely inferior to genius, and with all the personal fascination of beauty added to the singular position in which her sister's fame had left her,—visited on terms of admiring friendship by people much superior to her in external rank, and doubtless influenced by the subtle arguments of one of the ablest men of the day,—it is impossible to imagine a situation more dangerous to a young, fervid, and impressionable imagination."

It was in 1830 that the extraordinary "gifts" were first manifested in the person of this young woman: in the following year they appeared in the Regent-Square church, and drove the minister out of it. In the mean time Mr. Scott had been for some time his fellow-labourer in that place. Mrs. Oliphant speaks of him in a singular, puzzled, respectful, yet complaining tone.

"That powerful and singular spirit had been [since 1828] his close companion and fellow-workman; and had not occupied that place without influencing the open and candid heart of his leader. I do not know what thread of unity ran through Mr. Scott's beliefs at this time, and gave his faith coherence. All that is outwardly apparent of him through the long vista of years is a determined resistance to every kind of external limitation, and fastidious rejection of all ecclesiastical boundary for his thoughts, combined with a power of impressing other minds around him, not only with his own marvellous powers of understanding, but with his profound spirituality and perception of divine things. To a man of so questioning and unsatisfied a mind, slow to believe what anybody told him, and apparently rather stimulated to contradiction than to reverence by the utterances of authority, the hope of direct communications from heaven afforded, no doubt, a gleam of possible deliverance out of the ever-increasing problems and perplexities of life and thought. It was an idea which, already, in a kind of grand prophetic reverie, had crossed the mind of Irving. So far back as 1828, he himself says, he had become convinced that the spiritual gifts so largely bestowed upon the apostolic age of Christianity were not exceptional, or for one period alone, but belonged to the church of all ages, and had only been kept in abeyance by the absence of faith. Yet with the lofty reasonableness and moderation of genius, even when treading in a sphere beyond reason, Irving concluded that these unclaimed and unexercised supernatural endowments, which had died out of use so

Digitized by Google

long, would be restored only at the time of the Second Advent, in the miraculous reign, of which they would form a fitting adjunct. Such had been his idea for some time, when the restless soul beside him began to work upon this germ of faith."

It is added elsewhere, that Mr. Scott, "obeying his fastidious instincts, as might have been predicted of him, afterwards rejected the phenomena which his own exertions had shaped into being." But belief, in the mind of Irving, took strong root. He had always inclined to such a personal faith in what are called "special providences," that the belief in other possible manifestations of miraculous interference was easy. The case of Miss Fancourt, in London, occurred in 1830. It was an instance to his mind of the miraculous power of prayer, a thing in which he had long believed, so far at least as facts permitted. A single text from the Scriptures had been always a sufficient basis upon which to erect his most extraordinary expectations, and at last it came to this point of what, in most men, would be considered presumption if they entertained such a thought, that he was prepared to stake the character of the Divine Being himself upon a certain issue of a certain prayer which he had importunately preferred. The alternative appeared to him inevitable. He and others met to pray for the fulfilment of the promise of the Spirit. If it came not, then was God faithless to his word, —which was impossible; therefore the answer had come; and this was it,—a few rare and odd cases of cures, and a confused medley of voices in the church. It was no wonder that Scott rejected what it was quite as natural for Irving, even logically after his own fashion, to believe. His own description of the voices is worth transcribing in full. It is a fair example of his usual style; and whatever may be thought of the small weight to be attached to the opinion upon such things formed by an enthusiastic mind on grounds like those just indicated, the passage may be held to prove that his belief in the voices was no insanity: it was rather the proper issue of the mystic, pietist principles of interpretation and religious experience in which he had been brought up. There were and are hundreds of believers whose faith trembles constantly on the verge of similar extravagance, instructed as they are to fear or contemn, in deference to a so-called pious sentiment, the divine faculty of reason. If to Irving it be conceded that he might reasonably believe the voices to be from heaven, he certainly writes about them in a tone of sufficiently cool rhetoric.

"The whole utterance, from the beginning to the ending of it, is with a power, and strength, and fulness, and sometimes rapidity of voice, altogether different from that of the person's ordinary utterance in any mood; and, I would say, both in its form and in its effects upon a simple mind, quite supernatural. There is a power in the voice to thrill the heart and overawe the spirit after a manner which I have

Digitized by Google

never felt. There is a march, and a majesty, and a sustained grandeur in the voice, especially of those who prophesy, which I have never heard even a resemblance to, except now and then in the sublimest and most impassioned moods of Mrs. Siddons and Miss O'Neil. It is a mere abandonment of all truth to call it screaming or crying; it is the most majestic and divine utterance which I have ever heard; some parts of which I never heard equalled, and no part of it surpassed, by the finest execution of genius and art exhibited at the oratorios in the concerts of ancient music. And when the speech utters itself in the way of a psalm or spiritual song, it is the likest to some of the most simple and ancient chants in the cathedral service, insomuch that I have been often led to think that those chants, of which some can be traced up as high as the days of Ambrose, are recollections and transmissions of the inspired utterances in the primitive church. Most frequently the silence is broken by utterance in a tongue, and this continues for a longer or a shorter period, sometimes occupying only a few words, as it were filling the first gust of sound; sometimes extending to five minutes, or even more, of earnest and deeply felt discourse, with which the heart and soul of the speaker is manifestly much moved to tears, and sighs, and unutterable groanings, to joy, and mirth, and exultation, and even laughter of the heart. So far from being unmeaning gibberish, as the thoughtless and heedless sons of Belial have said, it is regularly formed, well-proportioned, deeply felt discourse, which evidently wanteth *only the ear of him whose native tongue it is*, to make it a very masterpiece of powerful speech."

This was just the difficulty,—to find the person whose native tongue it happened to be. Mary Campbell believed her tongue to be that of the Pelew islands, "which indeed," as Mrs. Oliphant remarks, "was a safe statement, and little likely to be authoritatively disputed." As to the sons of Belial who demanded to be confronted with some such native before they would believe the tongues to have any meaning at all, it should be observed that at the head of them was Thomas Carlyle and nearly the whole body of Mr. Irving's best and longest friends. He treated them all as Gentiles and despisers, enemies of the work of God's Spirit. His biographer should not imply so sad reproach of them, that they could not stand by him, but only mourned and remonstrated against this tending of blind wilfulness towards what the great writer would call inevitable bedlam and chaos. She herself admits that when it came to speeches in the vernacular, there was nothing in them to justify any one's believing that such vapid and pointless exclamations could possibly have been a divine voice.

As a subject of curiosity we may reproduce an utterance of Mr. Drummond's at the opening of the new church in Newman Street. He was a man who uttered many foolish things in Parliament, but the sarcastic wit with which he said them is wanting in this example of the Spirit. Mr. Irving's sermon was ended, and he was merely giving notices about the fourteen weekly services which were to be held, when the voice thus

Digitized by Google

broke forth. A single specimen shall amply suffice; there is no need to add ridicule to the name of the great and good, but narrow and mistaken preacher, whose better memory Mrs. Oliphant has worthily uplifted by shewing how infinitely the honourable and loving man was above the deluded divine. Thus the Spirit speaks in Henry Drummond:

"Ah, be ye warned! be ye warned! Ye have been warned. The Lord hath prepared for you a table, but it is a table in the presence of your enemies. Ah, look you well to it! The city shall be builded—ah! every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load—each under his load; but see that ye build with one hand, and with a weapon in the other. Look to it—look to it. Ye have been warned. Ah! Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat; the Horonite, the Moabite, the Ammonite! Ah! confederate, confederate, confederate with the Horonite! Ah! look ye to it, look ye to it!"

On this kind of rock was built "the Catholic and Apostolic Church," dating from the year 1832. The "voices" organized it, and the "Spirit" was thus made to regulate its minutest appointments. Edward Irving was henceforth the patient slave of every apostolic intimation, and it was at the bidding of others that, against the wiser counsels of his physician, he went to the north to die.

But, several years before his disruption and ejectment from the National Scottish Church, and while no dream of justifiable heretical charges had ever entered his mind, he had been subjected to various ecclesiastical censures which require to be treated apart. The London Presbytery finally passed sentence upon him on account of the "voices" disturbing the Scottish order of service; but he had before been called to account by them, on the charge of heresy on which he was at last expelled by the Presbytery of Annan which had ordained him. The subject was the human nature of our Lord, which Irving declared to have been capable of sinning, though kept always from the commission of sin by the Holy Spirit within him. He was truly tempted, though he always overcame the temptation. It was the nature of man *after* the fall which the Son of Man took to redeem. It will be proper to add to our rapid sketch of his life some remarks on the general character of Irving's theological faiths and teaching.

To the philosophic reader perhaps the chief interest in his life is to be found in the study of character which it affords, and in its striking illustration of the natural results which follow from the popular creeds when they are logically held and adhered to in practice by one who is not satisfied to profess in belief what he cannot carry out in action. The conventional faith of ecclesiastical traditions seemed to Edward Irving a mockery of sacred things. He was resolved to live by ideas and theories which most of his fellow-believers maintained rather as church badges

Digitized by Google

and subjects of talk than as affording principles for the common conduct of life. With this ambition to be true and thorough, attended by his extreme confidence in the power of the truth so held and so advanced to effect great things in the world, a man of strong will, self-conscious and self-asserting, often to a degree of presumption, would be certain to make his influence felt; at the same time he would put to a severe proof whatever views and principles he might happen to hold. He was, we venture to observe, an example, presented in strong lights, but yet a fair example, of the necessary fanatical issues of orthodoxy when logically and honestly carried out. For he was an unquestioning believer in the doctrines of the National Scottish Church. It was these which formed the rule of his life; and therefore, being by temperament restless and impatient, and in disposition eager to rule and anxious to be doing good, he was from very early life a preacher of repentance and reformation. He could never understand the continued allowance of shams and abuses, and the practical rule of expediency which defended them, after they had been plainly exposed and condemned as wrong. He found it very hard to endure that other men should not have been as full of zeal as himself to live exactly in accordance with their church professions. He was besides an essentially intolerant man,—not perhaps in heart, for he was a man of almost angelic kindness of disposition,—but certainly in thought and will he was exclusive and untolerating. If he thought a thing wicked, it *was* wicked, and so were all they who sanctioned it. Such a man would strive for reforms in the pure conservative sense of bringing people back to the practice of the old faith which he upheld. With the Bible in his hand, which his own strong impressions seemed to give him a commission to interpret to other minds, he regarded himself as a kind of semi-prophet. He judged and denounced and exhorted, like an ancient seer. The world was everywhere and always wrong,—even the religious world, tested by his standards,—and he was raised up to warn them. He could find satisfaction nowhere, as might be expected from his habit of never looking at things as other people looked, and of pronouncing upon all according to such conformity or otherwise in them as could appear to his observation with the literal law which he held the Scriptures to supply. This chronic dissatisfaction with the existing state of things had an important influence upon his whole life. He never could reconcile his church experiences with the immense hopes he gathered from the literal Scriptures. He seemed to be always waiting for some great fulfilment which was destined never to come. From dreams of missionary labours, with which, in 1824, he startled the religious public, he went on, in 1825, to the prophecies, which, as his principles interpreted them, landed him, in 1831, every reader knows in what wild region of eccentric spiritual manifestations.

Digitized by Google

It was another noticeable phase of his theological experience that he admitted modifications in his religious views. Such variation originated in the simple desire which he had always felt to make his faith a reality. It was so much development of thought proceeding from the influence of fact and increasing knowledge. Had his life continued, it is impossible to say with what beliefs it might have ended. It is certain that at the time of his death, while thoroughly orthodox in feeling, he was already far removed from any recognized standard of orthodox conception. He could not see this. He never admitted the fact. In his view it was the church that had become unorthodox, not himself; and he was as ready to denounce the whole evangelical body as having departed from the faith, as he had been to astound Exeter Hall with his denunciations of its unapostolic, worldly missionary policy. But it is worth considering for a moment what were his peculiar theological opinions, and in what way he came to hold them.

He was a Puritan of the old covenanting type; this is the simple and sufficient explanation of his whole theological life. He held firmly to the literal belief of the Scriptures. He was once about to visit a dying man, but he came back to invite the company of another, remembering, as he said, that the words were, "If *two* of you shall agree to ask anything, it shall be done for them." This childish enslavement to the letter his biographer celebrates in the following terms:

"It was for this sublime reason, holding the promise as if it had been audibly spoken to himself, that the Christian priest turned back to call the other, whose brotherhood of faith he was assured of, to hold their faithful Master to his word."

These are grand words to apply to a mode of scripture reading which had in this man's life, as it inevitably must have if faithfully adhered to, such deplorable results. The text concerning the saving of the sick by the prayer of faith was another which he had constantly present to his mind. He believed that his wife had been once so cured, as also himself from an attack of cholera. It became at last a kind of settled principle in the belief of his followers that disease was in itself a something sinful, which ought to be resisted by believing prayer. Their interpretation of the prophecies and of the other promises as to gifts of the Spirit was no more than a natural sequence to these trivialities of literalism. They were, as we have seen, the fitting development of the precise views of the Bible which "the religious world" professes still to hold.

Of Irving's belief in baptismal regeneration, which it was his chief comfort to reflect upon after the sad loss of his eldest child, the Church of Scotland appeared to take no notice. Neither was he molested for the support which he gave to Mr. Campbell, who was ejected by the Assembly for preaching that Christ died

Digitized by Google

as the expression of God's love for all men. Mrs. Oliphant relates a striking anecdote of the use to which he once put this consoling doctrine:

"When the two clergymen entered the sick chamber, Irving went up to the bedside, and looking in the face of the patient said softly, but earnestly, 'George M——, God loves you; be assured of this—God loves you.' When the hurried visit was over, the young man's sister coming in found her patient in a tearful ecstacy not to be described. 'What do you think? Mr. Irving says God loves me,' cried the dying lad, overwhelmed with the confused, pathetic joy of that great discovery. The sudden message had brought sunshine and light into the chamber of death."

This view of the Father's love as open to all men, though not Calvinistic, was quite naturally held by one who believed that the Son had redeemed man's nature and not simply the separate souls that share it. Both Campbell and Irving are very powerfully and justly defended on these points in the work before us. Irving protested against the Scottish Church that it had denied God in the Trinity,—in the love of the Father by condemning Campbell, in the humanity of the Son by its sentence upon himself, and through the London Presbytery in the operations of the Holy Ghost. Into these questions it is not needful further to enter. It is clear that the spirit of his theology had become fundamentally opposed to that of their scheme of orthodoxy. He held to the letter of Scripture mystically, they only ecclesiastically. Practically they were much farther apart than they might be made to appear in speculation. No one would wish to claim Irving as a Unitarian. We are not even prepared to say that there was in his views of Christ something of Swedenborgianism. He strove earnestly to keep himself orthodox. But we remark with what exceeding difficulty an honest mind has to contend whenever it strives, as he did, to bring home to its conviction, in harmony with Trinitarian views, the real humanity of the Son of God. The following judgment of Irving's amiable and able biographer may conclude our notice of her deeply interesting work. She has just been speaking of Campbell, of whom she says,

"He was expelled from the Church for making his special stand upon, and elevating into the rank of a vital truth, that very proclamation of universal mercy which the Church herself had trained and sent him forth to utter. The offence of Irving was one, when honestly stated, of a still more subtle and delicate shade. Unaware of saying anything that all Christians did not believe; ready to accept heartily the very definition given in the standards of the Church as a true statement of his doctrine; always ready to bring his belief to the test of those standards, and to find their testimony in his favour; his error lay in believing the common statement, 'tempted in all points as we are, yet without sin,' to infer a diviner ineffable merit, a deeper condescension of love in the human life of the holy Lord than could be stated in any formula.

Digitized by Google

What the General Assembly interpreted to mean a passive Innocence, he interpreted to mean an active Holiness in that divine, immaculate Saviour, whose heavenly purity he adored entirely as they. For this difference the Church, excited with conflict, inflicted hasty censure, to be inevitably followed by all the heavier sentences she had in her power. Such was the work of this momentous Assembly. With hasty national absolutism, it cut off from its communion, for such causes, men whom it knew and confessed to be an honour and blessing to the Church and nation which had produced them. I do not pretend to point this narrative with any moral drawn from the troubled and stormy course through which the Church of Scotland has had to pass since then; on one side always more and more absolute, impatient of inevitable conditions, and, if resolute to attain perfection, always yet more resolute that such perfection was to be attained only in its own way; but it is not surprising to find that men who looked on during that crisis with anguish and indignation,—believing that not John Campbell deposed, but the love of the Father limited or denied, and that not Edward Irving censured, but the love of the Son in its deepest evidence rejected, was the real issue of the double process,—should draw such conclusions, and contemplate that agitated career, with its sad disruption and rending asunder, as bearing melancholy evidence of that which some men call inevitable development, and some the judgment of heaven."

THE LATE REV. GEORGE LEE, OF KENDAL.

THE public life of this good and useful man repeated in a singular manner that of his father, inasmuch as both were brought up to the Dissenting ministry and exercised it for a while, but were severally led to devote themselves chiefly to the newspaper press. The parallel in point of age has sadly failed in the son's case. The father, long and well known as the Rev. George Lee, of Hull, had been educated at Wymondly, and, losing his hereditary Calvinism, settled as minister of a small congregation at Lea-wood, in Derbyshire, whence being invited as a temporary supply to Hull, he married, and settled down for life in the latter place, at first as a schoolmaster, and presently as editor also of the then new Liberal paper, the *Rockingham*. The subject of the present brief memoir was born at Hull in 1805, and, having been well prepared at his father's school, entered the York College in September, 1821. His career there was that of a steady, hard-working and exemplary student. His favourite pursuits were the languages and literature; for mathematics he had little taste. In disposition he was always gentle, amiable and genial. This was perhaps the period above all others to which York students are justified in looking back as the very manhood of that institution. Certainly the students of and about Mr. Lee's standing proudly regarded it as such; and

Digitized by Google

were unwilling to yield to any other institution or regime, contemporary or subsequent, the palm for solid and thorough instruction, against the chairs then occupied respectively by Wellbeloved, Kenrick and Turner. On the completion of his five years (then the full college course) at York, Mr. Lee, scarcely twenty-one years of age, settled as minister at Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he also kept school. At the end of the year 1829, he removed to Lancaster, carrying with him the esteem of his Boston friends, who further expressed it by the presentation of a copy of Lardner's works. He remained at Lancaster till Midsummer, 1835, when, we believe, he first undertook the editorship of the *Kendal Mercury*. In 1840, he removed to Hull to assist his father, then in declining health, in the management of the *Rockingham*. While here, he married a Kendal lady. Some time after his father's death, he returned to Kendal, where he became proprietor of the paper which he had previously edited; and in this position he continued till his death.

Though thus laic in his occupations, however, Mr. Lee never felt that he had altogether relinquished the work of the ministry; far less its heart and interests. While at Lancaster, he had become a member of the Widows' Fund, and when residing at Kendal, he was a frequent attendant at the Provincial Meetings. Both at Hull and at Kendal, his ready help was available at any time in the pulpit of a brother minister and friend.

His newspaper was well conducted, having all the vigour as regards early and full intelligence that a weekly local paper could display; sound sense, strength and decision of political views always characterizing its editorial articles, which were truly exemplary in their freedom from asperity or unfairness towards opponents; while a vein of quiet fun and humour, which always belonged to Mr. Lee, indulged itself and amused his readers in a column of varieties. The editor of the rival paper, the *Kendal Gazette*, speaks of him as handsomely as truly in these words, in which also the brief story of his decline and death is told:

"Upwards of twenty years ago, Mr. Lee filled the post of editor of the *Kendal Mercury*, and since the year 1844, he had been proprietor and editor of that paper. It may be permitted to us to say that during that time neither party antagonism nor journalistic differences ever interfered with the personal esteem which was felt by us in common with all who knew him. In his advocacy of the 'Liberal' side, he was discriminating and independent. Mr. Lee was of the Unitarian persuasion, but he had no sectarian exclusiveness. His death was the termination of a wasting disease which made its first insidious appearance about nine months ago, and the germ of which he attributed to a cold caught in a mountain ramble at the close of last summer. About a month ago he was persuaded to take a short interval of rest from business, in the hopes of amended health, and went to Southport. But no amelioration, unfortunately, was then possible. He returned home

Digitized by Google

on Tuesday evening in an excessively feeble and emaciated state only to die, within thirty-six hours of his arrival at home. He expired about two o'clock on Thursday morning."

The character so well appreciated by a political opponent was intrinsically that of straightforward, simple truthfulness and integrity in word and deed, joined with genuine goodness of heart and amiableness of temper. We lose a good man too soon;—too soon for us,—too soon, alas! for his wife and young family; never too soon for himself, if duty in this life is the way to acceptance in life eternal.

DR. LEECHMAN, OF GLASGOW, AND THE CHARGE OF HERESY AGAINST HIM.

Of the Scottish divines of the 18th century, no man occupied a more important place than Dr. William Leechman, who was connected with the University of Glasgow for more than forty years, first as Professor of Theology and then as Principal. He was the representative in the west of Scotland of the liberal party in theology, a party that for nearly a century was numerous and powerful, especially from the learning, the high personal character, and the social position and influence of its leaders.

Dr. Leechman was the son of a farmer in Lanarkshire, who, if we may judge from the one recorded incident in his life, was not a common man. One of the last victims for conscience' sake of the tyrannous rule of the Stuarts in Scotland was Mr. Robert Baillie, of Jerviswood, who was executed at Edinburgh, Dec. 24, 1684. There were circumstances of indecent haste and cruelty connected with his trial and execution, which awakened a large amount of feeling throughout Scotland. Not content with his death, the government had the quarters of the body of their victim exposed with ignominy. One portion of the body was affixed to the Tolbooth of Lanark. Mr. Leechman, assisted by one or two like-minded companions, took down the mangled limbs and gave them decent burial. This act of courageous sympathy created a kindly feeling between the house of Jerviswood and the family of Leechman, by which William Leechman was the gainer, being assisted in his course through the University of Edinburgh by the Baillie family. It was not till five years after his obtaining a licence as a preacher from the Presbytery of Paisley, that he obtained a parish, that of Beith. During his incumbency in that populous and extensive parish, he received an invitation from the Presbyterian Dissenters of Belfast to become their minister. Putting aside the temptation of increased income and of intercourse with the educated and refined inhabitants of the second city in Ireland, he determined

Digitized by Google

to remain in Scotland, and was the year after elected, by the casting vote of the Lord Rector, Professor of Theology in the University of Glasgow. His competitor for the chair was Mr. Maclaurin, brother of the celebrated Professor of that name in Edinburgh, himself a learned and estimable clergyman of Glasgow. The friends of Mr. Maclaurin, mortified by the result of the election, offered every kind of opposition to the successful candidate. Eventually a charge of heresy was concocted against Mr. Leechman. Of this singular affair full and interesting accounts have recently appeared in two works illustrative of Scottish ecclesiastical history and biography, both of which we place before our readers. In this age of ecclesiastical prosecutions, and of attempts to put down free inquiry by charges of heresy, it may be well for relators to see how their efforts are treated by historians and men of impartial habits.

Our first extract is from "The Church History of Scotland," by the Rev. John Cunningham (II. 468—472).

"We have already referred to the change which had come over the usual style of preaching in the Church. The preacher began to aim at purity of language, and, if his genius permitted, not unfrequently illustrated his subject by a reference to the principles of mental or moral philosophy. The unending divisions and subdivisions of the preceding century were discarded. The old custom of making every sermon contain a complete body of divinity was laid aside. One subject was fixed upon, and the whole attention was rivetted to it. Sometimes, to the indignation of many, both among ministers and people, the manuscript was taken to the pulpit—a practice which had hitherto been esteemed characteristic of the Episcopal clergy. Such novelties of course created asperities. Men of the old school began to see laxity of principle, unsoundness of faith, Arminianism, Socinianism, Atheism, in these modern sermonizers. Hence they were continually intimating that there was a scent of heresy where no heresy was. They dragged Professor Campbell before the Church Courts, charging him with teaching that self-love lay at the basis of religion; they arraigned Dr. Wishart,* singularly

* "This Dr. Wishart was Principal of the University of Edinburgh. In 1738 he was prosecuted before the Church Courts for heresy. The main charge against him was, 'That he profanely diminished the due weight and influence of arguments taken from the awe of future rewards and punishments.' The Assembly fully acquitted him. Dr. Erskine says that he 'was unjustly accused of heresy for maintaining that true religion is influenced by higher motives than self-love.' In 1745 he was raised to the Moderator's chair. He was brother of Dr. George Wishart, minister of the Tron Church, and regarded as one of the finest preachers of his day. Of him Henry Mackenzie has left us this interesting sketch:—'Of George Wishart, the figure is before me at this moment. It is possible some who hear me may remember him. Without the advantage of that circumstance, I can faintly describe his sainted countenance—that physiognomy so truly expressive of Christian meekness, yet in the pulpit often lighted up with the warmest devotional feeling. In the midst of his family society—a numerous and amiable one—it beamed with so much patriarchal affection and benignity, so much of native politeness, graced with those manners which improve its form without weakening its substance, that I think a painter of the apostolic school could have nowhere found a more perfect model.' (Life of Home.)

Digitized by Google

enough, for teaching the very opposite—that self-love was not a religious motive. The Assembly wisely acquitted both. They accused Professor Campbell of denying that a man could discover the being and attributes of God without a revelation; and now, as we shall immediately see, they accused Dr. Leechman for asserting it.

"Dr. Leechman, while minister of Beith, had preached a course of sermons on prayer. About the same period a pamphlet had got into circulation, the drift of which was to show that prayer was an absurd and unreasonable, or rather an impious and blasphemous, practice—a vain and superstitious attempt to alter the counsels of the Unchangeable. The pamphlet is now forgotten, but the argument is not; it has frequently been revived. In these circumstances Dr. Leechman condensed what he had said in the pulpit, retaining chiefly what he considered was an answer to the pamphlet, and published it, hoping that his sermon would act as an antidote to the poison which had been spread among the young. The sermon bore the marks of a devout heart, as well as of a cultivated understanding; it was much read and admired, and in the course of a few months reached a second edition. The author was soon afterwards made Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow, and he appears to have been deserving of the honour. He was an accomplished scholar, of a metaphysical turn of mind; and we have the authority of Sir Henry Moncrieff for saying, that 'he was a man of primitive and apostolic manners, equally distinguished by his love of literature and his liberal opinions.'* In appearance he was like an ascetic monk, reduced to a skeleton by fasting and prayer.†

"But the minister of Beith was not raised to the academic chair with universal approbation. He was said to be too abstruse in his preaching; his sermon on prayer was pronounced a Christless sermon; and it was insinuated that he might affect the aspirants to the ministry with his dry morality.‡ These views soon found an exponent. An elder rose up in the Presbytery of Glasgow, said that many had been offended by Dr. Leechman's sermon on prayer, and moved that inquiry should be made as to the orthodoxy of its contents. A committee was accordingly appointed to examine the suspicious discourse.

"The committee met, drew up some condemnatory remarks upon the discourse, and then allowed the Professor to append his answers. The chief objection taken to the sermon was, that it did not specially state that all our prayers to God must be offered in the name and for the sake of Christ. To this Dr. Leechman replied, that his sermon was never intended to be a perfect exposition of every part of prayer; that it was written with a special object, and that therefore he had confined his argument within a limited range; that it was no part of his design to explain the ground of acceptance in prayer, but to show that the offering up of our desires to God was agreeable both to the promptings of our heart and the lessons of our Bible. He appealed to other sermons which he had preached and published to show that he was very far from regarding the merits and mediation of Christ 'as foreign and superfluous circumstances of which prayer should be stripped.' The only

* "Life of Erskine, p. 85.

† "Carlyle's MS. Memoirs, quoted in Appendix to Morren's Annals.

‡ "Robe of Kilsyth, who published an account of Leechman's trial.

Digitized by Google

other objection of any weight which the presbytery's committee made to the sermon was, that the author seemed to insinuate that some men without the aid of revelation were capable of reasoning out for themselves such a knowledge of God as might lead to their attaining eternal happiness. Dr. Leechman denied that any such sentiment was contained in his discourse, and challenged proof. He had said that a heathen might, by the light of nature, arrive at a knowledge of God and His attributes, but nothing more. He had indeed used an *argumentum ad hominem;* but it amounted to no more than this, that even Deists, who thought a system of religion could be reasoned out by the light of nature, must acknowledge that revelation was a much easier way of attaining it, and much more fitted to the capacities and situation of the bulk of mankind.

"Before the presbytery came to a decision, Dr. Leechman carried his case by complaint to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr. That court met then, as it does still, in the month of April. If the Professor of Divinity had his enemies he had also his friends, and when the synod assembled it was more than usually crowded. Men of high rank, elders of the Church, who had not been seen in an ecclesiastical judicatory for years, were now in their place. The papers were produced, and the remarks of the presbyterial committee and the replies of the professor read one by one. Some members of the court asked for explanations, and Dr. Leechman, who was present, readily gave them. In fine, the synod, with scarcely a dissentient voice, found that the answers of the Professor were quite satisfactory, and that there was no reason to charge him with unsoundness in the faith.*

"The case was brought by appeal before the Assembly which met in May, 1744; but the Assembly had no difficulty in affirming the decision of the synod, and declaring that Dr. Leechman had given abundant satisfaction concerning his orthodoxy.† The good feeling of the House was so conspicuous, that the Moderator alluded to it in his closing address. 'In that case,' said he, 'of more than ordinary delicacy, the accusation of a professor of divinity for heresy, have we not seen the beauty of Christian charity, in condescension, on the one hand, to remove offence, and readiness, on the other, to embrace satisfaction?'‡ In truth, it would have been very sad if the synod or the Assembly had come to a different result. The Professor was arraigned not for what he had said, but for what he had not said. He was blamed not for denying the mediation of Christ, but for not mentioning it. His imputed sin was purely negative. Are there not whole chapters even in the Pauline Epistles where the atonement of Christ is not once alluded to? Are there not passages in which we are urged to pray, to pray alway, to pray without ceasing, and not told that our prayers must be offered up in the name of the Great Mediator? Might not the mode of reasoning which led to the arraignment of Leechman have led to the arraignment of the evangelists and apostles?"

One of Mr. Leechman's pupils in the divinity hall of Glasgow

---

* "Morren's Annals, vol. i. pp. 46—60.

† "Acts of Assembly, pp. 676—77.

‡ "See Appendix to Morren's Annals, vol. i.

Digitized by Google

University was Alexander Carlyle, from whose Autobiography our second extract is taken. It will serve to shew how ingenuous youth of the better kind view prosecutions for heresy.

"In November, 1743, I went to Glasgow, much more opportunely than I should have done the preceding year, for the old Professor of Divinity, Mr. Potter, who had been a very short while there, died in the week I went to College; and his chair, being in the gift of the University, was immediately filled by Mr. William Leechman, a neighbouring clergyman, a person thoroughly well qualified for the office, of which he gave the most satisfactory proof for a great many years that he continued Professor of Theology, which was till the death of Principal Neil Campbell raised him to the head of the University. He was a distinguished preacher, and was followed when he was occasionally in Edinburgh. His appearance was that of an ascetic, reduced by fasting and prayer; but in aid of fine composition, he delivered his sermons with such fervent spirit, and in so persuasive a manner, as captivated every audience.* This was so much the case, that his admirers regretted that he should be withdrawn from the pulpit, for the Professor of Theology has no charge in Glasgow, and preaches only occasionally. It was much for the good of the Church, however, that he was raised to a station of more extensive usefulness; for while his interesting manner drew the steady attention of the students, the judicious choice and arrangement of his matter formed the most instructive set of lectures on theology that had, it was thought, ever been delivered in Scotland. It was, no doubt, owing to him, and his friend and colleague Mr. Hutcheson, Professor of Moral Philosophy, that a better taste and greater liberality of sentiment were introduced among the clergy in the western provinces of Scotland.

"Able as this gentleman was, however, and highly unexceptionable not only in morals but in decorum of behaviour, he was not allowed to ascend his chair without much opposition, and even a prosecution for heresy. Invulnerable as he seemed to be, the keen and prying eye of fanaticism discovered a weak place, to which they directed their attacks. There had been published at Glasgow, or in the neighbourhood of Dr. Leechman's church, in the country, before he came to Glasgow, about that period, a small pamphlet against the use of prayer, which had circulated amongst the inferior ranks, and had made no small impression, being artfully composed. To counteract this poison, Leechman had composed and published his sermon on the nature, reasonableness, and advantages of prayer; with an attempt to answer the objections against it, from Matthew xxvi. 41. In this sermon, though admirably well composed, in defence of prayer as a duty of natural religion, the author had forgot, or omitted to state, the obligations on Christians to pray in the name of Christ. The nature of his subject did not lead him to state this part of a Christian's prayer, and perhaps he thought that the inserting anything relative to that point might disgust or lessen the curiosity of those for whose conviction he had published the sermon. The fanatical or high-flying clergy in the presbytery of Glasgow took

* "A portrait of Leechman, from a painting by W. Millar, very characteristic, and in harmony with this description, is prefixed to an edition of his Sermons: London, 2 vols. 8vo, 1789.—Ed.

Digitized by Google

advantage of this omission, and instituted an inquiry into the heresy contained in this sermon by omission, which lasted with much theological acrimony on the part of the inquirers (who were chiefly those who had encouraged Cambuslang's work, as it was called, two years before), till it was finally settled in favour of the Professor by the General Assembly, 1744.* Instead of raising any anxiety among the students in theology, or creating any suspicion of Dr. Leechman's orthodoxy, this fit of zeal against him tended much to spread and establish his superior character."

The biographer of Dr. Leechman states that no further attempts were made to darken his reputation, and that his character as a preacher and professor shone out the brighter after this cloud was dissipated. "Some of those who had appeared his keen adversaries in the church process, lived with him afterwards on terms of sincere friendship; even the prejudices of the common people in Glasgow gradually subsided; so that he came to be considered there, as he had always been in every other place, a very acceptable preacher."

One important academic reform received the sanction of his authority. Following the example of Professor Hutcheson, who had (notwithstanding his own ease in speaking Latin) introduced the innovation, he gave his lectures in English and not in Latin.

Dr. Leechman continued to fill the Theological Chair for seventeen years, and with increasing success. The number of his pupils was increased by some students for the ministry in South Britain. He cultivated very friendly relations with the liberal Dissenters of England,—Lardner, Benson, Price and Dr. John Taylor, being among his personal friends. The last-named eminent man had received the unsolicited honour from the University of Glasgow of the degree of Doctor in Divinity, perhaps through the instrumentality of Dr. Leechman. Dr. Woodrow tells us that on a journey from the south and west of England to Glasgow, Dr. Leechman made his arrangements to spend his Sunday at Warrington with Dr. Taylor, "the first time these kindred souls had the pleasure of meeting."

During the last twenty-five years of Dr. Leechman's life, he was Principal of the University of Glasgow. It is remarked of him that though in youth he was supposed to be consumptive, and though at no period his health was robust, his life was protracted to its eightieth year.

His principal works consist of, 1, a Life of his friend Dr. Hutcheson, which, as a specimen of biographical composition, is

---

* "*Cambuslang's Work:* Revivals in the Parish of Cambuslang in Lanarkshire in the year 1742. They were the occasion of abundant controversy; but the fullest account of them will be found in *Narrative of the extraordinary Work of the Spirit of God at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, &c.*, written by Mr. James Robe and others.—Ed.

Digitized by Google

alike instructive and pleasing; 2, two volumes of Sermons, which are models of thoughtful, rational and dignified pulpit exercises.

Dr. Leechman may be regarded as the head of the school of Scotch Latitudinarian divines. Forty years ago, there were in many parts of Scotland, and especially in the retired country parishes, grave and exemplary clergymen whose distinctive theology was supposed to be Arian, who dwelt little on doctrinal topics in the pulpit, but who taught on the basis of rational Christian principles the purest morality.

They are now extinct, and few traces are to be found in Calvinistic Scotland of their able teaching and their respectable aad useful lives. The fact is a warning to men who, with heterodox personal convictions, consent to serve at the altars of a church of which the symbols are "orthodox." Vain is the hope they are apt to cherish that they shall succeed in imbuing their age with a spirit sufficiently liberal to uproot in time the articles and creeds which they disbelieve. Their inconsistency destroys their moral power. A more honest fanaticism, like that now rampant in the pulpits of the "Free Church," in a few years undoes the life-work of men who were liberal and rational and scriptural, not in consequence, but in spite, of their church position. The brave fidelity of a Theophilus Lindsey is increasingly honoured, while the half-hearted wisdom of those who, though they speak or write truth, dare not act it out, is soon forgotten.

BUDDHIST CREED.

TREASURES must be scattered all;
Pride is lofty, but must fall;
Earthly union must decay;
Death alone hath endless sway.

All things soon to night shall turn,
All that's born is born to mourn;
Faith can through the darkness see,
Spirit is reality.

Mercy as a rock is strong;
Trust and faith to truth belong;
And the path to Paradise
Through the fields of virtue lies.

JOHN BOWRING.

Digitized by Google

LIFE OF JOHN ROGERS, THE PROTO-MARTYR.*

NUMEROUS as have been the accounts of the life of the first Marian martyr, Mr. Chester claims to be the first who has really done justice to his character. Led by the desire of confirming a tradition current in his family, of his being a descendant of John Rogers, Mr. Chester, a New-Englander, visited the mother country and devoted himself to genealogical and other researches, in the course of which he became convinced that the narratives hitherto current in the Protestant Church are not only singularly defective, but also grossly inaccurate. He has put together the results of his investigations in this respectable volume, which is certainly entitled to the attention of all who are interested in the ecclesiastical history of England. The abstract which we now propose to give of his book will shew that John Rogers is entitled to a much higher place than has hitherto been assigned him, and that the circumstance of his being the first to suffer for the gospel in the reign of Mary is not the only or the most important incident in his honourable career. If, as Mr. Chester believes, the memory of his supposed ancestor has been unjustly thrust aside for the sake of doing honour to inferior men, higher only in official rank, the act of historical justice now done to an eminent servant of Christ will command the sympathy of lovers of truth and righteousness. Of the nature of his proofs, different opinions will probably exist.

John Rogers was born about the year 1500, at Deritend, now a portion of the town of Birmingham. Mr. Chester dignifies it with the style of "the city of Birmingham." Of his early history but little is known. He studied at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where, as Foxe saith, he "profitably travailed in good learning," and well prepared himself for rendering the aids which large knowledge and a mind invigorated by cultivation can give to religion. He graduated as B.A. in 1525. It will of course be remembered that Popery was then the only recognized form of Christianity in England. He was, immediately after taking his degree, chosen (according to Lewis) a junior canon of the College in Oxford which then bore the name of "the Cardinal's," from Wolsey's patronage of it, but is now known as Christ's College. We find, however, no confirmation of this statement in Anthony Wood. If we accept it, we may, with our author, interpret it into "a proof that his scholarship and abilities had already attracted attention; for this favourite college of Cardinal Wolsey had been but recently founded, and

* John Rogers, the Compiler of the first authorized English Bible; the Pioneer of the English Reformation; and its first Martyr: embracing a Genealogical Account of his Family, Biographical Sketches of some of his principal Descendants, his own Writings, &c., &c. By Joseph Lemuel Chester. 8vo. Pp. 452. London—Longman and Co. 1861.

Digitized by Google

at that time earnest efforts were made to draw within it the most noted and promising scholars from other institutions, to whom great inducements were held out, in order that its reputation might be established and its interests rapidly advanced." Having taken orders, he was presented, in 1532, to the living of the church of the Holy Trinity, and for two years did the duties of a Popish priest in a parish nigh to the spot where eventually he suffered as a Protestant martyr.

Hence it is supposed he went to Antwerp as chaplain to the Merchant Adventurers, a commercial corporation which traded under the protection of a charter. He did not, like some others, leave his native country from necessity, or to secure his personal safety, for he was still a priest, professing the established faith. But we know that his faith in the Church of Rome had at this early period undergone some change, and Mr. Chester conjectures that his resignation of the London living and the acceptance of the chaplaincy abroad were influenced by an incipient change of faith, and the knowledge that at Antwerp he could enjoy more freedom of conscience than in England.

He continued his ministrations as a priest; but day by day light was rising in his soul, under influences which have to be mentioned. "About the same time," says Foxe, "was driven into exile in Brabant, a most excellent man, William Tyndale, and also Myles Coverdale, each in himself famous, and the former since exalted by martyrdom." Rogers soon became intimately acquainted with them, and learnt from them the surpassing value of the Holy Scriptures, and was drawn into co-operation with them in the important work of their translation into the English tongue. His divorce from the Catholic Church was signified during his residence at Antwerp by his entering into the married state. The name of his wife was Adriana de Weyden, or Pratt (the names are synonymous and mean a meadow). The fact of her marrying a person in the circumstances of John Rogers may be accepted as a presumption of her being a Protestant. She was, we are told, more rich in soberness and virtue than in worldly treasures. If the marriage took place in 1536 or 1537, the process of Rogers's alienation from the Romish Church must have been very rapid after he quitted England. The marriage was probably, in the first instance, a secret one. But the course of the gospel and the Reformation now began to be tracked in fire and blood. On the 6th of Oct., William Tyndale was led forth from the Castle of Vilvorde and fastened to the stake; but with a touch of mercy, neglected in other martyrdoms, he was strangled before the flames were permitted to feed upon his body. His last thoughts were given to his country, for which he had prepared the priceless boon of a translation of the Scriptures; and his dying prayer was, "Lord, open the eyes of the King of England!" Rogers found it expedient to

Digitized by Google

remove to Wittenberg. His personal connection with the martyr of Vilvorde could have been no secret. Wherever he went, Tyndale laboured, and generally with success, to convert to his own scriptural faith those around him. Even if Rogers's labours in the translation of the Scriptures were unknown, it would be surmised that he went with Tyndale in his faith. However willing the Merchant Adventurers of Antwerp might be to continue their protection to Rogers, the fate of Tyndale was a proof not to be resisted of the terrible power possessed by the priests. The desire of personal safety was not the only motive that influenced Rogers in leaving Antwerp. He longed for nearer and closer communion with Luther and Melancthon, and others who were becoming known as leaders of the Reformation. At Wittenberg he devoted himself to the study of the German language, in which he became a proficient, and then took charge of a congregation, to which he ministered for many years with great ability and success.

Mr. Chester supposes that both Tyndale and Rogers had lived together in Antwerp in the hospitable house of Thomas Poyntz, a wealthy and generous-hearted merchant, whose kindness to the Reformers seriously endangered himself, but who was saved by a timely flight.

What the amount of service was which Rogers was able at this period to render to Tyndale is not recorded, but after the arrest of the latter he continued and completed the work of translation and publication; and he lost no time, for the whole was completed and in England as early as July, 1537. The title of the book was, "The Bible, which is all the Holy Scriptures; and in which are contained the Old and New Testaments, truly and purely translated into English, by Thomas Matthew." The name of the translator was a pseudonym formed out of two scripture characters.

Mr. Chester supposes that there was a private press at Antwerp, and that the printing of the Bible was carried on in that city under the immediate supervision of Rogers.

What portion of the Bible published in 1537 Tyndale had completed before his arrest, is not certainly known. Rogers had the use of his MSS., and had the good judgment to prefer in every instance his work to that of Coverdale. The translation by the latter had failed to satisfy the wants of his countrymen, and had proved a losing venture to Grafton and Whitchurch. In order to meet the public desire of a better translation than that of Coverdale, the printers looked out for help, and learning that a new translation was in progress in Antwerp, hastened thither to secure the work. They were satisfied with the new translation then in progress, and became at once the proprietors of the undertaking, Grafton embarking in it his entire fortune.

The new translation, immediately on reaching England, found

Digitized by Google

favour far beyond what might have been anticipated. Cranmer hastened to express his satisfaction. He declared the translation to be superior to any former one, and thinks the bishops cannot produce a better one "till a day after doomsday." He commends the care and labour used in its preparation, praises especially the Dedication to the King, and asks the Minister, Lord Cromwell, to obtain if possible the Royal licence for its publication. In less than a fortnight this important point is achieved, and Cranmer writes to thank the Minister, saying that the King's licence gave him more pleasure than the gift of a thousand pounds.

The English Bible thus licensed, prepared by John Rogers, and the publication of which he superintended, is, it must be remembered, the basis of the version now used in our churches.

If Rogers's sole claim was to have arranged the MSS. of Tyndale and to have superintended the printing of the translation, it would have been no slight honour; but when we add that of finishing the work which the former had left incomplete, and remember the danger to which the task exposed him, we cannot refuse him a foremost place amongst the Reformers of the Church.

The clergy were enjoined to provide a copy of the new English Bible, and to set it up in some convenient place in the church, the parson bearing one half the cost, the parishioners the other half. Grafton's venture proved a success. The edition, one of 1500 copies, was presently disposed of.

It is a singular fact that the connection of Rogers with this publication was limited to this one edition. It is commonly described in bibliographical works as the Bible of Thomas Matthew. Copies of it are to be found in the libraries of the British Museum, Lambeth, the Bodleian, &c., &c.

We give from the Appendix of Rev. Henry Cotton's List of the Editions of the Bible (Oxford, 1821, p. 98),

1 Cor. xv. 29:

"Ether els what do they whych are baptysed over the deed, yf the deed ryse not at all? Why are they then baptised over the deed? 'Ye & why stonde we in ieoperdy every houre?

"That I have fought w^t^ beastes at Ephesus after the maner of men, what avauntageth it me, yf the deed ryse not agayne? Lett us eate and dryncke to morow we shall dye. Be not deceaved: malicious speakinges corrupte good maners. Awake truely out of slepe, & synne not. For some have not y^e^ knowledge of God. I speake this to youre rebuke.

"But some man will saye: how aryse the deed? with what bodyes come they in?——and God geveth it a body at his pleasure, to every seed a severall body.

"—There is one maner glory of the sunne, & a nother glory of the mone, & a nother glory of the starres. For one starre differth from a nother in glory.

Digitized by Google

"Ther is a naturall bodye and ther is a spretuall body: as it is wrytte: the fyrste man Adam was made a lyvinge soule: and ye last Adam was made a quyckenynge sprete. How be it, that is not fyrst which is spirituall: but yt which is naturall, & then yt which is spretuall."

To John Rogers belongs the merit of composing the prefaces and notes which form a characteristic part of the Bible of Thomas Matthew. Mr. Chester somewhat overstates this work when he describes it as "the first general English commentary" upon the Bible.

His next work was, "A Table of the principal Matters contained in the Bible, in which the Readers may find and practise many Common Places." In the spirit of over-pleading, which is Mr. Chester's defect, he styles this "*the first* English concordance" to the Bible.

However, it is certain that the Preface, Notes and Table of John Rogers greatly angered the Popish leaders in England, and perhaps inspired that bitter hatred which was quenched only in his blood.

We cannot join in the lamentation that John Rogers retained in his edition of the Bible the books of the Apocrypha. The volume which contains the Song of Solomon cannot lose its value by an addition of which the Ecclesiasticus, so full of moral and religious wisdom and unmistakable poetry, forms a part. The Dedication to the King, though bearing the signature of Thomas Matthew, was the work of John Rogers. Mr. Chester panegyrizes it as "preaching an admirable sermon to the King while not appearing to do so."

There were also prefixed to his Bible, a Summary Statement of Christian Doctrine, and an Exhortation to the Study of the Scriptures.

On the accession of Edward VI., the Marian exiles generally returned to England, and Rogers is presently amongst the number. We find him dating from London his translation of Melancthon's "Weighing of the Interim," August 1, 1548. He wrote from the house of the publisher, Edward Whitchurch.

Rogers received in 1551 a prebend in St. Paul's cathedral, and afterwards became divinity reader there.

Foxe, the martyrologist, in the Latin edition of his Acts and Monuments, recorded an ugly story of Rogers, which in all the English translations of that work was suppressed. We give it as Mr. Chester offers it in a free translation:

"And whereas, that we may the more profit by the history of those things which have been done in the Church, in which history nothing of importance should be omitted, something, perhaps not undeserving the attention of the reader, occurs to me here, concerning that Joan of Kent, of whom we have just made mention. When now her death had been certainly determined upon by the evangelical Bishops, a familiar

Digitized by Google

friend of his went to John Rogers, who at that time presided over the theological lectureship in St. Paul's Cathedral, exhorting and beseeching him that he would use his utmost influence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, that, her error being as far as possible chastised and restrained, the life at least of the unhappy woman might be spared; urging that perhaps in time she would be cured of her fault, and that, although while she lived she would corrupt a few persons only, her suffering death for her opinions might induce many others to think well of them. Hence, he pleaded, it would be much more advisable that she should be retained somewhere in close custody, where she should not have access to persons of weak minds, and thus, while she would be prevented from contaminating others, she would herself have an opportunity for repentance. When Rogers, after this appeal, declared himself still of the opinion that she ought to suffer death, his friend renewed his entreaties, praying that, if her errors must be wrested from her only with her life, some other mode of death might be selected, more in accordance with the gentleness and mercy taught in the Gospel, and protesting against the introduction into the Christian code of justice, in imitation of the Papists, the horrors of a death so tormenting. But Rogers again declared this form of punishment, by which men are burned alive, to be the least agonising of all, and sufficiently gentle. The other, immediately on hearing this speech of the man, which savoured so little of care and regard for the agonies of the unfortunate wretch, in a great passion of spirit, smote Rogers' hand, which he had been grasping closely, and said,—'Well, perchance you may yet find that you, yourself, shall have your hands full of this so gentle fire.' And afterwards, that very Rogers himself, the first of all those who perished under the persecutions of Mary, experienced a speedy retribution."—Pp. 64—66.

Mr. Chester would be glad to disbelieve the story, and points out some inaccuracies; e. g., Rogers was not in the enjoyment of the benefices mentioned until a time subsequent to the death of Joan Bocher. But anachronisms of this kind are not uncommon in histories which are essentially true.

It is but too probable that Rogers did act the part assigned to him. We know that other men of his party, and even men ready to die for their religion, were sadly intolerant. His fellow-prisoner and brother-martyr, John Philpot, spat on an Arian who was, like themselves, under the power of the Popish hierarchy.

The "familiar friend" was probably Foxe himself, whose opinions and feelings on subjects bearing on religious liberty were in advance of his age.

After quoting Strype's account of Joan Bocher's heresies, in themselves perplexing enough, and apparently contravening Christ's humanity rather than his deity, Mr. Chester thus sensibly proceeds:

"The writer thinks it would puzzle the present Archbishop of Canterbury to summon a judicial Convocation, from any portion of his

Digitized by Google

Diocese, that would not rather convict the authors of this bewildering charge, of at least temporary insanity, than the person against whom it was preferred, of dangerous heresy. How such men as were the magnates of the Church, even at that day, could have magnified such trivial eccentricities into a crime of the highest class, it is almost impossible to conceive. Yet Cranmer, and Latimer, and Ridley, and others of their stamp did so, and the more severity they used towards her, the more perversely she persisted in her alleged errors. She was tried in solemn conclave, and judicially excommunicated by Cranmer himself, the King's Commissioners assisting in the ceremony. Latimer afterwards, perhaps finding some apology necessary for the harshness with which she had been treated, attempted it in the following blundering manner:—

"'She would say,' said he, 'that our Saviour was not very man, nor had received flesh of his mother Mary, and yet she could show no reason why she believed so. Her opinion was this: the Son of God (said she) penetrated through her as through a glass, taking no substance of her.'

"From this it would appear that she was condemned, not so much on account of the peculiar opinions which she entertained, as because she could give no reason for them—a task which we may imagine would be rather difficult. The very memory of the transaction is a sorry one, and the bare idea revolting, that those Fathers of the Church, whom posterity has been taught to venerate, were once to be seen combined and engaged, in such frightful odds, against a single wretched and probably insane woman.

"The best answer that can be given to the charge so made against her is found in the very language of the poor creature herself. After her condemnation, both Cranmer and Ridley visited her daily, and vainly endeavoured to induce her to recant. The fatal warrant was finally issued, and the day appointed when she was to be burned, in the language of the official record, 'for certain detestable opinions of heresy.' From the accounts of the final scene, she evidently evinced quite as much firmness as did her own judges a few years afterwards, and was as much a martyr for her religious opinions as they were for theirs. When the sentence of condemnation was pronounced, she said to the tribunal:—

"'It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long ago since you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrines for which you burned her. And now, forsooth, you will burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures and understand them.'"—Pp. 69—71.

The other preferments of Rogers were the rectory of St. Margaret Moyses, the vicarage of St. Sepulchre and the rectory of Chigwell. Dislike of pluralities was no article of the Puritan creed. After his appointment to the prebendal stall, he resigned one of his livings.

He got on one occasion into trouble by his honest denunciation in a sermon at Paul's Cross of the misuses that were made of the property of the suppressed abbeys and the confiscated goods of the Church. They whom his censures touched were indignant,

Digitized by Google

and had him summoned before the Privy Council; but he defended himself successfully, and nothing came of the charge.

In the controversy respecting ecclesiastical vestments, which so strongly moved the Puritan party, Rogers took the side hostile to their use. According to Fuller, he and Hooper were, in the matter of nonconformity as to ecclesiastical vestments, the "ringleaders" of their party. They renounced everything which they regarded as a Popish ceremony, conceiving that such "ought," as Fuller phrases it, "not only to be clipt with shears, but shaven with a razor, yea, all the stumps thereof pluckt out." In opposition to *the square cap*, Rogers was immovable, always using a round one. Bucer was wont to defend the same practice, saying "he cared not to wear a square cap, because his head was not square." Things have come to a miserable pass when church millinery and the cut of a coat or the fashion of a cap are thought to affect religion!

His long residence abroad had not diminished the attachment of John Rogers to his native land. In one of his posthumous papers he mentions with complacency that he was "an Englishman born." He procured an Act of Parliament to naturalize his wife and those of his children that were born in Germany. Happily, the extent of natural rights is now better established, and the offspring of an English subject, wherever born, are recognized as of the same country as their sire. But the Act of Naturalization was resisted by the then Lord Derby and other peers, probably on the ground that they would not recognize the legality of a clergyman's marriage.

With the death of Edward VI., the serious troubles of John Rogers began. Ten days after that event he was the appointed preacher at Paul's Cross, and, unlike his immediate predecessor in that pulpit, Ridley, he abstained entirely from political matters, confining himself to an exposition of the gospel for the day. It fell to Rogers to preach there again on the Sunday in August which followed the arrival of Queen Mary in London. It was a critical moment, and the fidelity of the true servant of Christ shone forth. He delivered (Foxe says) "a most godly and vehement sermon, avowing and confirming such true doctrine as he and others had there taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent popery, idolatry and superstition." There were Popish hearers not a few among his audience who marked his words, and we cannot doubt that from that time he was a doomed man. He was at once summoned before the Council, but was presently liberated, the machinery of persecution not being yet ready for its work. It was a legal defence for the bold Protestant preacher, that the law recognized the free exercise of his faith and worship. But Rogers preached no more. This courageous sermon at Paul's Cross was in fact his

Digitized by Google

last public address of any kind. The preacher who followed Rogers at Paul's Cross was Gilbert Bourne, whose vehement invectives against the late King and his religion stirred up the people into tumult, from the consequences of which the preacher was only saved by the interference of Bradford, Rogers and others of the Reformers. They who could quell were supposed to have raised the tumult, and Rogers was again in the hands of the Council. In the minute of the proceedings of the Queen's Council—"John Rogers, *alias* Matthew, a seditious preacher, ordered by the Lords of the Council to keep himself a prisoner in his house at Paul's, without conference of any person other than such as are daily with him in his household, until such time as he hath contrary commandment." To Bradford and others a more severe course was pursued, and they were at once consigned to prison. For six months Rogers enjoyed the liberty of his own house and the society of his family.

Mr. Chester imagines that the policy of the Council was to give to Rogers the opportunity of flight, as they wished a man so uncompromising and fearless out of the way. The dwelling of Rogers was in undesirable proximity to that of Bonner, being one of the official residences connected with St. Paul's cathedral. The income of his Church livings was stopped, and he was thus deprived of the means of maintaining his numerous family. Bonner became impatient of the neighbourhood of a heretic like Rogers, and to his evil influence is attributed the removal of the prisoner to Newgate, which took place January 27, 1554.

Dr. Maitland has, in a spirit of antipathy to the English Reformers, described Rogers as "a demagogue and seditious person." But, except in the matter of his religion, Rogers was without fault, having carefully abstained from those political indiscretions into which Ridley and others of the party were betrayed. With two personal enemies like Gardiner and Bonner, the condition of Rogers was critical indeed.

"The malignity of both these men did not cease, when they had consigned him to the worst and most loathsome prison then in London—the common receptacle for offenders of the lowest, and criminals of the highest, grades. From all the evidence, it appears that the restrictions imposed and the severities inflicted upon him far exceeded those endured by any similar prisoner. Very little is known of his personal history during the year that he remained in Newgate, for he seems to have made no complaint, but rather to have borne his sufferings manfully. Foxe declares that he was even 'merry,' but that word, in his time, signified less than it now implies."—P. 124.

When the subtle policy of the Council of engaging the prisoners in polemical discussions with chosen men of the two Universities was developed, Ridley and his companions in tribulation resolved to baulk the scheme by declining controversy except in writing. The document in which their purpose

Digitized by Google

is stated has the name of John Rogers (the seventh in order) affixed to it. They refused to meet their opponents in oral discussion chiefly on the ground of the partiality of the tribunal, and that it could not promote the interests of truth. To this document they added certain articles of faith.

The imprisonment of Rogers appears to have exceeded in severity that of the other prisoners for conscience' sake, being prohibited the use of his books and also debarred from writing. This must account for the absence of writings of his like those which exist in such volume from the other imprisoned Reformers.

In private, means were used by his wife and friends, by intercession to Gardiner, to obtain his release or a mitigation of the severity of his imprisonment, but in vain. A petition of the prisoners to Parliament, presented about the close of the year 1554, met with no better success.

On the 22nd of January in the following year, Rogers was brought before the Privy Council. To the demand of his assent to the supremacy of the Pope, Rogers replied that Christ was the only head of the Church, and that the authority of the *Bishop of Rome* did not transcend that of other bishops. We cannot venture into the details of the long conversation between Rogers and the Council. On his part, it was conducted with courage and good faith; on theirs, with violence and bitter sarcasms. The only note of kindness and pity was uttered by Thomas Thirlby, the then Bishop of Ely. What the prevailing spirit of the Council was, appears from this incident:

"Sir Richard Southwell sneeringly intimated that when he came to the burning—showing clearly that thus early had his ultimate fate been determined—he would not be so confident and fearless; to which Rogers meekly responded—lifting his eyes to Heaven—'Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust to my Lord God, yes.'"—Pp. 157, 158.

Rogers returned to his cell in Newgate, and contrived to write a narrative of what had passed:

"Very probably, having secreted a little paper and some instrument for writing, the only opportunities that he could steal from his jealous watchers were when he was supposed to be at rest, and then, by the sickly rays of the moonlight that penetrated into his gloomy abode, he penned these last messages to his friends and the world that he was so soon to leave. On that night, he added a few earnest words to what he may have previously written, stating that he had just been informed that he was to appear the next morning before some tribunal; and his appeal for the prayers of all true Christians would seem to indicate that he hoped to be able to deliver his communication into some friendly hands on the following day. He did not forget that he was a husband and father, and, in the most touching language, commended his 'poor wife,' and all his and her 'little souls,' to the sympathy and protection of those, in defence of whose common faith he was about to render up

Digitized by Google

his own life. We may but faintly realise his emotions as he retired that night to his prison couch."—P. 161.

The final trial of Rogers began on the 28th of January, in the afternoon following that of Hooper and Cardmaker. A large portion of the trial consisted in acrimonious talk between Gardiner and the prisoner. A single specimen must suffice. Rogers had asked Gardiner why he was imprisoned.

"The reply was, because he had preached against the Queen. This, Rogers promptly and positively denied, and, aware that he referred particularly to his sermon at Paul's Cross, on the Sunday after the Queen came to the Tower, appealed to the entire audience then present, as witnesses to sustain his denial. Conscious that he could not maintain this position, Gardiner flew to another, and alleged that he had read his lectures in the Cathedral, after he had been forbidden to do so; but Rogers disputed this even more positively, and offered his life in defence of his assertion. Gardiner was silent, for he well knew that he had uttered a falsehood. Rogers then exposed his duplicity, and the injustice with which he had been treated, alleging that the laws of both God and man had been violated in his person, and that they had, in the most arbitrary and illegal manner, kept him in confinement until they had succeeded in reviving certain obsolete enactments, under which they were now seeking his life."—Pp. 176, 177.

"It was now about four o'clock in the afternoon, when Gardiner closed the farce, by declaring that he must extend to him 'the charity of the Church,'—a charity which Rogers characterised as similar to that of foxes and wolves towards chickens and lambs,—and gave him until the next day to return to her catholic bosom and receive her mercy."—Pp. 177, 178.

Hooper and Rogers were taken from the Council to the Compter at Southwark, their passage thither being greatly impeded by the people that thronged about them. Then it was that a few memorable words passed between the two doomed men. Hooper being in advance, waited till Rogers had got up to him, and then said,—

"'Come, brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?' 'Yes, sir,' replied Rogers, 'by God's grace.' 'Doubt not—' returned Hooper—'but God will give us strength.'—P. 178.

On the following morning, Tuesday, January 29 (Mr. Chester, by an unhappy blunder, gives the date *February* 29), Rogers and Hooper were brought into the church; the scene of the previous day was repeated with greater warmth on the part both of Gardiner and Rogers, and the former had the wicked satisfaction of bringing the discussion to a close by reading the official sentence of condemnation,—the language of which but slightly differed from that pronounced a few years previously upon poor Joan Bocher.

Rogers was prepared for the worst, and thus rebuked his evil-minded judge:

Digitized by Google

"'Well, my Lord,' said he, 'here I stand before God and this honourable audience, and take Him to witness that I never wittingly and willingly taught any false doctrine; and therefore I have a good conscience before God and all good men. I am not afraid but that you and I shall come before a Judge which is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and where, I nothing doubt, I shall be found a true member of the Catholic Church, and everlastingly saved. As for your false Church, you need not excommunicate me from it, for I have not been in it these twenty years—the Lord be praised therefor!'"—P. 183.

For the sake of those that were dearer to him than his own life, Rogers condescended to ask one favour from his judges; it was that his poor wife, being a stranger, might come and speak with him as long as he lived, adding these touching words: "For she hath ten children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her what it were best for her to do" (p. 184).

The petition gave to Gardiner an opportunity of offering an insult as well as a refusal. "She is not thy wife," said he. When Rogers replied she was and had been so for eighteen years, the bishop cried out, "She shall not come near thee." Stung to madness by the cruelty of the insult, the prisoner poured forth a denunciation as terrible as anything recorded in history. The two doomed prisoners returned to Newgate; but the arrangements made for their return shewed the apprehensions of the bishops that the people would rise and attempt their release. They were first taken to the Clink prison at Southwark, and then conducted in the dark—all the lights in the streets having been by special order extinguished—across London Bridge to Newgate. The prisoners were attended by an armed force; but the people waited for them, and poured blessings on their heads, and offered prayers for the continuance of their fortitude. To get a last glimpse of the martyrs, men and women held lighted candles in their hands. That strange, wild scene of one of the darkest hours of England's night, is worthy of being put on the canvas by some painter who knows how to delineate the strongest passions of the soul.

Returned to his cell in the prison, Rogers had an opportunity of saying a few words to another prisoner for conscience, John Day, who afterwards published the "Acts and Monuments."

"Thou shalt live," said he, "to see the alteration of this religion, and the Gospel to be freely preached again: therefore, have me commended to my brethren, as well those in exile as others, and bid them be circumspect in displacing the Papists, and putting good ministers into the churches, or else their end will be worse than ours."—P. 193.

Of the few intervening days that preceded his death, we know but little, but all the accounts of him represent him as full of courage and wonderfully cheerful. To Hooper he sent a jocular message on the last day of his life. On the morning of the fatal

Digitized by Google

day he was roused at an early hour from a tranquil and deep slumber by the jailor's wife, who announced to him that Bonner was awaiting him, and that his execution was to be instant. "If it be so," said he, proceeding to dress, "I need not tie my points." The presence of Bonner was required in order to give effect to the process of ecclesiastical degradation, which consisted in arraying the condemned in full official canonicals, and then, with certain forms of anathema, tearing them from them and rending them into pieces. As Gardiner had previously done, Bonner refused the petition of Rogers, that "before his burning he might talk a few words with his wife."

Between ten and eleven, the ecclesiastical ceremonies were accomplished, and the procession for Smithfield was ready. But these priests could spare no time for the dying man to recruit his strength for the last grapple with his fate by a little food. He went forth to his death fasting.

The death of Rogers and his courage throughout made a profound sensation on the popular mind of England. "The Catholics," as Mr. Froude tells us (History, VI. 318), "had affected to sneer at the faith of their rivals. There was a general conviction among them, which was shared probably by Pole and Gardiner, that the Protestants would all flinch at the last, that they had no 'doctrine that would abide the fire.' When Rogers appeared, therefore, the exultation of the people in his constancy overpowered the horror of his fate, and he was received with rounds of cheers."

Woodroffe, one of the sheriffs, called on Rogers to renounce his heresy respecting the sacrament of the altar. "That which I have preached," said Rogers, "I will seal with my blood." "Thou art a heretic!" retorted the sheriff. "That," said he, "shall be known at the day of judgment." "Well," rejoined the sheriff, "I will never pray for thee." "But I will pray for you," was the gentle and becoming answer of the martyr.

We give the rest of the story in the language of Mr. Chester.

"It was Monday morning, between nine and ten o'clock, the 4th day of February, 1555, when Rogers was led, for the last time, through the gates of the dreary prison that had been his home for more than a twelvemonth, and, amidst a formidable array of armed guards, was conducted towards Smithfield. His emotions may, to some extent, be conceived, but cannot be wholly understood. Doubtless, he gazed backwards, giving one last look to the venerable Cathedral where he had often ministered, and breathed a silent prayer for those then within its familiar precincts. But a few steps brought him within the shadow of his own church walls, and perhaps, even then, the bell of St. Sepulchre's, which had often called him to its altar, was tolling slowly in its ancient tower the funeral knell of its old pastor. Thousands of spectators met his eye on every side, and among them he recognised many a familiar face. In spite of the guards by whom he was surrounded, their emotions could not be restrained, and the air resounded with their

Digitized by Google

acclamations of joy and sorrow—sorrow, that their old friend and teacher was to be torn from them in such a terrible manner, and joy, that he met his doom so nobly and fearlessly. Shouts of praise and thanksgiving arose from every direction, as he passed along on that fatal march, and so wonderful and earnest was the general rejoicing, that even the enemies of his faith described him and the scene as a bridegroom going to meet his bride at the wedding altar.

"Still onward moves the cortége. Just yonder, directly in its way, waits a little group, towards which the doomed man, step by step, draws nearer. Will he falter now? Will his trust, great as it is, in his Almighty Father, sustain him in this last and most fearful trial? Is he flesh and blood, or a being so spiritually refined that the common sentiments of humanity have no longer a place within his breast? There wait the loving and faithful woman who for eighteen years has lain in his bosom, clasping to her heart an unconscious infant which he has never before seen, and by her side ten other little ones whom God has given them. Their anxious faces are all turned upon him, and their dear and well-remembered voices reach his ear in one distracting cry for husband and father. Will that passionate appeal, those imploring looks, the tender memories of the past, and the anxious forebodings of the future, not move a heart that is not already turned to stone? Breathless is the crowd that gazes upon this scene—hopeful are the enemies of his faith—fearful are its friends. But doubts, hopes, fears, anxieties—all are soon dispelled. One long, soul-full, never to be forgotten look—one silent, solemn blessing—one solitary, momentary yielding to the natural emotions of human nature—and the man becomes again the martyr. Slowly, but firmly, he passes on, and the next instant issue from his lips, in mournful but inspiring cadences, the strains of the glorious Miserere.

"From that moment, the ultimate success of the Reformation was assured. The true faith might then be hidden in darkness, and years might elapse before its sun would again arise to dispel the mists of error that should envelope it for a season, but it would appear at last: *For, at least, the third time had the responsibility of the Protestant movement in England rested upon this one humble man, and for the third and last time did he sustain it with the unflinching heroism of something more than man.* Had he failed in either instance, but especially on this occasion, God alone knows the consequences that might have ensued.

"It is unnecessary to dwell upon the details of the final scene at the stake. All writers, both Protestant and Romish, united in bearing testimony to the wonderful patience and constancy, nay, even cheerfulness, with which he met his fearful doom. The spectators were more numerous than upon any subsequent occasion, and, although he was not permitted to speak much to them, he did succeed in exhorting them to remain true to the faith which he had taught and many of them had embraced, and in defence of which he had not only been content to suffer all that he had already endured, but now gladly resigned his life in this cruel manner, as his final testimony in its behalf. After this the fires were lighted, and, as they began to take effect upon him, he passed his hands through the flames, rubbing them as if in the act of washing—as though he were thus ridding himself of the last impurities of earth—and then, lifting them up towards heaven, he held them in

Digitized by Google

that position until consciousness ceased, and his soul took its flight towards its eternal home."—Pp. 201—204.

The wife and one of the sons of John Rogers visited after his death the apartment he had occupied in Newgate, and there had the good fortune to find some papers which he had left, in which was the record of his examinations before the Council and the trial. Of these but a partial and incorrect use was made by Foxe. Mr. Chester has discovered the narrative in the Lansdowne collection of the British Museum Library, and has printed it entire in the Appendix.

While we commend the diligence of Mr. Chester in seeking materials for his work, we are constrained to express our disapprobation of the controversial character of the book. We cannot help feeling at every step that our guide is a warm partizan. The eagerness to exalt Rogers is natural, and not otherwise than commendable, but the equal eagerness in depreciating the other Reformers, and the violent censures perpetually cast on Foxe for his inaccuracies and misstatements, are certainly blemishes.

It may be conceded that John Rogers was a brave and noble man, who gave up his life willingly to the cause of the Reformed religion, without at all involving the conclusion that he was greatly superior to Coverdale, Bradford and others of the early Reformers.

In his estimate of Rogers's contributions to the translation of the Bible, it is probable that Mr. Chester has transcended fact, and, in order to enrich the memory of his hero, has robbed Tyndale of a portion of the glory due to him.

We cannot for a moment accept the theory of Mr. Chester, that there has been a kind of unconscious conspiracy among the great men of the Reformation, seconded by Foxe, their historian, to rob John Rogers of his proper fame. The idea which seems to haunt his mind, that Rogers had not received his rightful share of glory because he was not a bishop, is a mere fancy. The same rule would have consigned Bradford, and others of the most honoured of the Reformers, amongst the dii minores of our religious history.

The result of Mr. Chester's labours will, we doubt not, be to increase the popular estimate of the services of John Rogers in promoting the Reformation, but still to an extent far from commensurate with his expectations and wishes.

The genealogical researches contained in this volume are creditable to Mr. Chester's industry and impartiality. They will grievously disappoint many on both sides of the Atlantic who have been amiably but unduly credulous as to their right to claim descent from the proto-martyr.

The volume is illustrated by a fine print of Rogers,

Digitized by Google

copied from the "Heroologia," and by some wood-cuts which elucidate one or two matters, interesting to the religious antiquary. The identification of the exact spot of the martyrdom will, we trust, lead, before arrangements are made for turning the site of Smithfield to a new use, to the erection of some suitable monument commemorative of the martyrs, and of the nation's gratitude to them for their fidelity and holy courage.

ADDRESS DELIVERED IN UNIVERSITY HALL, JUNE 25, 1862, BY REV. SAMUEL BACHE, AT THE CLOSE OF THE ANNUAL EXAMINATION OF THE STUDENTS OF MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE.

It is desirable, my friends, that we should always endeavour to avail ourselves of seasons and circumstances for our instruction and encouragement; and I have therefore felt myself under an obligation to draw up this year's address to you with a specific reference to that which stamps upon the year itself a peculiar character.

The Bicentenary of the Ejection of the ever-memorable Two Thousand which English Nonconformists are this year celebrating, suggests to me two or three topics of my address, my friends, which would be well deserving your attention, I think, at any time, but to which their connection with our reverential and grateful commemoration of departed worth may perhaps, on the present occasion, impart a more than ordinary interest, however inadequate the treatment which I fear they may receive at my hands. All that I can hope to do is to set these topics before you simply and sincerely as they originate in this suggestion, in the relation in which they appear to me to stand to the condition and prospects of the religious life in our division of the Christian world at the present day.

The founders of Manchester College three quarters of a century ago had lost none of that spirit of reverence for profound and accurate scholarship, for high and varied intellectual culture, and especially for the earnest pursuit of theological studies, which had rendered many of the Two Thousand Ejected Ministers as eminent for their learning as for their piety, for their scholarship as for their pastoral vigilance and industry, and for the conscientiousness with which all were exercised. It will be well if one of the lessons taught us by this Bicentenary Commemoration be the undiminished and undiminishing necessity for this scientific and especially theological culture to the Christian minister of the present day,—I would rather say, the *greatly increased* necessity for such culture. The real advancement of mankind can only be promoted by securing, as far as possible, for every individual, the just balance of his powers and the wise allotment of

Digitized by Google

their various applications; and therefore the greater the progress of secular knowledge, the more urgent the demand for the correspondent progress in religious knowledge, culture and conviction. This increasing urgency seems to be involved in the very form in which Divine Revelation, specially and distinctively so called, has been communicated to men. "It seems to have been required of us (writes Bishop Hinds)—It seems to have been required of us by the Author of revelation that His Word should have a *due share* of our intellect as well as of our hearts, and that the disproportionate direction of our talents, no less than of our affections, to the things of this world, should disqualify us for faith." Now one great and even characteristic part of the office of the Christian minister unquestionably is to aid and encourage those among whom he ministers to devote this *due share* of thought and intelligence and research to religious, and especially to scriptural, inquiry and investigation; not merely nor even principally that right convictions may be attained and cherished, but chiefly that they may be so attained and cherished as to be worthy of the name of *convictions* at all, which they can only be when wrought out by personal thought and diligence and fidelity: since nothing is more certain than the correctness and the importance of the memorable adage, especially in relation to religion and the objects of faith, that "truth can never be received as a gift, but must be bought with a price." It is one of the first duties of the Christian minister to be prepared so to enunciate and recommend what he believes to be divine truth, that they to whom he ministers may be enabled with his assistance to secure, each for himself, the truth which he needs, and for which he in part pays the price by whatever support he gives, whether in money or in sympathy or in both, to the individual who sustains this sacred office towards him. Yet there appears a danger, not by any means confined to our religious denomination, but which I find remarked by some very earnest and eloquent Bicentenary lecturers among my orthodox friends as threatening their religious societies, the words of one of whom I shall therefore quote on this important point,—the danger of "a disposition to underestimate the importance of a learned ministry. The more generous and thorough ministerial education which, after a time of unavoidable neglect, Nonconformists have been trying hard to promote, has been regarded with suspicion, if not openly protested against, as injurious to the simplicity and vigour of evangelical preaching. Strange to say, this has been coincident with a loud demand for a restoration to our pulpits of the power and fervour of the Commonwealth. Now while there may have been a few men in that age who were effective preachers and yet very indifferent scholars,—though I can recal none belonging to that class except John Bunyan, whose extraordinary genius made him independent of the aids which most men require from a thorough

Digitized by Google

and complete intellectual discipline,—the great crowd of the Puritans and of the early Nonconformists were men of an extensive and profound erudition. If learning must necessarily injure the religious life of the minister, if keen intellectual activity must quench the fervour of holy affections, if a loving familiarity with philosophical speculations and theological controversies must disqualify a preacher for addressing the common people with success, how do you account for the piety, the zeal, the transcendent power over the hearts and consciences of the nation, of the Ejected Ministers and their immediate predecessors?" My friend cites numerous proofs and illustrations of his position, which I need not quote, and then proceeds: "I am seriously afraid that there is some danger lest, in our eagerness to fill our pulpits with fervent and successful preachers, we should fail to educate a race of great divines. There are controversies still raging for which the Church requires accomplished theologians, as well as masses of people sunk in ungodliness for whom the Church requires impassioned evangelists. Men have to be reclaimed from error as well as from sin. In the defence of the divine origin of the Christian faith, in the vindication and right adjustment of its doctrines, modern Nonconformists will be unworthy of their ancestors if they do not stand among the ablest and the most learned of the champions of the truth. Now, as in the age of the Ejected, we require the same calmness of judgment as theirs, united with the same fervour of zeal; the same profound learning united with the same simplicity of faith; the same power with men united with the same power with God; and I trust that some among us will resolve that, God helping them, the necessity shall be satisfied."*

I am glad to lay these sentiments before you in the words of an esteemed friend and brother in the Christian ministry among my orthodox neighbours (especially as they originate in the very suggestion which I am endeavouring to carry out), not only because I believe them to be eminently just and seasonable, but also because they prove how highly the most intelligent members of Christian denominations to which we are, on some very important points, opposed, appreciate that learning and culture which the founders of this Institution had it specially in view to promote. Ever may they continue to do so; and may we never suffer ourselves to fall behind them in the generous rivalry; that both they and we may become continually better fitted, in every succeeding generation, for those "conflicts kind that strike out latent truth," whereby alone the increasing demands of every succeeding generation for that truth can be duly answered. Never has there been a time, in my judgment, in which we have

* St. Bartholomew's Bicentenary Papers. Nonconformity in 1662 and 1862: a Lecture delivered in Willis' Rooms, St. James', May 6th, 1862, by the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A. London: Kent. Pp. 78, 80, 81.

Digitized by Google

had greater need than at the present time of a learned ministry. I would not utter a word in disparagement of those missionary labours for which only an inferior amount of scholarship and scholastic training may be requisite, where a greater than ordinary power of spiritual life or spiritual experience is manifested, and in which the more earnest and religious minded of our laity may sometimes effectually assist; but I desire to enter my solemn and public protest here against any and every attempt to convert the exception into the rule, and so to risk the substitution of the presumptuous self-confidence of men "desiring" (as St. Paul describes them) "to be teachers of the law, understanding neither what they say nor whereof they so confidently affirm" (1 Tim. i. 7), for the intelligent, discriminating, candid, modest, catholic spirit of men who know by experience with what diligence and reverence truth must be sought, and with what humility as well as faithfulness maintained. The state of society among us at the present day in regard to religion, requires this solemn warning. I give it here and now in order that you, who are here engaged in the prosecution of liberal and especially of theological studies, may be made fully aware that now more than ever they must be faithfully maintained. The late eloquent and fervent Edward Irving, looking out on a somewhat similar state of the religious world in his day, delivered a series of what he styled Orations, specifically for the benefit of the rich; and if there be any truth in the gospel of Christ at all, such preaching will always continue to be at least as necessary as any preaching to the poor. Earnestly, therefore, should I deprecate any tendency on the part of the wealthier members of our congregations to make provision, in the spirit of patronage, for the religious culture of others, to the neglect of an adequate provision, in the spirit of humility and faith, for their own: and I am sure that no more lamentable condition of things could ever arise than that in which an inferior intellectual and theological culture should prove sufficient for the religious demands of the more educated and influential classes, who would then cease to "grow in knowledge and in all goodness," and by degrees lose the very power of discerning and approving the things that are really excellent. Moreover, I am fully convinced from what I observe as well as from what common sense might suggest, that, as a rule, the men of the highest education and culture are, like the Two Thousand Ejected, the best preachers of the Gospel, whether to rich or poor.

There is one exercise of a cultivated discrimination and of high moral principle which is peculiarly demanded of the Christian ministry in these days, and for which you, my friends, must sedulously endeavour to qualify yourselves: it is that which shall enable you to discern that, as Christian ministers, you are to be the servants of Christ, in the spirit of obedience to him,

Digitized by Google

and to the truth which he came to reveal and attest. The example of the Two Thousand Ejected is strongly confirmatory of this lesson. They determined, after the avowal of St. Paul, to know nothing in the religious societies with which they were connected, but Jesus the Christ, and him crucified. They would not teach for doctrines the commandments of men, nor would they permit the substitution of anything in place of religious instruction and devotional culture. It was through this determination that they wrought so great a change in the world during their own age, as the apostles had done in the apostolic age. "They meddled only with the religion of Jesus Christ," it has been truly said; "but that, faithfully preached, meddles with everything else on earth." You will have much to try your fidelity here. There is often a tendency to substitute other objects and influences for those of Christianity. Be faithful to the truth and ministration of the gospel which you profess by earnestly endeavouring to gain clear, consistent, comprehensive views of its nature and character. Magnify your office as dispensers of the Word of truth and grace, and see that you dispense that Word, and let none despise your youth. Be definite in your opinions and strict in your principles, in order that you may be liberal and generous in your sentiments and sympathies; and then you will find, if I mistake not, after the experience of its first apostles and preachers, that the gospel of Christ is what St. James calls it, "the perfect law of liberty," i. e. that while having all the stringency of a Divine law, its adaptation to all the needs and capacities of the human soul is so full and perfect, that it abundantly satisfies them all, and renders them at the same time susceptible of that continual expansion and elevation which enables us ever to aspire after the perfection of our immortal nature and the fulfilment of our eternal destiny.

Be ever faithful, then, as the servants of Christ so long as you intelligently and conscientiously look up to him as your divinely commissioned Teacher and Lord. Should you ever come to doubt his divine authority, as some men have done, and as others therefore may yet do, be faithful to your own convictions of truth and duty, and in the avowal of them; and in thus acting, though you cannot call Jesus *Lord*, you will in effect be doing some of the very things which he has chiefly enjoined. Believing that the great principles of Christianity are suited to man in every condition, I would have you to notice among them how strict fidelity to conscience, according to our light, is a principle of universal obligation. This principle admits of no exception or limitation whatever. Obedience to it brought our English Presbyterian forefathers into the knowledge and enjoyment of a spiritual freedom of which they had never dreamed before, and under God's moral providence can make even conscientious

Digitized by Google

unbelief of what is special in Christianity conducive to religious faith, which an insincere profession of the most evangelical creed never can be. In the well-known words in which our gifted Laureate has embalmed for all time the memory of his departed friend,—

> "Perplex'd in faith but pure in deeds,
> At last he beat his music out:
> There lives more faith in honest doubt,
> Believe me, than in half the creeds."
>
> *(In Memoriam.)*

Observe only, but observe carefully, that the doubt must be *honest*, not careless, not indolent, not presumptuous, not affected; and when honestly felt must be as honestly confessed. For thus reads the solemn admonition of the same poet:

> "Hold thou the good: define it well:
> For fear divine philosophy
> Should push beyond her mark, and be
> Procuress to the lords of hell."

Once more: The very sacrifices and sufferings of the Ejected Ministers called out all the energies, not only of their minds but of their hearts, and made them eloquent and earnest preachers of the Word of life. The circumstances in which they were frequently placed after their ejectment were such as often precluded them from reliance on the aid of carefully-prepared manuscripts in their endeavours to proclaim the life-giving Word, and cast them on the immediate resources of their own well-stored minds for the recommendation of those earnest convictions which could not therefore fail of fervent utterance. They believed and therefore they spake, and spake with a power proportioned to the strength of their belief. Such a power exercised by these noble men under the strong pressure of vivid feeling and an inevitable necessity, you will do well to endeavour to acquire and exercise of set purpose, with a view to its eminently beneficial results when employed, as in their instance, in union with sound learning and culture and strong inward conviction, such as will ever preserve it from degenerating into idle or profane babblings, or the vain repetitions of a weak and aimless garrulity. Let the greatness of your work encourage you to cultivate the most effectual methods of conviction and persuasion; and then you will naturally awaken not merely intelligence but emotion, and win mind and heart to the approval and desire of the things that are excellent. To this end you must not in the least remit your diligent attention to study and the labour of composition, but rather increase it. It is easy enough to talk by the hour with scarce any preparation; but to speak to the purpose and to the fit purpose, requires a clearness of perception, an intelligence of arrangement, an appropriateness of illustration, which can only be gained by careful and comprehensive study, and by a concentration of thought which shall tax all your mental acquisitions

Digitized by Google

and energies. Still, the end to be accomplished is worthy of all your efforts, as surely as it cannot be accomplished without them.

And in connection with these suggestions to you, I cannot but express the hope that our laity, both young and old, may also derive valuable suggestions from this Bicentenary. What is the Christian ministry without the Christian laity, but like a servant out of place? The efficiency as well as the happiness of the ministry must necessarily depend in great measure on the sympathy and co-operation of the laity; and in connection with many of the Two Thousand Ejected Ministers, how cordially and with what abundant blessedness to themselves did the wealthy laity in those troublous times recognize and reward enlightened, faithful ministerial service! Let our lay friends take this lesson to heart, and so unite together with their ministers for all the great purposes of the religious life, in which all men, whether lay or clerical, have precisely an equal concern.

To sum up and conclude these Bicentenary suggestions. After the example of the illustrious Two Thousand, be diligent in the culture of all sacred learning, and of all secular learning with an immediate reference to it. Be faithful to Christ and to his holy gospel, to truth as to liberty, to liberty as to truth; faithful especially to the convictions of your own conscience when you have taken all possible pains to enlighten it; and thus fulfil, so far as this important duty is concerned, the law of Christ. Study and exercise also the best methods of communicating yourselves to others so as to win their assent and co-operation. Clear and definite in your views and opinions, you will cherish a friendly sympathy with all intelligent and enlightened professors of the Gospel, with all intelligent and enlightened inquirers after truth, however widely differing from you, and a spirit of earnest co-operation with all with whom you agree. You will thus make full proof of your ministry, adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things, and attain that true and lasting unity with your brethren which is not the unity of superstition in the bond of ignorance, nor the unity of profession in the bond of hypocrisy, nor the unity of indifference in the bond of worldliness, but the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. Set this before you as one great end and reward of all your studies and labours, and you will still abundantly profit by your opportunities of free Christian culture in this College or in the wider school of the world; and, through the blessing of God on your future ministrations, will be able to save both yourselves and them that hear you. May God grant it for His infinite mercy's sake in Christ Jesus our Lord, and may His blessing rest upon you now and evermore!

Digitized by Google

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Little Walter; or, a Mother's First Lessons on Religious Subjects. Second Edition. Whitfield. 1862.

The blessings bestowed upon little children by our Lord Jesus Christ, and the parables of the Prodigal Son and of the Good Samaritan, are the gospel barriers against human creeds and dogmatic theologies. They affirm the spiritual nature of man, the paternal character of God, and the brotherhood of the human race, in terms which defy the qualifications and detractions of theological subtlety. With the Saviour's love, our children inherit the privilege of religious instruction, and it is therefore natural to seek at the same source for the principles and methods by which that instruction should be regulated. Unfortunately this rule is in many instances disregarded, and though the children's claims are admitted, the religious instruction provided for them is drawn from a very different source. The competition of sects for the education of the children of the poor is now extended to the religious instruction of children of all classes; and theological zealots are engaged in manufacturing a juvenile literature imbued with the grossest forms of popular orthodoxy. We are obliged to inspect with jealous care the numerous books, often outwardly attractive, put forth for the use of the young. Among the publications of one Society in particular are to be found compilations of meagre information, with gay pictures and a plentiful infusion of Scripture texts with orthodox glosses. Books professing to teach the elements of natural history are made the vehicles for inculcating technical piety, and contain casual and almost flippant references to religious doctrines in a style which cannot fail to render sacred subjects distasteful, or to produce a shallow and hypocritical familiarity with religious phrases. To our minds there is an essential incompatibility between the thoughts and feelings of a child and the idea of a wrathful God whose anger is appeased by the sacrifice of the innocent; and we believe that the natural tendencies of the child to higher modes of thought are gradually getting the better of the orthodox system. Suppose the total corruption of human nature to be true,—grant the desperate wickedness of the infant's heart,—allow the sin of Adam practical prominence,—demand the acceptance by faith of the wrath-appeasing or justice-satisfying sacrifice,—place all these obstacles at the entrance of religious ideas into the mind of the child, and where can the work of religious instruction begin? The answer to this question is to be found at the source already indicated,—"Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not:" and let no theological gloss interpose in the midst of Christ's words, and urge that to "come unto Jesus" involves the doctrines which we deny; for the close of the invitation grounds its claims in the very nature of the child, "for of such is the kingdom of heaven," and vindicates for ever the child's original and natural right to the divine instruction and the eternal inheritance. Any work intending to commence the religious instruction of children should then be based on the child's own title to the kingdom. In reply to the doctrinal pretensions, we ask, are children's minds readier to perceive wrong than right? Is the feeling of reverence and awe weaker

Digitized by Google

than that of terror? Is the idea of God strange or distasteful to the mind of a child?

The little book now before us is a practical answer to these questions, whose refutation may safely be left to the responses which its lessons are sure to call forth from the hearts of the young. The first edition of "Little Walter" appeared in 1855, and has long been out of print. It now appears in a second edition in a larger and handsomer form, and with many additional hymns. The framework of the book is something between the older style of "conversations" and the later form of the "domestic tale." There is a slight element of story in it, but only sufficient as a thread to support the succession of religious lessons. It aims to convey religious instruction through the maternal influence and in conformity with the instincts of childhood. Little Walter is the pupil and his mother is a widow, and the simple events of infancy are the occasions of the mother's lessons. Beginning with the perception of construction and design in a toy, the child is led on to contemplate the existence of living things with a principle of growth and the power of self-direction in themselves: and from the consciousness in himself of a soul which can think and love and choose, he is led through the perception of a power overruling the lower animals in their instincts, to the idea of the Divine Power which enables the soul to distinguish right and wrong and to apprehend Himself. These things are taught in language which any child may understand; but there is no attempt to force the formal argument on the minds of the young. The course of instruction may be seen in the headings of the Lessons. We take a few of them as an illustration. 1. God, the Creator of us and of all Things. 2. Man has a Soul. 3. Instinct, Conscience, Man's Power of Choosing. 4. The Worth of the Soul;—and so on. Lesson 9 is called, "God ever working throughout the Spiritual World." It contains a simple story of moral resolve, and shews how, by working in obedience to the Supreme will, we are guided to the better knowledge of God, and are helped by His Spirit to the attainment of greater degrees of love and goodness. The lessons on Prayer are good, and there is much tenderness in the way in which the child is brought through the feeling of a mother's love to trust the Heavenly Father and to seek His love. Every lesson—there are thirty-two in all—is introduced with references to books suitable to be read to children on the subject of the lesson, and is closed with a few passages of Scripture and a selection of hymns. We highly approve of the large use which is made of the Hymns in Prose by Mrs. Barbauld, those sweet strains of early piety dearly associated in a thousand homes with the soft tones of the young mother's voice. By these compositions, and by the numerous selected hymns and poems, the "Mother's First Lessons" acquire a strength and fulness that render "Little Walter" no unacceptable manual of devout meditations for grown-up people. In the contemplation of religious objects there is indeed no great distance between the lispings of childhood and the prayers of men, who, except as they become as little children, may not enter into the kingdom of God. It is no proof of the fitness of a book for the religious instruction of children that it is distasteful to the minds of the adult. The contrary rather is true; and by this test much of our juvenile literature will undoubtedly be condemned. We may be over-careful about exceeding the bounds of childlike thought, if we

Digitized by Google

forget that the highest religious teachings exceed our own thoughts; and we may fall into the error of impairing the apprehension of the religious ideas by attempting to narrow spiritual things to the supposed deficiencies of the infant mind. "Little Walter" is presented as the first of a "series of books containing a systematic course of religious instruction." We hope the promise of this announcement will be properly carried out. This book is introductory, and requires to be followed up by a fuller exposition of Christianity. The character and influence of Jesus and his words and works as the living personal revelation of Christianity, is not the subject of Little Walter. It may be intended in the continuance of the series.

Before bringing our notice to a close, we must point out an oversight in the history of Samuel in the Thirty-first Lesson, where Hannah is described as taking her son up to live with the priests and serve God in the beautiful temple or church that there was at Jerusalem. A little consideration should have reminded the writer that the ark was then in the tabernacle at Shiloh in Ephraim, that Jerusalem was no city of Israel till the reign of David, and that there was no temple till the time of Solomon. In a book like the present, however, such an error is incidental and does not affect its essence. In conclusion, we commend Little Walter to the home circle and to the higher classes in Sunday-schools. We know from experience that children will read it with pleasure. It touches the deeper springs of thought and feeling; but in making use of the book, its deeper lessons should be left to make their own impressions, and the parent or teacher should be careful not rudely to probe or test their results on the children's minds. An immature excitement of religious feeling is probably worse than a sturdy self-reliance with some religious deficiencies. By its own womanly tenderness, Little Walter will win its way into many hearts, and draw forth the religious sentiments towards the formation of pious and manly character.

Scattered Leaves. By Henry Sewell Stokes. Pp. 53. London—Longman and Co. 1862.

Mr. Stokes sustains in this volume of verse the reputation for the sweet utterance of bright, cheerful and manly thoughts, which he earned many years ago in his earlier poem, "The Vale of Lanherne." The "Scattered Leaves" gathered in this little book consist of occasional poems—the brief but earnest breathings of one who thinks it well to mingle with the toils of professional life the relaxations of literature and poetry. There is such good sense and right manly feeling running through all these occasional verses, that none of the author's clients need regard him as a mere dreamer, or distrust his law because he can pen a sweet and feeling stanza.

The volume begins with a poem entitled "The Gate of Heaven," originally having reference to a church at Truro. The catholic spirit of the poem is manifest in the lines that follow:

> "The Gate of Heaven is where? The village Spire
> Points as the sons of toil the way inquire,
> Whose rugged forms there bend the knee as well
> As daintier limbs where pealing anthems swell.

Digitized by Google

On the bleak moor, where four bare walls appear,
When labour ceases and the stars shine clear,
Uncultured voices raise the fervent hymn
A Wesley penn'd when Faith's old lamp grew dim,
Kindling a sacred fire in simple hearts,
Such as no learning yields, no pomp imparts:
From that low roof ascends the poor man's prayer,
Nor doubt we that one Gate of Heaven is there.
Wherever two or three together meet,
His presence is—His house—His mercy-seat;
And when the sinner went apart and pray'd,
In Heaven were heard the few short words he said.

"'Tis nigh, wherever contrite hearts are found,
Mansion or cot, green hill, or cavern'd ground
Where pallid labour pants, or on the waves
Where the bluff seaman rock and tempest braves;
Where their last sigh upon the blood-stained heath
Soldiers in prayer for home and country breathe;
And where at midnight through his dungeon bars
On the lone captive gleam the trembling stars:
Where Magdalens forsake the shameless street,
And once again would kiss the Saviour's feet;
Where some dear child of beauty, pure and meek,
Shows by the flush upon her faded cheek
The fatal blight within, nor long shall wait
The gentle hand that will unfold Heaven's Gate."

There is another passage in the poem which we would quote descriptive of the Christian preacher, were it not that to our ear its harmony is marred by the unmetrical line,—

"And breasts obdurate heave with sighs subdued."

The verses which refer to Galileo's noted words, "E pur si muove" ("It does move though!"), though light and almost jocular in tone, are pervaded by a deeper spirit. The poet refers happily to the statues in the Oxford Museum which tell who are the world's acknowledged instructors and benefactors.

"Changed is the scene, and changed the hour,
And stranger things await you;
In Oxford's academic bower
Stands Galiléo's statue,

"By Newton's, near sad Priestley's form,
In Bacon's noble presence:
That's something, sir, your heart to warm,
And prove truth's vital essence.

"So the world moves—what few to-day,
Many will ken to-morrow;
The earth goes round, the sun's fix'd ray
Dispels all doubt and sorrow.

"In Santa Croce calm he sleeps,
While a new day is breaking;
And strong as aye the world's heart leaps,
And the dry bones are shaking."

The lines entitled "A Statesman" speak the national sentiment respecting Lord Palmerston.

Digitized by Google

"Whether to doubt or trust thee some scarce knew,
Ev'n when they most admired thy skill of fence,
Thy bold retorts, thy wit, thy eloquence;
Yet were they ever fain to think thee true,
And those who have misgivings now are few.
Nay, is there one, in this our trying hour,
For whom thy name is not a shield and tower
Against whatever dangers may ensue?
We gaze in wonder as the changeful years
Still leave that brow without a wrinkle smooth,
Albeit burden'd with a nation's cares:
Mature in thought while young; in heart a youth
When age should almost make the blood run cold:
No foe of England finds thee growing old."

Outlines of a Christian Faith. By Charles Clement Coe. Pp. 164. London—Whitfield.

This little volume is a most creditable specimen of faithful pastoral teaching. Prepared for the benefit of the younger members of the flock at Leicester, it is a brief outline map of Christian doctrine, drawn with a bold and firm hand, and with as much filling in of scripture proofs as was necessary to make the subjects treated intelligible and impressive. The subjects discussed in the nineteen chapters of this volume are, the Unity and Spirituality of God, Revelation, Providence, Emmanuel, the Word made Flesh, the Perfect Man, the Sinless Life, the Prodigal Son and his Return, the One Thing needful, Saving Faith, God reconciled to Man, Facts and Figures, Everlasting Life, the Never-changing Spirit, Never-ceasing Torment, the Christian Church and the Lord's Supper. The headings of his chapters indicate that Mr. Coe's work is essentially scriptural. He is not content to take a text and then to propound a philosophical thesis having no apparent connection with scripture, but he makes his doctrinal statements on the authority of scripture, and where he is necessitated to depart, as occasionally he is, from the letter, he shews that he does so from respect for the spirit of Holy Writ.

On the great subject of the resurrection of Jesus Christ, he takes the scriptural rather than the philosophical (?) view, and treats the rising of Christ from the grave on the third day as a well-attested fact, not a delusion in the minds of the apostles. He grapples with the new theory of a spiritual rather than a bodily resurrection, and succeeds, as others have done before him, in overthrowing it. The passage is a fair specimen of Mr. Coe's mode of conducting a scripture argument:

"There are certain passages which are supposed to favour the idea of a spiritual body. The writer of Mark xvi. 9—20, says in his twelfth verse, 'He appeared in another form unto two of them.' Alford explains this verse as an epitome of Luke xxiv. 15, 16, which explains the reason in that 'their eyes were holden.' The same reasoning would apply to Matt. xxviii. 17, which narrates that while some worshipped, others doubted. This may have reference to the unbelief of Thomas (John xx.), and have nothing to do with the nature of the manifestation. But the strongest passages in favour of this view are those which describe the sudden coming and going of Christ. 'When the doors were shut where the disciples were assembled, for fear of the Jews, came Jesus and stood in the midst.' John xx. 19. 'Their eyes were opened

Digitized by Google

and they knew him, and he vanished out of their sight.' Luke xxiv. 31. Now our first question is, where do these words occur, and in what connection? Of course, from the use made of them in the argument, we should expect to find them in connection with a purely spiritual manifestation; but after the sudden appearance through (?) closed doors, Jesus shows them his hands and his side (John xx.); after his mysterious appearance in their midst, he offers himself for their inspection and eats before their eyes; before he vanishes out of their sight he sits at meat and eats with them. Now, if these expressions prove the existence of a spiritual body, they prove it with these restrictions, that it was material enough to eat and drink and to be handled and embraced; but also immaterial enough to pass through closed doors and suddenly to vanish into thin air. Surely the incongruity of the narrative thus explained will strike all.

"If we be asked how Christ came so suddenly and left so mysteriously, if he was really in the flesh, the explanation does not seem difficult. Excepting the account of the Ascension, we have but one description of the way in which those awful interviews were closed, and in that it is said that Jesus vanished out of their sight. It is quite possible that the arrangements of the house at Emmaus, and the solemn awe with which the astonished disciples were regarding him, may have favoured his sudden departure. When the disciples sat with closed doors for fear of the Jews, *i.e.*, of the rulers, it was probably in some large house which was a rendezvous, the doors of which would be watched for the purpose of admitting friends and excluding foes. Christ might pass the door unchallenged as a friend, and make himself known as soon as he was in their midst. This sort of interpretation seems necessary to explain the narrative and make it consistent with itself.

"The testimony of Paul is adduced. Paul reports what he has heard from others, and narrates what he has seen himself; but it does not follow that all the appearances he speaks of were of the same kind; nor is it necessary that we should explain the fact of a terrestrial re-appearance in accordance with Paul's theory concerning a future state. We say this to guard ourselves against any possible collision between Paul and the Evangelists; but we believe that, so far from there being any such collision, the theory of Paul affords the only explanation of all the facts of the Evangelists. We do not believe that Christ now wears his mortal body, because he once resumed it to impart comfort to his bereaved disciples, and through them the hope of immortality to the world. 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be,' but we have a strong conviction of what will not be. We wear out many bodies during our sojourn upon earth, and their materials go to form bodies for other men. We cannot, therefore, think of an immortal human body in the same sense as we speak of an immortal human spirit, which amid all change is always the same individual. But the difficulty from this point of view is to explain what became of the physical body of Christ after the resurrection. We do not profess to know when, and how, and where, Christ laid it aside. But the theory of Paul would lead us to suppose that the physical body rose from the tomb, and that the spiritual body ascended into heaven. His theory is, that there is a spiritual and a natural body; that the natural body perishes in the grave, and that the soul is clothed with a spiritual body in a future state. He distinctly declares that flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven; and that corruption cannot inherit incorruption. Those who still survive at the last day will be changed, at the same time that the dead are raised incorruptible, so that all will be clothed with spiritual bodies. Christ, if raised corruptible, would require to be changed, according to this theory, before he was received up into heaven. At what period between his resurrection and ascension this change happened, we do not presume to define. This is the result which Paul's theory would give. Whether true or not, it seems to us the only way of removing difficulty from the fact, and incoherence from the narrative, of the Resurrection."—Pp. 131—134.

Digitized by Google

INTELLIGENCE.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH.

A Monument in Memory of John Bunyan (May 21), erected over his ashes in the Bunhill-Fields cemetery, was inaugurated by Lord Shaftesbury. Like other out-of-door proceedings in this unhappy English climate, the effect of the ceremony was marred by heavy rain. It is to be regretted that the occasion was not taken for originating some proceedings to save the entire cemetery from the desecration to which it may in a few years be doomed on the expiration of the lease. But surely neither Parliament nor the people of England will permit ground so sacred as that in which lie the remains of hundreds whose memory is a national honour, to be alienated from its original purpose, and desecrated by the erection of dwelling-houses or shops!

Lord Ebury's Bill (May 27).—A debate full of interest to those who value religious liberty arose in the House of Lords on the second reading of Lord Ebury's Bill for amending the Act of Uniformity. In the course of his speech, Lord Ebury read a strange letter from Rev. J. Crompton, of Norwich, complaining of his exclusion from the Church by the requirement of subscription, and stating that he had been compelled to relinquish the pulpit of the Octagon chapel, Norwich, because he could not preach the peculiar negative doctrines of the Unitarian denomination. Mr. Crompton has strangely forgotten his own published statements. When reprinting, with our consent from the pages of our Magazine, the History of the Octagon Chapel, Norwich, he prefixed some introductory remarks, in the course of which he said, "The congregation is free;" and he gave to the Unitarianism of the congregation this definition: it "means the maintenance of the fundamentals of Christianity in perfect freedom of interpretation." And again he said: "The liberal congregations of England are possessed of principles and feelings and a freedom which shew their power and truth now by leading them to recognize and welcome everything that is holy and noble wherever manifesting itself, without regard to sect or name, and which will one day be incorporated in the 'Church of the Future.'" If this statement was true in 1848, what are we to think of Mr. Crompton's attack in 1862 on his old friends and former fellow-worshipers? They, we know, cherish feelings towards him of affectionate remembrance and respect, and must have been not a little wounded by this outbreak of spleen. In his letter to Lord Ebury, Mr. Crompton added that he would willingly (but for subscription) join the Church of England, from which he professes to have no doctrinal difference. The doctrine of the Church of England is embodied and represented in the Prayer-Book, and in it alone. If Mr. Crompton has no doctrinal differences from it, he is better qualified to serve with sincerity at the altars of the National Church than nine-tenths of the English clergy. This episode is a curious illustration of what the so-called "anti-sectarianism" often leads to. Of the debate itself we must find another opportunity of speaking. It did not, we think, help to strengthen what are called the "outposts of the Church of England." The speech of the Bishop of Oxford, the only thorough speech in resistance of Lord Ebury, was one that would have done credit to the sagacity and ingenuousness of a disciple of Loyola.

New Chapel at Hampstead (June 5).—The beautiful new Unitarian chapel at Hampstead was opened by a religious service conducted by Dr. Sadler and Rev. James Martineau. Notwithstanding a lowering sky and a cold and damp afternoon, the friends of Dr. Sadler afterwards assembled in considerable numbers in a tent to celebrate the event of the day by a social meeting. Some differences of opinion on the signs of the times and the temper and spirit of the Unitarian body were evolved, but all agreed in doing honour to the fidelity and Christian spirit of the pastor, who has succeeded in building up the fine congregation at Hampstead, and for whom this new church has been erected. The Chairman, Mr. Richard Martineau, not unhappily described it as a testimonial to Dr. Sadler. The only drawback from the value and significancy of the offering so richly deserved is the debt of £700 on the building account. Let the congregation do honour to their pastor and themselves by paying off without delay this burthen. Could they find a better mode of celebrating the Bicentenial anniversary?

Case of Mr. Heath (June 6).—Lord Cranworth delivered the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in this case. In reply to an appeal to him to revoke unreservedly the passages in his sermons articled against as repugnant to the Articles of 1562, the defendant said he had nothing to revoke. The Court then confirmed the judgment of the Court of Arches, with costs against Mr. Heath.

Digitized by Google

He is thus deprived of a living of the value of £600. The proceedings are of a kind to make many Churchmen and some clergymen of considerable mark far from easy.

Social Science Congress (June 6).—The annual session of the Social Science Congress was inaugurated by an eloquent sermon in Westminster Abbey by Dr. Hook, the Dean of Chichester. The preacher recognized the fact that the Association did not and could not profess in its corporate capacity "to adopt any particular form of Christianity, or to subscribe to any specific articles of faith." The sermon was conceived in the spirit of this statement, and was an admirable specimen of true catholicism. How little does the Church lose and how much does it gain when its more eminent clergy speak and act in a spirit of wise liberality like this!

General Baptist Assembly (June 10).—This Assembly met at Worship Street. The religious service was conducted by Rev. F. R. Young and Rev. W. H. Black. In the business meeting a resolution was adopted commemorative of the ejection of the Two Thousand clergy, and rebuking the arrogant and intolerant spirit engendered by the State establishment of churches.

British and Foreign Unitarian Association (June 11).—The thirty-seventh anniversary was held at Essex-Street chapel. A noble sermon was preached by Rev. William Gaskell, which we rejoice to hear is immediately to be published. The business meeting, under the presidency of Mr. J. A. Turner, M.P., was as interesting as harmonious. The report described the discouragements of the Indian missions, and directed attention more to home objects. The prosperous condition of the Society's finances justifying the adoption of new plans, the Committee recommended the establishment of three missions, one in Scotland, another in Staffordshire, and a third in the Weald of Kent or some other district requiring aid. The recommendations were cordially adopted. The announcement of the completion of the Revised Translation of the Old Testament was welcomed by a resolution proposed by Rev. J. J. Tayler and seconded by Mr. Long. Sir John Bowring paid a feeling and eloquent tribute to the memory of the late Prince Consort. Mr. Edmund Potter, M.P., was elected President for the ensuing year. A numerous party assembled in the afternoon at the Freemasons' Hall, under Mr. Turner's presidency. Among the guests was the Rev. Dr. Miles, whose simple eloquence made considerable impression, and whose genial kindness towards the English people called forth a warm response from the meeting. To his other valued services of the day, the President added that of a handsome donation to the funds of the Association. New subscriptions from Glasgow and other places were announced. A more successful and useful anniversary the Association has not for many years enjoyed.

The Sunday-School Association held its annual breakfast (June 12), under the able presidency of Rev. P. W. Clayden, of Nottingham. The only unpleasing feature of the proceedings was the announcement of a balance against the Society of £108, notwithstanding great exertions on the part of the Treasurer, Mr. Frederick Nettlefold. A collection was made, which realised about one-third of the required amount.

London District Unitarian Society.—In the evening of June 12, this Society held its annual meeting at Radley's Hotel, under the presidency of Samuel Sharpe, Esq. The financial statement shewed an expenditure of £337, and a balance of debt of £63. We would earnestly warn the financial managers of our religious Societies against the habit of exceeding their income. It cannot come to good either in the case of societies or individuals. If there is an important work to be done, which is temporarily checked through want of means, let the public at once be informed of the fact, and the probability is that the needed money will be supplied, at least if the value of the object aimed at is recognized. The report and several of the speeches brought into pleasant view the very important and successful working of the mission at Stamford Street, under the indefatigable conduct of Rev. Robert Spears. Some of the most interesting speeches of the evening had no direct bearing on the work of the Society, the Rev. F. R. Young giving a very detailed and impressive account of his mission at Swindon and its very satisfactory results. He appealed earnestly to the Unitarian body to strengthen him with increased means. Another zealous workman, Rev. J. Robertson, gave a striking account of his work at Halstead. The Society loses the services of Alderman J. C. Lawrence, who has been its indefatigable Secretary, and is succeeded by Mr. Henry J. Preston, in conjunction with Mr. John Warren.

Carmarthen College.—The annual examination of the students took place, June 15—19. The examiners were Rev. T. L. Marshall, Rev. E. Higginson, Rev. Dr. S. C. Davison and Rev. J. E. Jones. Towards the close of the proceedings, the examination of the competitors for the prizes given by Mr. Samuel Sharpe took

Digitized by Google

place. The subjects of this examination comprehended papers on Old-Testament chronology and vivâ-voce answers to a series of questions founded on the Scriptures. These questions being, for the most part, of a curious and recondite character, excite much attention and emulation in the College, and encourage, while they test, the accurate scriptural knowledge by which Welsh students are generally distinguished. The successful competitors were Mr. Enoch Jones, first prize; Mr. John Evans, second prize. An unusually large number of candidates for admission to the College presented themselves for examination. Seventeen were found duly qualified and were admitted accordingly, making the whole number of students for the next session thirty-seven. On Friday, the prizes were distributed to the most diligent and successful members of the several classes by the Rev. T. L. Marshall, after an appropriate and forcible address of advice and encouragement in regard to their future studies.

The Provincial Assembly of the counties of Lancaster and Chester met at Chowbent (June 19). A powerful and eloquent sermon was preached by Rev. John Gordon, of which the publication was earnestly desired. The preacher dwelt on the sacrifices to conscience made by the clergy ejected in 1662, and the duties which devolve on the successors and representatives of the early Nonconformists. On the calling over the role of ministers, Rev. Nixon Porter declared himself unwilling to belong to an Association which bore the name of Unitarian as one of its titles. Other ministers pleaded that their religious liberty was not to be circumscribed by the doubts of another man. If Mr. Porter disliked the name Unitarian, he might satisfy himself with that of Presbyterian. Of the reports of the missionary branch of the Association, we hope to have another opportunity of speaking hereafter. On the following day the Widows' Fund held its meeting, under the presidency of Rev. Franklin Baker. The deaths of ministers belonging to the Fund have during the past twelve months much exceeded the average.

The London Domestic Mission held its annual meeting (June 23) at the Music Hall in Store Street. Able and impressive sermons were preached on the previous day by Rev. Samuel Martin, of Trowbridge, in the morning in the chapel of Little Portland Street, and in the evening at Essex Street. Liberal collections, exceeding in amount £60, were made. The business meeting, under the presidency of Rev. Dr. Sadler, was well attended, especially by ministers and friends from the country. Interesting reports of their work were made by the missionaries, Mr. Corkran and Mr. Broome. The former bore grateful testimony to the liberality of the friends of the Mission, who never allowed any appeal he made to their pecuniary generosity to be unanswered. He asked earnestly for a greater amount of personal aid from the friends of the Mission. Some admirable addresses were made by Rev. Samuel Martin, Rev. Brooke Herford and Rev. Charles Beard.

Manchester New College (June 23—26). The annual examination of the students took place in University Hall before Rev. Samuel Bache, Rev. John Kenrick, Rev. William Gaskell, and many friends of the Institution. The examination in the several departments by the Professors of each was, we believe, generally very creditable to the industry of the students. It was matter of congratulation that the health of the students has this year been less injuriously affected than on previous occasions. Sermons of a very high character of merit in respect to the thoughts, style and elocution, were delivered by Mr. Alexander Gordon and Mr. Howse. The proceedings of the examination were brought to a close on the afternoon of the 25th of June by a judicious and impressive address from the Rev. Samuel Bache, of the merits of which our readers can at once form their own opinion. The President of the College, Thomas Ainsworth, Esq., afterwards entertained at a sumptuous banquet at Richmond the Professors and some of the principal officers and friends of the College. The party also included several of the Professors of University College, some of the Masters of University College School, and several Members of Parliament. Among many graceful acts of hospitality which have marked this Exhibition year in the metropolis, none was more happy than this *réunion* of so many friends of liberal and perfectly free education.

OBITUARY.

Went to her rest, on Sunday, the 4th of May, at Northampton, AGNES IERSON, at the age of 36. She was married in 1852 to the Rev. Henry Ierson, now of Islington, and leaves three surviving children, their first child having died in infancy. She had

Digitized by Google

suffered greatly for some years, with only occasional intervals of relief, from the pulmonary disorder, which seemed at last to have exhausted the powers of nature, so that she had learned to anticipate her death as a happy and desired release. She died with the most tranquil and thoughtful assurance of the blessed hope in Christ, and in firm faith in the Heavenly Father's goodness. For the last two days of her life on earth she enjoyed, as she had not done for many months before, perfect freedom from pain, and was enabled to converse much with those about her. All who saw her were struck with the calm and happy tone of her mind in preparation for the impending change. To those who so much loved her it will prove a source of abiding consolation to reflect upon the childlike trust with which she was assisted to give herself up to God's will. In the most complete sense of the word, her end was peace. The sustaining power of our simple but sublime faith was never more fully verified. She had always in former years looked forward to death with some dread, and she was naturally more anxious in her habit of mind than sanguine and hopeful. But as the hour drew near, all thoughts of alarm at the possible painfulness of the transition disappeared, and she bade farewell to her family with the same trust for them with which she was herself prepared to enter the better life. They will never forget a scene in which was so manifestly present the ministering aid of Divine support.

She died at her father's house, whither she had been ordered to go for the change which seemed to offer the last possible hope of even a temporary recovery. But she had felt for some time that her life could not be prolonged, and with this conviction came an ever-increasing submissiveness and resignation. She had been always of a serious cast of mind, and much delighted in earnest, religious conversation. She was a woman of varied and refined tastes, of considerable culture and information, in the communication of which in the instruction of her children she was singularly happy and took great pleasure. She often confessed how much of the beauty of divine truth, conveyed in the character and lessons of Christ, she learned in her Sunday-evening readings of the Scriptures with them. It was a great denial to her that her weak state of health prevented her taking part in the work of the Sunday-school, in which she always felt great interest.

Her amiable and sympathetic character, united with her sound judgment, and the possession of a natural but highly cultivated style in which to communicate her thoughts, rendered her peculiarly at home in the society from which it was one of her trials to be so much debarred. Her letters were always as admirable in composition as they were expressive of the genuine feelings of her heart. She had been from her earliest childhood a diligent and painstaking scholar. She was for three years, along with a younger sister, a pupil in the Scottish Institution, or Ladies' College, in Moray Place, Edinburgh, and it was there that she became acquainted with her future husband, at that time a student in the University. When they met afterwards, on her return from Paris, where she had been at school during the revolution of 1848, he had already ceased to minister amongst the orthodox churches. Her sympathies, which had been always liberal, coincided entirely with this altered position; she was a genuine Unitarian in heart, and during all the subsequent years of her life appreciated everything that was most Christian in belief, most self-denying and benevolent in practice, in the body to which she now belonged.

The number of her intimacies amongst them was necessarily limited, but those who had the privilege of more familiar intercourse with a character so rich in excellences, remember with kindly sorrow her faithful and affectionate friendship. It will enshrine her memory to them in pleasing, though for themselves also mournful, associations, to know that as the end approached her character appeared in all its purest forms. In the solemn presence of death, all the best attributes of her nature seemed to find unhindered manifestation. The ideal of what she had ever herself desired to be, of her truest nature, —the ideal which friendship conceives in those it loves,—was realized in her singular, childlike simplicity and trustfulness, and in her thoughtful attention to the welfare of others. She acknowledged the merciful hand of God in all that she had suffered, and looked with pious faith to Jesus as his own appointed way to the Father.

It should be added that her zeal for the welfare of the congregation to which her husband ministered was unvarying and earnest, although she was so little able to hold much personal intercourse with them. It was evidently an added disappointment amongst her many trials that she was obliged to think that she might not be permitted to take part in the opening of the new church at Islington, which had been for so long a time a subject of common interest between them.

She was interred at her own request in

Digitized by Google

the cemetery at Highgate, where her child already lay. At the grave, the service was closed by an address and the offering of prayer by the Rev. Iden Payne, of Northampton, who had visited her in her last illness. On the following Sunday, Mr. Payne preached in the Islington school-room on two well-chosen subjects of Christian consolation, gratefully instructing those who loved and mourned to anticipate the re-union in the "many mansions" of the "Father's house," where "there shall be no more death, neither sorrow nor crying, neither shall there be any more pain; for the former things are passed away."

May 30, in her 93rd year, Miss ELIZABETH FAVELL, who throughout her long life was a devoted and liberal member of the Unitarian chapel, Rotherham, which will suffer by her decease a great and irreparable loss. From her childhood upwards, she had been accustomed to appear Sunday after Sunday, morning and evening, till within the last eighteen months, in her pew with as much regularity as the minister in his pulpit. She was one of the fortunate few who never will acknowledge the listening to a sermon to be a dull business; her eyes were never known to weary through the most protracted exhortation. Probably there are few Unitarians who could boast to have listened to more sermons; at the same time, worship in the house of God was always her first concern. And when at the last her strength no longer permitted, to her great grief, her attendance at public worship, it was always with peculiar gratification that she received at her home a weekly service for reading and prayer from the minister of the chapel. As her great age will intimate, she was one of the small remnant, becoming every year less, of those who lived through the transition period of our church from Arianism to Unitarianism. She could well remember being on a visit at Birmingham at the time of the Priestley riots, and the great terror she then as a young girl felt.

Among her many interesting local recollections, she could remember the use of "Watts' Hymn-book" in the Unitarian, then Presbyterian, chapel, Rotherham. It was always a standing joke between her and the Rev. Brooke Herford, who was the means of changing at Rotherham the subsequent "Kippis' Collection" for "Martineau's Hymn-book," that when he proposed the alteration to her, she objected, "because they had had a new hymn-book so recently," Kippis' having been in use more than forty years!

It was her lot to outlive the long ministrations of three, at least, of the greatly respected ministers of this chapel, including the Rev. W. Allard, the Rev. Dr. Warwick, and the late Rev. Jacob Brettell. Her health in general was marvellously good, and her mind was clear to the last, blessings attributable in chief measure to her great temperance and frugality of life. Her remains were interred in her vault in the chapel on June 3rd.

In the course of the funeral sermon for the deceased, preached by the Rev. William Blazeby, B.A., minister of the chapel, the following tribute was paid to her memory:—

"One who was wont to worship in this chapel from week to week, and who saw more than one generation of worshipers here rise up and pass away, has herself at length rested from her labours. How beautifully and appropriately do the words of the service apply in this instance—'Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord: even so, saith the Spirit, for they rest from their labours.' We have now lost from our midst a long esteemed and greatly beloved friend. And to none will her memory remain more endeared than to those who have known her longest. All, indeed, who were in any way acquainted with the departed, will love to recall her great kindness, her cheerful goodness, and her general Christian worth and usefulness. She has fallen a full and rich sheaf into the arms of the heavenly reapers. Year after year, approaching close upon a century, did she continue her faithful, unassuming, guileless and excellent life. If ever a life was spent in the self-denying and charitable spirit of the Christian religion, our dear friend's was so passed. She was a truly Christian soul. It was never a selfish feeling that dictated her motives or guided her conduct. If she withheld herself from enjoying the full bounties of Providence at her command, by restraining her own desires and satisfying with rare prudence her simplest necessities, it was only that she might have the more in her power to benefit and comfort those in whom she was interested by the ties of family and the bonds of a common Christian faith. Whatever means God had placed at her disposal, she was earnestly mindful of her stewardship. She possessed a kind and generous heart. Her disposition was cheerful, hopeful and resigned. She led a life consistent throughout with the demands of Christian piety and usefulness. She was, moreover, one who conscientiously endeavoured to inform herself of the truth and will of God. She diligently read the Word of God, and

Digitized by Google

sought to guide her faith and life by the mind, example and teachings of Jesus Christ, her Lord and Saviour. The instructions of the holy gospel were not lost upon her. The utterance of faithful words from the pulpit never fell unheeded upon her ears, or failed to produce righteous fruit in her life. She had, in truth, a deep sense of life being a sacred trust, not given for, or to be given up to, frivolous pursuits or absorbing pleasures, but to be spent in a quiet, unostentatious, virtuous and useful manner. Whatever time she could devote to works of Christian usefulness, and to promote in any way the cause of the church to which she belonged, she gave up willingly and employed zealously.

"The steady devotion of her mind and soul to the principles of the Unitarian faith will have been strikingly apparent to all who knew anything of our departed friend. In the promotion of what she held to be truth never was her zeal surpassed. Never was there a more constant attendant at Sunday services. Let the weather be ever so inclement, or the difficulties what they might, while her strength remained to her, she was never found absent from a single service at the chapel. And this was entirely done from a good and earnest spirit; for to make a display of her religion was the farthest thought from her mind. And then, in her private life, how firmly and consistently she adhered to the profession she made on the Sunday! Her Unitarian faith she was never ashamed to avow, never hesitated to defend, never was backward to support. It was not the want of popular favour to her faith that caused her to love it less, but rather made her love it more. And because she saw but few to support it, her heart was not therefore depressed or afraid: all the more resolute was her adherence. It was not public opinion, or the applause of the world, or the gain of respectability, or the approbation of friends, that could have induced her to forsake what she in her conscience believed to be divine truth according to the Word of God. I cannot myself imagine that any social inducement or worldly gain, however great, could have tempted her to desert her principles or to forsake the church where those principles were maintained.

"Truly, in her entire life and profession she gave a good and faithful Christian example, and was indeed an influential, if an unobtrusive, advocate of the Christian religion in the simplicity and purity of its gospel character. With this conviction in our minds, we may rest firm, my friends, in the Christian hope that in the fulness of her years, and in the richness of her labours, our departed sister has gone to that higher realm where the pains and sorrows and tears of the flesh do not disturb the life, and where darkness, contention and difference do not distress the church; but where mercy and truth are met together, and righteousness and peace have kissed each other. May the remembrance of our departed friend, therefore, be not only pleasant for us always to recall, but also an abiding incentive to us who remain yet awhile behind to a more faithful and cheerful discharge of life's daily duties, and to a more bold avowal and stanch maintenance of our Unitarian faith." W. B.

Rotherham, June, 1862.

April 14, at Bridgwater, MARY, eldest daughter of the late Jacob WATSON, Esq.

April 23, in the 24th year of his age, JOHN MEADOWS TAYLOR, eldest son of Thomas Lombe Taylor, Esq., of Starston, near Harlestone, in Norfolk.

April 24, at Hampstead, ISAAC SOLLY LISTER, Esq., in the 67th year of his age.

April 26, at Grey Place, Bristol Road, Edgbaston, SUSANNA, the wife of Edward MARTIN, Esq., aged 82 years.

May 2, MARY ANN, aged 84, last surviving child of the late Rev. Wm. WELLS, D.D., of Brattleboro', Vermont, U.S., and formerly of Bromsgrove, Worcestershire.

May 4, SUSANNA, wife of William JOHNSTON, Esq., of Upper Clapton, in the 68th year of her age.

May 5, at her residence, Brignall House, Greville Road, Kilburn, in her 83rd year, SARAH, widow of the late William FREND, Esq., and niece of the Rev. Theophilus Lindsey.

May 17, at the residence of his son, 18, the Crescent, Camden Road Villas, SAMUEL M. COX, Esq., formerly of Exeter, Devon, solicitor, aged 71.

May 22, at Stonygate, near Leicester, SARA, the beloved wife of James F. HOLLINGS, Esq.

May 25, ADA ELIZABETH THORNTON, the only and beloved daughter of Samuel Thornton, Esq., of the Elms, Camp Hill, Birmingham, aged 18 years.

May 28, at the house of her son, Manor

Digitized by Google

Road, Stamford Hill, REBECCA, widow of the late Mr. George SMALLFIELD, formerly of Hackney, aged 72.

June 1, at 7, Beresford Terrace, Highbury New Park, TEMPLE SUTTON, the infant son of Thomas Chatfeild and Ellen CLARKE.

June 4, aged 38 years, at his residence, The Downs, Altrincham, of diphtheria, caught in attending on his patients, ALEXANDER HENRY PATERSON, Esq., M.D.

June 4, at his residence, Hollins Terrace, Dukinfield, in the 25th year of his age, EDWIN BROWN, eldest son of the late Thomas Brown, Stalybridge.

June 20, at Higher Broughton, Manchester, in her 79th year, MARY, widow of the late Michael SHIPMAN, Esq., formerly of Hinckley.

June 24, at the residence of his brother, Parnham House, Pembury Road, Lower Clapton, FREDERICK GOSNELL, Esq., of 3, Plowden Buildings, Middle Temple, aged 38.

MARRIAGES.

April 20, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. Franklin Baker, M.A., Mr. WM. PUGH PROBERT to Mrs. MARGARET JOLLY, widow, both of Bolton.

April 29, at Cross-Street chapel, Manchester, by Rev. James Drummond, B.A., RANDAL, eldest son of Thomas HIBBERT, Esq., of Godley, to FRANCES, second daughter of William NICHOLSON, Esq., of Manchester.

May 1, at the Unitarian church, Hackney, by Rev. R. B. Aspland, M.A., CHAS. GREEN to EMMA, youngest daughter of Wm. JOHNSTON, Esq., of Upper Clapton.

May 4, at the Elder-Yard chapel, Chesterfield, by Rev. Francis Bishop, Mr. GEORGE FIDLER to Miss ANNA KIRK, both of Chesterfield.

May 10, at the Unitarian chapel, Newchurch, by Rev. George Hoade, Mr. GEO. HITCHIN to Miss MARGARET PICKUP, both of Newchurch.

May 12, at the Unitarian chapel, Wolverhampton, by Rev. T. H. M. Scott, Mr. JAMES MARTIN, of Guthoon Hill, to EMMA, fourth daughter of Mrs. BEACH, Commercial Road.

May 14, at Hyde chapel, Gee Cross, by Rev. Charles Beard, B.A., WALTER, third son of Edmund POTTER, Esq., M.P., Prince's Gardens, London, to ELIZABETH, third daughter of the late John LEECH, Esq., Gorse Hall, Stalybridge, and Kensington-Palace Gardens, London.

May 19, at the Unitarian chapel, Newport, Isle of Wight, by Rev. T. F. Thomas, Mr. HENRY SHEPPARD to Miss JANE MINNS, both of Newport.

May 19, at Bank-Street chapel, Bolton, by Rev. Franklin Baker, M.A., Mr. THOS. BAKER, of Oldham, to MARY, daughter of the late Mr. Thomas JOHNSON, of Bolton.

May 20, at the Old meeting, Birmingham, by Rev. Charles Clarke, J. DENHAM SMITH, Esq., of Highbury, to SOPHIA, daughter of the late Richard PHILLIPS, F.R.S., of the Government School of Mines, Jermyn Street.

May 27, at All Souls' church, Langham Place, by Rev. F. Palmer, M.A., Loughton, Essex, CHARLES, only son of J. P. ASTON, Esq., of Higher Broughton, Manchester, to FRANCES AMELIA, eldest daughter of Philip WESTCOTT, Esq., Cavendish Square, London.

May 31, at the Unitarian chapel, Birkenhead, by Rev. William Binns, Mr. WILLIAM JOHN HANDS, of York, to JANE, eldest daughter of Mr. Henry WALKER, of Tranmere Vale, Birkenhead.

June 4, at Upper Brook-Street chapel, Manchester, by Rev. James Drummond, B.A., the Rev. EDWIN SMITH, M.A. minister of the chapel, to ANNIE, daughter of Edward SHAWCROSS, Esq., Willow Bank, Higher Broughton.

June 12, at the Presbyterian chapel, Bury, JOHN BEBBY, Jun., of Liverpool, to FANNY CAROLINE, eldest daughter of Edmund Tertius GRUNDY, of Bury.

June 15, in the Church of the Messiah, Birmingham, by Rev. S. Bache, GEORGE WEBB to ESTHER SARAH LINEKER.—This being the first marriage celebrated in this church, the minister presented the wedded pair with a Bible.

Recently, at the Unitarian chapel, High Street, Portsmouth, by Rev. H. Hawkes, THOMAS BOND, chapel librarian, to EMMA GILLMORE, both of Southsea — GEORGE WILLIAM ELLICOTT CORNHILL, of H.M. Dockyard, to CAROLINE SARAH SHERREN, both of Landport—ALBERT GAIUS DENCH, of H.M.S. Vesuvius, to PRISCILLA WOODHOUSE RODGERS, of Portsea.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCXII.] AUGUST, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

THE REFUSAL OF CONFORMITY BY THE EJECTED MINISTERS, CONSIDERED IN RELATION TO THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF RELIGIOUS LIBERTY:

BEING ONE OF THE COURSE OF LECTURES RECENTLY DELIVERED IN LONDON.

BY REV. HENRY IERSON, M.A.

[We have the gratification of announcing that this will be followed by others of the lectures delivered in this course commemorative of the Bicentenary of English Nonconformity. In the next number of the *Christian Reformer*, the lecture of the Rev. J. J. Tayler, on the Character of Richard Baxter, will be given.—Ed. C. R.]

Acts xv. 10: "Now, therefore, why tempt ye God, to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples, which neither our fathers nor we were able to bear?"

There is no legitimate freedom within our National Church. It is an endowed sect, held straitly within by its narrowed lines of defence against encroachment or enlargement from without. The Church of England is immovable. It contemplates no possible progress: it desires and seeks none. There is no space within its limits for expansion, which, it is always feared, might break up and destroy it. The celebration of the present year recalls to Nonconformist thought the Act of Uniformity of 1662, by which chiefly this condition of things was established.

Meantime, unhappily, the Nonconforming churches subsist in hopeless alienation from this Established Church of the land. So far as public law is concerned, they are free; but they enjoy their freedom under an anomalous regulation of indulgence or toleration, and they are excluded from what is rightly dear to every lover of his country, the equal share in social privilege and the full enjoyment of all national religious rights. They are not on terms of equality with the Church established by law, and they are condemned to live under the social stigma of Dissent.

These differences may appear of small importance if we only recollect the past bitter persecutions of Nonconformity, and, in the haughty security of privilege, certain Churchmen may affect to slight the inequalities of which we complain; but, for us, the question stands differently when we ask, why should we have to submit to what we feel to be an injustice, an invidious distinction between ourselves and others, as though our conscientious convictions were of the nature of something evil and criminal?

Digitized by Google

Nor is it we alone who feel, or ought to feel, the wrong which the memory of the confessors of 1662 recalls. That was not among the periods in the history of our country on which the nation delights to dwell, abounding as it did in scenes of unprincipled and vicious flagrancy. Yet out of the struggles of despotism in the reign of Charles II., if only in reaction from them, we *did* gain *civil* liberty. But the battle of *religious* freedom had long after to be renewed. The too successful tendencies of that time favoured without exception the most complete subjection of the human soul to the forms of external law. In religious matters we are not equal before the law: that triumph of human and Christian rights has yet to be contended for. And it should not be by Dissenters alone. A just man shrinks from wrong, though it appears to advantage himself; and a wise Churchman may admit that it is not for the spiritual good of the English Establishment that it should involve and cast reproach unjustly and tyrannically, because undeservedly, upon the large body of Dissenters, to whom it allows no real means of escape from their present outcast position. Those who dislike the English State Church must of course resent the wrong which it inflicts upon them; but if we have no such feeling of disapproval, but desire rather to enjoy our proper privilege of national membership in it, the motive with us should be exceedingly strong that leads us to protest against the exclusive enactments which compel our continued Nonconformity. To these we ask attention, while we consider in them the violations which they involve of the principles of religious liberty.

There were in the Act of Uniformity of Charles II. two regulations which pressed with special force upon the ministers of the Presbyterian and Puritan party. One was directed in particular against their Presbyterian views, the other opposed them at every conceivable point in all their Puritan convictions. First, they must be re-ordained by some bishop if they had not already received episcopal ordination; and secondly, they must accept every word of the Book of Common Prayer without scruple or objection. But the Act was framed in a spirit of comprehensive rigour, for the avowed purpose of removing the whole party from the Church, and therefore nothing was omitted in it which could be required in order to make the submission of the clergy most abject and complete. It is desirable to understand on what grounds the Nonconformity of the Ejected Ministers was based. The party consisted of men of great varieties of opinion, and in their protests may be observed many shades of difference, but the Act was extremely wide and searching. It suffered none to escape. No compromise was left possible. They must become bound to everything, whether of greater or less importance.

The main provisions of the Act were five. Two of them

Digitized by Google

became speedily superseded, but they recall the history of the great Rebellion, and their introduction into the Act shewed plainly the spirit of vindictive politics in which the whole was framed. Ministers were required to abjure the oath which had been taken by the country generally a few years before in support of the Solemn League and Covenant; to declare that that oath had been unlawful, and that it had been imposed against the known laws and liberties of the kingdom. This portion of the Act was to continue in force for twenty years, by which time, it was thought, the strength of the party as a political body would have become exhausted.

With a like design of compelling them to repudiate their past revolutionary or reforming political acts as an important body in the State, the Presbyterians were required further, and in addition to their taking the general oath of allegiance, to subscribe the declaration that it was unlawful under any pretence to take up arms against the King. Sufficiently servile, one would have thought, and surely a somewhat harsh requirement to impose upon men who had contributed so much to the restoration of the exiled monarch. But the law is still more closely pointed against the antecedents of the once compact Presbyterian body. They had laboured in the beginning of the late struggle to establish constitutional rule by aid of the King's authority, and it had been in his name that they took arms against those whom he had commissioned to thwart them. Nearly all the earlier and wiser leaders of the Parliament had been of the moderate, liberal party that was now called Presbyterian, and the ministers were expected to declare their abhorrence of the constitutional principles upon which these men had acted. There was to be no alteration henceforth in the government in either the Church or the State. Moderate liberalism was proscribed by men who little conceived how strangely the rapid changes of the time were destined to throw ridicule upon their idle enactments against all possible change. This politic law became of course a dead letter at the new Revolution, twenty-seven years afterwards, which placed King William upon the throne.

Whatever they might have thought of these two political ordinances, and however readily they might have submitted to them in the actual humbled state of their once powerful party, the continuance of the Puritan ministers in the Church was not suffered to depend upon what might have been on their part a mere act of humiliation. There were amongst them indeed men whose *political* principles were not at the mercy of defeat, and who could not have been prepared to disown the share which they or their predecessors had taken in the endeavour to establish liberty upon the basis of constitutional rights; for they had been always monarchical: it was the Independents who set up the republic against them. But it was not chiefly upon such

Digitized by Google

grounds that they became Nonconformists. The repudiation was to go further and deeper. It was intended to overturn their most cherished religious principles. They were asked to confess that they had been hitherto usurpers and impostors in the position which they had held in the Church. They had been legally appointed to their ministry, and many of them during the time when episcopal ordination, however much they might have desired it, was no longer within their reach. They must, however, be re-ordained if the bishop's hands had not already been laid upon them, and they were ordered to declare, as if they were now for the first time about to take the charge of souls upon them, that they, who had long been in full orders as presbyters, felt called by the Holy Ghost to undertake the inferior office of the deacon, an office in which in any such sense they had no belief as consistent with the tenor of the Scriptures.

If this insulting requirement of re-ordination was a logical necessity of the High-Anglican theory of episcopal and apostolical succession, the fact might not unjustly be taken to afford an argument in its condemnation,—that this ecclesiastical system, re-appointed after an era of revolutions, could only preserve to the Church the services of these excellent men by subjecting them to a process of false swearing—for such it would truly have been—in reference to the duty which they were now expected to undertake anew and upon new grounds, as though all their previous devotion to the spiritual welfare of their parishioners had been an unauthorized and therefore a presumptuous intrusion. It may not be easy to say how far this precisian theory of episcopal ordination prevailed with some who voted in Parliament for the Act of Uniformity, but there was nothing in the character of either Clarendon or Sheldon which should make one think that they had framed the Act in any such priestly views. They were politicians, dealing, as they conceived, by what in those times would be called a "root-and-branch" method, with a troublesome reform element which might otherwise still disturb the fixed and servile order in Church and State which they desired to establish. It is easier at this day to defend their proceedings upon an assumed ground of fanatical High-church opinions, than it would be to prove that either of these men, or any large part of the majorities they led, acted really from such considerations.

Nor is it competent for their defenders to say that they desired nothing of the Puritan ministers beyond a guarantee for the future peace and homogeneousness of the Church in the new settlement of it now made. They secured this amply in another provision of the Act, which was not so gravely objected to, at least by many of the Puritan clergy. For there were amongst them a considerable number who would have submitted to the

Digitized by Google

episcopal rule without a murmur. Already they were Presbyterians rather in theory and in name than as very strongly upholding that discipline. They might have given therefore the promise of canonical obedience,—a quite sufficient bond for their peaceable future submission in the Church, had that been all that was desired. Indeed, it is easy to see that on this particular point in the new Act their opposition would have been but slight. They were, in truth, far more anxious to continue in the Church than they were to change the polity of the Church. And in all the subsequent efforts that were made for their return into the Establishment, they thought little of any difficulties upon this matter of the order of Church government. When, indeed, they were refused all compromise, and no further question remained of any possible reconciliation of the Nonconformists with the Church, those of the next generation who followed them found ample justification of their Nonconformity in the canons and in the Lay Church Courts. But these canons had not received the sanction of Parliament. They were not as a body of laws the law of the land, and the Lay Church Courts were only an evil in the distance. The only real question here was of submission to the bishops, and for this perhaps the majority of the so-named Presbyterians had been long preparing. Why could not this have sufficed? Why must they be required to subscribe their own condemnation as usurpers of the sacred office in which many of them had so long laboured with abundant tokens, as they believed, of the Divine blessing upon their work? What right had they to pronounce their own orders void, which they held themselves to have received according to the true laws of Christ's Church? Would it not have been in them a grave and reprehensible trifling with sacred things if they had assented to this nullification and censure of the past, this slight cast upon the Reformed Churches abroad, this cause of offence to those amongst whom they had ministered in holy things? It was a cruel demand to make of men who had undertaken the solemn charge of the ministerial office under so grave a sense of responsibility; with whom it had been ever a point of principle to believe that they had received that charge almost as if at the very hand of the great Head of the Church, and in the presence of a people whom they had instructed to revere their office upon the sole ground of the fit and conscientious character with which they filled it. This terrible provision of the Act completely answered its end. It was purposed to cut them off, and it did in fact create one of their greatest difficulties.

These were temporary measures: the remaining provision of the Act of Uniformity affects us all more closely to this hour. They were obliged to declare, as every clergyman still declares within two months of his taking orders in the Church, unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything *prescribed* by,—nor only

Digitized by Google

so,—to everything *contained* in, the Book of Common Prayer; statements of fact as well as inferences of doctrine, even though there were proved to subsist there things inconsistent with each other, or antagonist dogmas, or mistranslations and other manifest errors. They must also subscribe *ex animo* (every provision was made against non-natural subscription or other possible evasions of expediency) "that the Book of Common Prayer and of ordaining bishops, priests and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the Word of God." Dr. Edmund Calamy says justly, in speaking of the nice and curious comprehensiveness of this declaration and subscription,—"Words could scarce be devised by the wit of man more full and more significant, whereby they might testify their highest justification and commendation of every point and syllable, every rite and ceremony, every matter and thing contained in the whole book, and in every page and line of it. A man might almost be tempted to imagine that the framers of this imposed declaration and subscription had had this Book of Common Prayer dropping down among them immediately from Heaven, and that they looked upon it as nothing else but a continued oracle from first to last." And care was taken in 1663, a care which has never since been relaxed, that the subscription should continue in its utmost and most punctilious stringency.

Respecting the general principle of subscription as a necessary and fatal hindrance to the free rights of the conscience, something must presently be said: we are only speaking now of this extraordinary stringency. How is it that the English clergy are more utterly enslaved in this bondage of subscription than any other clergy in the world? It would indeed appear strange, had we not under our hands these confused pages of the national history to explain it. The English Church is now what it was two centuries ago, and what it then became resulted from its vindictive triumph over the Puritan reformers. Just as the successive creeds of the earlier orthodox Church were framed to consolidate the securities of orthodoxy as against all heretics and reformers, and each succeeding theological debate added something to the stereotyped forms of faith, so was this chief requirement of the Act of Uniformity the residuum of the long and varied stir of reformatory elements within and without the Church, which the Restoration under Charles precipitated and hoped to leave settled for ever.

It is not, let us here say, in any spirit of opposition to the English National Church that we remark this occasion of its most tyrannical law of subscription; for it is felt to be such by the members of that Church whenever the spirit of a new religious life awakens amongst them. We would gladly see that law repealed or modified. It is no satisfaction to us to know what evil fruit it bears, what hypocrisy, what exclusive jealousies, what narrowing

Digitized by Google

and obstruction of the resources of improvement and investigation of truth. The law was made against the Puritans; why should it be continued in detriment to the best interests of the modern Church? This was not the first Act of Uniformity, and what should now hinder a return to the older and more moderate and simple rule? Comprehension for ourselves we do not ask, however much we might desire it as a possibility, but we do cherish the interests of piety and learning, though in a Church we may never enter, and would support for the sake of truth and honesty, for the sake of that Church itself, every effort which may be made to give it greater purity and freedom.

But if to us this law of subscription appears so much a yoke which neither we nor our fathers were able to bear, what must it have seemed to the men against whose dearest convictions the law was distinctly framed? They could not declare that there was in the Prayer Book nothing contrary to the Word of God; they could not express assent to all that the book contained. They disputed its statements, some of which they found were not true; they dissented from its opinions about certain rites and ordinances; they could not believe all its doctrines, as they objected to many practices which it enjoined. We cannot here go over the whole ground of their difficulties. It would appear as though we aimed an attack against the modern English Church, and from the point of view of modern Nonconformity; whereas, in truth, we only exclaim against the bondage of the Church which keeps us out of it, its severe law of subscription. We therefore indicate only in briefest form what were the difficulties in the Book of Common Prayer which the Presbyterian ministers could neither fail to see, nor overget.

Their objections were for the most part similar to those which we are ourselves compelled to make against the English Service-book, quite independently of any questions of orthodox or heterodox doctrine. They objected to pronounce a child regenerated and purged from original sin in baptism, and they thought it an evil and a mockery to substitute sponsors in place of the child's natural guardians, to answer for it at the font as though it were truly confessing sin and promising amendment of life. They could not allow that in the service for the dead it was right to utter over all persons alike, whatever their character might have been, the formula of the Christian hope of the blessed and immortal life. They were not prepared to read lessons from the Apocryphal books as if they were the Word of God. They believed for the most part in the Athanasian Trinity, but disliked the Creed of that name. Many of them were disposed to think that the Father would mercifully receive all persons who honestly lived according to the best light which they were able to obtain, though they might not be of conformed opinion to these standards of orthodoxy. They also

Digitized by Google

found in the sign of the cross made by the priest in baptism an occasion of superstitious error amongst the people, as was the case even more with the practice of kneeling to receive the sacrament, a practice which was known to have originated in the Papal adoration of the Host.

These were among the chief of the Puritan objections to the yielding assent *ex animo* to the Book of Common Prayer as not in anything contrary to Holy Scripture. The diligent and conscientious reader might multiply such remark of inconsistencies between the two to almost any extent. If it should seem to any that the Puritans attached too great importance to such things as attitudes and vestments and outward signs, I answer that at this time it was not so; but even if it had been, it was quite natural. Puritanism had begun, not in opposition to the English Episcopal Church, but to the Church of Rome. It was a protest against the imperfect reforms of Elizabeth. In any case, it remains true that to these men all such things had long been matters of principle; they could not hold their objections as mere disputable opinions, nor were they suffered by their opponents to do so. If they looked into the canonical regulations in order to interpret by these, as they knew the bishops would do, the proper spirit in which the Prayer Book was to be understood, they found all holders of their views to be excommunicated. He who does not believe the Thirty-nine Articles to be according to Scripture, let him be put out of the Church; or who does not agree with everything in the Service-book, or who objects to any of the Church rites, or doubts the scriptural character of the forms of episcopal ordination,—all these are excommunicated, and the clergyman must not give the sacrament to those who do not kneel, nor offer it to any of another parish than his own. He must wear the surplice or be suspended, and must baptize all who come; and, by the 38th canon, if a minister repented of his subscription, or omitted any of the prescribed forms and ceremonies, he was to be first suspended, then excommunicated, and then deposed from the ministry. It was the Church, therefore, that raised certain matters of lesser moment into equal value with all else, by making them conditions of communion in her body, establishing terms of communion which the ministers knew might and would have the effect of shutting out many of their most conscientious and religious parishioners; while yet so lax was acknowledged to be, as must be ever, the discipline of such a Church as ours, that even the sacrament could not be refused to men of known evil life, which was denied to the pious and good man who held it a superstition to kneel in its reception.

Who can deny that it was an act of presumption, an arrogant pretension, to fix terms of communion with the Church which were neither to be found in the apostolic writings, nor could be

Digitized by Google

justified on grounds of Christian charity. They took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven. They neither entered themselves, and those that would have entered in, they hindered. What more sufficient argument could be adduced against a national ecclesiastical Establishment by those who desired to find one, if they must admit the necessity for its foundation on such schismatic and exclusive principles? It was therefore no idle scruple which induced the Puritan ministers to decline the tyrannic subscription which oppressed the people in their pastors, and which from that day to this has given to the Church of England the anomalous and inconsistent character which it bears.

We are not at present concerned to characterize further the Act which drove them out. In this intended effect is surely its sufficient condemnation. Sheldon feared that some of them would conform. "We will make them knaves," he said, "if they do." There was no help for them as honest men, and it was quite in harmony with the professed object of the Act, that the amended Prayer Book to which they were to declare their unfeigned consent was only issued a few days before the 24th of August. Very few, it was said, of the 7000 clergy who continued in the service of the Church could have even seen the book which their declarations of that day endorsed. It were indeed perverse to charge the 2000 with vain scrupulousness in what they did, when all the highest interests of the Church were sacrificed with the notorious design to exclude them.

When the day arrived which was to prove the sterling character of the men, they listened not to the natural suggestions of a time-serving expediency. They heeded manfully the commands of conscience. They interpreted them as a call from God to go out from a corrupted and paganized Church, and they went out, to use the touching words of scripture, "not knowing whither they went." It is with this deed of theirs that we are now concerned, clearly, as it appears to us, the right thing for them to have done, though it could not have appeared to them a matter so easily determined. For there were many considerations which might have kept them back, considerations which even yet are held by many to be sufficient to justify a conformity to the Church, which no human conscience, one would think, could intelligently and fully approve. For example, the subscription seemed to nullify itself; it was absurdly wide and inconsistent. The Act was a political Act; might not religious scruples be set aside in favour of civil order? Many of the points involved must seem to men generally too trifling to form grounds of so grave a separation as their Nonconformity would involve. And might not the spirit rise above all difficulties of mere form, and their subscription be understood to mean only a general support of the Church, without implying belief in all its Articles? Further was the grand consideration of their calling

Digitized by Google

to a work of usefulness. How could they resign all this without reflecting that they might perchance be after all in error, in putting in the high place of the conscience their own mere scruples and opinions? It was not so easy as it may seem to us, for men surrounded by endeared families dependent upon their labours, and probably in many instances unable to appreciate their difficulties, to discover the marked line of duty so clearly that there should be no misgiving.

We do not affect to ascribe to them any kind of preternatural virtue in what they did. Others have acted substantially in the same manner to this day. They were our own ancestors in Nonconforming principle. But when we reflect what evil consequences would have resulted from their conforming, we thank God that He gave them the courage to be true in a time of exceeding trial. Their enemies well knew the strength of the ground of scruple on which they chose to attack them. It was of the very essence of the Puritan religion. That had been its weakness, its cause of unacceptance with the people at large; it was to become henceforth its title of glory. The greatest virtue of the Puritans had ever been their conscientiousness, the virtue which was now to receive its brightest illustration. They knew the influence which their example would exert upon their flocks, and all the evil to the cause of God which any defection from their duty at this solemn crisis would produce. They therefore dissented in the fear—it was perhaps their most prevailing motive—lest in conforming they should be doing a wrong, especially to the souls of others. They would not act so as to cause an occasion of offence to arise in the conscience of the weaker brethren; and thus, as they refused to conform from a worthy pastoral motive, the path of their duty became clear before them. They made the sacrifice for others' sake perhaps more generally than for their own, a spirit which ennobled their deed. It was thus that scruple, if it must be so called, became converted into lofty and dignified principle above all reclamation of modern casuists, by whom the distinct line of severance between the right and the wrong in the reverential worship and practice of truth has been too often painfully ignored.

Can any think that these men were factious in what they did, or wilfully schismatic and sectarian, who acted in this solemn spirit of religious fear, believing that they must obey God rather than men? They only pleaded for concessions which they had the full right to expect. It is painful to think of the violation of the most sacred promises which the passing of the Act of Uniformity involved. The question of these concessions again and again recurred, and all the noblest and best men in the Church would have gladly made them. It is quite a modern characteristic of the Church of England that there should be no considerable party within it to desire its improvement and ex-

Digitized by Google

pansion. But the bigoted and conservative section, backed by an immense force of popular ignorance and degradation, resisted always successfully the least demand of reformation. Yet the excluded ministers hoped on to the last for comprehension. They longed and waited to return into the Church which had so gracelessly expelled them. They had no difficulties about a National Church. Their traditions were in its favour. But they asked naturally the question which we ask still,—what national character can a Church truly bear which is not the real Church of the nation, but only of one dominant sect,—a Church which by its restrictions can never become the shelter, as a National Church should surely be, of all honest Christian convictions? We are not discussing at this moment any question of State Churches, or we might be prepared to shew that it was an error in statesmanship on the part of Clarendon and the Parliament to have so limited and fettered the established religion by their close law of subscription. If religion be, as we believe, the life and soul of a nation's purity and force, it should be nurtured for the nation's sake in the manner best suited to its free growth. But Christianity is essentially a religion of individual convictions, which must be by the nature of the case left free, the most unfit religion to be established by a stringent law of subscription, a religion which is in fact dead if it be not upheld in a practical and catholic spirit. The State injures itself when it maims the free development of its religion. There may be a powerful influence of religion perceptible in every department of a state which yet supports and favours no class of opinions above another, and all the sects might recognize their law of duty towards a government which protected alike all the individuals of which they were composed in the maintenance of their conscientious opinions; or we may conceive a State Church sufficiently practical in its tests to secure the best fruit from all opinions, while yet abstaining from the exclusive patronage of dogmas which must more or less change with the advances of general enlightenment. Such was the ideal of the Presbyterians whom the Act of Uniformity excluded; the other view was the view of the Independents, with whom in the first instance the ejected clergymen had little sympathy. They were driven closely together in the succeeding persecutions, but the Presbyterians retained for the most part their principle of a comprehensive, latitudinarian Church, and it ultimately dissolved their connection with the Independent Nonconformity. They divided from them on the very ground upon which they had been compelled to leave the Establishment, the simple ground of antagonism to compulsory subscription. They had been free within the Church, they resolved to continue free without it; and while the Independents drew closer the bonds of orthodoxy, the Presbyterian body pre-

Digitized by Google

served their free trusts and their abiding faith in the living power of truth as its own sufficient defence.

Therefore it is that we justly and most chiefly honour them. We have followed the light as they would have followed it—as indeed in their degree they did—and our religious convictions differ greatly from the views which they for the most part held. Yet through the whole period that has intervened between us, we recognize in their churches the guiding principle of freedom and of trust in truth by which both they and we may most truly, we venture to think, be characterized. Their history teaches us how they made progress—ever, as we read, in the direction at which we have ourselves arrived. This is indeed a point of particular interest to us, and, as we think, to the time in which we live, to observe what stimulus to research and enlightenment their steadfast freedom gave, especially if we may also judge from their history what would have been the greater advances of truth in the mind of the nation generally, could they have continued in the Church unfettered by the bonds of subscription.

We remark with pleasure that in the writings of these men and of their immediate successors may be found the ample defence of all that we now understand by religious liberty. It is, they said, the inalienable right of every honest man to inquire, to hold, to profess, to teach, what he conscientiously finds to be true. No conclusion must be compulsorily anticipated, no premium of outward rewards or honours offered for any result, nor any obloquy, much less any stigma of criminality in the eye of the law, attached to any honest judgment a man may form. Truth is only to be gained in the free research of many minds, possessed of the full power of correcting each other by free discussion. If a man is known to be an honest thinker, it is a violation of his right of thought to impeach before the law, or even at the bar of our own prejudices, the results of his research, however little we may approve of or like them.

These plain principles of religious liberty guided our Presbyterian predecessors. Clear as they seem in the statement, they are in practice readily evaded; for bigotry is of tenacious life, and it is a necessary duty that we perform in seeking every occasion to recall the laws of the pure worship of truth. I will only ask you now to observe how in the first place our fathers gained their freedom, and then how rapidly under the law of liberty they progressed.

The earlier Presbyterians as a body were intolerant and exclusive. It was the spirit of the times, and it was an assumption which nearly every party made, that the State must regulate its religion by fixed law and penalty. They learned in their own time of suffering the wiser lesson to which they faithfully adhered. The enlightened consequences of their free position you

Digitized by Google

know, and we may pardonably congratulate ourselves in observing how inevitable this result has always proved. Free trusts have ever led the way of progression. The darknesses of past belief are scattered in the free air of day.

Let us not think, however, that the whole body of the Ejected Ministers required this enlightening and liberalizing service of adversity. From the beginning of the Puritan movement under Elizabeth, and even earlier, the efforts of the Reformers may be distinctly marked as directed first against Popish vestments and other like matters which the English Church retained. Afterwards they strove for the Presbyterian discipline; and again, after that, against the Arminian doctrines of Churchmen of the school of Laud. But at the period of their ejectment they were for the most part more or less Arminian. They cared little now for the question of surplices; and they would have gladly consented to a modified episcopacy. Excepting in doctrinal opinion, they had become not greatly different from the Nonconformists of the present day, and the reforms which they asked for were, as we have seen, of the same kind as we also desire to see adopted in the Church. But they were made to suffer all the obloquy of all that had been done by all the Puritans who had preceded them, and, in the common opinion, whoever desired to reform the Church was classed as a Presbyterian.

Happily, they retained, though in forms which ever tended to a higher purification and enlargement, their simple trust in the Word of God. This was the key of their whole advance, which had at first restrained them within the limits of what is now called proverbially a Puritanic strictness. They believed in the Scripture in the letter; they learned afterwards to hold the same high and ennobling faith in the spirit. And thus were they the defenders of religious liberty. Their doctrine of the guiding power of the Scripture as the Spirit interpreted it to each believer, became the fullest assertion of the rights of the individual conscience, in opposition to the Anglican theory of the binding authority of outward law and tradition. It is a doctrine which leads to thought, as thought moves ever onwards, free and therefore progressive. And it is to the highest honour of these martyrs of truth and freedom that they should have been constituted in the Divine Providence the heralds of spiritual liberty and enlightenment, because they had proved faithful to their religion in an hour of exceeding temptation. Let us thankfully learn of them this great and permanent lesson, that in the proportion in which we value religion shall we earnestly strive to secure it in enlightened liberty. For we shall never endure to see in slavish fetters the truth we truly honour, nor patiently suffer religion, the unspeakable gift of God's love to mankind, to be still converted basely into a yoke such as neither our fathers nor we have been able or deserved to bear.

Digitized by Google

THE STATE PAPERS.*

PROBABLY no European nation possesses a richer mine of historical and biographical knowledge than England in its voluminous collections of manuscript papers stored up, more or less carefully, in our public offices. They spring from three principal sources, viz., the offices of the Secretaries of State for the Home, Colonial and Foreign departments. The Papers which emanate from the first of these three departments, and which give their chief interest to the Calendars now in course of publication, are technically denominated the Domestic Papers.

As early as the year 1578, the State-Paper Office was established, and Dr. Wilson, a civilian, was appointed the first Keeper. That office continued its functions until the beginning of the reign of Queen Victoria. Then the Record Act was passed, and the State-Paper Office has subsequently formed a branch of the Record department. By an order of Council dated March 5, 1852, the custody of the State Papers was entrusted to the Master of the Rolls as Keeper of the Public Records.

The words "State Papers" may scare the general reader by suggesting the idea of documents as dry and formal as some red-tape underling whom he may have chanced to know. But under the Tudors and the Stuarts, the State Papers of England assume a most miscellaneous character, and are often instructive and sometimes sufficiently amusing. This is the consequence in part of the freedom of the English character, and in part of the attempts of successive governments to curb and restrain it. Long before the theory of civil liberty was perfected in the English constitution, the people practised an unmistakable licence of speech respecting public affairs and the doings of kings and statesmen. The abominable system of espionage introduced by the ecclesiastical courts and too readily countenanced by successive statesmen, filled the offices of Chancellors and Secretaries of State with the most extraordinary narratives, which, if they did not always speak truth, yet may now disclose to us much novel information respecting the habits and ideas of our forefathers. Mr. Froude, speaking of the spy system introduced by the ecclesiastical authorities in England, describes them as "encouraging servants to be spies on their masters, children on their parents,

* Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, 1547—1580, preserved in the State-Paper Department of H.M. Public Record Office. Edited by Robert Lemon, Esq., F.S.A., under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls, and with the Sanction of H.M. Secretary of State for the Home Department. Pp. 800. London—Longman and Co. 1856.

Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Charles I., 1631—1633. Edited by John Bruce, Esq., F.S.A. Pp. 703. 1862.

Calendar of State Papers of the Reign of Charles II., 1661—1662. Edited by Mary Everett Green. Pp. 749. 1861.

Ibid., 1663—1664. Pp. 800. 1862.

Digitized by Google

neighbours on their neighbours." "The country was covered with a ready-made army of spies, who, with ears ever open, were on the watch for impatient and disaffected language." In the State Papers we find for more than a century and a half the records of the espionage to which a tyrannical government loves to resort. Nor was this the only source of diversified interest in the State Papers. So frequent were the changes and reverses of parties and leading statesmen, that the trusted favourite of to-day, to-morrow is suspected, and is the next day a prisoner. The iron hand of official power pounces immediately on his papers, domestic and personal as well as documentary, and not seldom they were retained in the cabinet of the Secretary of State, and thus became national property. In the Preface to the Catalogue of Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII., Mr. Brewer, their very intelligent editor, writes:

"The entire diplomatic correspondence of the reign was originally deposited in the Chapter House, Westminster, in H. M. Treasury of the Exchequer; but among the documents there relating to the political history of the times, many letters and private memoranda were preserved, detailing the most secret history of the King's ministers. Not only the property of Wolsey, Cromwell, Lord Lisle, and other noblemen, but their papers and correspondence, were confiscated, on their disgrace, to the King's use. No distinction was observed between official and private documents; between drafts, despatches, memoranda intended for the Council table, and letters on personal matters and domestic expenditure. Even the escritoires of the ladies were not exempted from this legal confiscation. Whatever in the opinion of the law officers of the Crown might possibly furnish matter for the impeachment of their husbands, was inexorably seized to the King's use; consequently bills for ribbons, shoes and millinery, receipts for apple pies, salves and medicated waters, are sometimes found in grotesque juxtaposition with papal bulls or instructions to plenipotentiaries."

The great value of such papers, as illustrating both history and biography, is manifest. When alluding to the long series of volumes in which Mr. Lemon has calendared the State Papers of the reign of Henry VIII., Mr. Froude remarks: "It is impossible to speak in too high terms of this publication; no person is in a position to form an independent opinion of the King or of his ministers who has not studied it; and it not only furnishes the key to the history of these islands, but for the years over which it extends it contains the most complete account of the state of Europe generally which is extant in the English language."

The careful preservation and judicious arrangement of the State Papers have borne no proportion to their intrinsic value. Documents relating to the same periods, and often to the same persons and to identical transactions, have been separated. Some are found in the Rolls House, others in the State-Paper Office, others in the British Museum. Others, again, are found

Digitized by Google

in collections over which the Government has no control, such as the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries, or those of Oxford and Cambridge. Others have strayed into private hands. A living collector purchased by public auction a series of historical papers which are in fact the missing links in a correspondence between the English Council and Cardinal Pole. The main portion of that correspondence is preserved in the Rolls House. Sir Robert Cotton was enabled by some unknown machinery to introduce into his remarkable collection of MSS. many State Papers of the greatest interest. These, after undergoing many perils from damp and fire in Cotton House, Westminster, having been secured to the nation, were finally deposited in the British Museum.

This dispersion of documents causes great embarrassment to the historical inquirer. The writer already quoted says, "Under the late distribution between the three depositories, I have repeatedly discovered a group of interrogatories submitted to a State prisoner, in the Rolls House; the replies to them in the State-Paper Office; a resolution of Council in a private minute of a minister, in consequence of such reply, in the British Museum; or a letter from an emissary of the Government in the State-Paper Office; an important enclosure in the same letter in the Museum; the memoranda of measures which ensued among the Rolls House Miscellanies."

Happily this department is now under the regulation of one whose interest in historical inquiries is equalled by his freedom from official pedantry and his skill in bringing about practical reforms, Sir John Romilly, the learned and patriotic Master of the Rolls. Under his influence, the re-union of the *disjecta membra* of the State Papers is now being carried into effect, as far at least as relates to those portions of the series which belong to the nation.

The Calendars, to some of which we now invite our readers' attention, are catalogues of papers and documents, arranged and described in the order of time. The chronological arrangement is often necessarily conjectural, many of the original documents lacking a date. Their preparation and publication were warranted by a Royal Commission, under the sign-manual of Queen Victoria, bearing date January 25, 1840.

The Papers of the different reigns are for the most part entrusted to different editors, and as they finish their work it is published. When completed, they may be arranged in that strict chronological order which cannot be observed in the order of their publication.

We postpone altogether for the present the volumes relating to Henry VIII., in order that we may, together with the Calendars, notice "the Letters and Papers" relating to that reign, of which Mr. Brewer has just given us the first fruits in a bulky

Digitized by Google

volume of 1176 pages. We also postpone all reference to the reign of James I.

Turning, in the first instance, to the reign of Edward VI., the Papers of which are calendared by Mr. Lemon, we may remark that the Calendar is less interesting and useful than other volumes of the series from the extreme brevity of the notices. The index also is less distinct and characteristic than in other volumes. It would certainly aid the reader if an uniform system of indexing had been from the first established. What one editor gives under the head "Clergy," another gives under the word "Religion," &c. &c. Many of the papers described elucidate the intrigues of Seymour, Somerset and Northumberland. Of Seymour's secret marriage to the Queen Dowager (Katherine Parr), no trace appears in these State Papers till May, 1547, but that is less than four months after Henry's death. He had paid his addresses to her in her earlier widowhood as Lady Latimer. On Sept. 1, we find Somerset congratulating Seymour on the birth of "so pretty a daughter." Four days after, the Queen Dowager dies. The child was entrusted to the care of the Duchess of Suffolk, who writes in July, 1549, complaining of the burthen imposed upon her by the charge of the orphan and her need of an annual pension. As a widower, Seymour wooed the Princess Elizabeth, and his ambitious intrigues presently brought him to the block. His brother, the Protector, signed his death-warrant, and his nephew, the young King Edward VI., notes his death in his journal without any expression of natural feeling. Such was the fate of the husband of a Queen and the uncle of a King!

Soon after the death of Henry VIII., we find Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, writing to Sir William Paget, the Secretary of State, asking his interference in a singular rivalry. The Bishop proposes to celebrate a solemn dirge and mass for the late King. At the same time, "the players of Southwark are to have a solemn playe to try who shall have most resort, they in game, or I in earnest." The Church to which Gardiner belonged had always been intolerant towards players, except to that not small company of them whose sole manager has been the Bishop of Rome.

The first name given in 1547 of persons licensed to preach is Hugh Latimer. In a letter of Bishop Ridley to Somerset, Latimer is described as having been educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge. This contradicts the story current in his biographies that he was of Christ's College. The Coopers, in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, properly state that this is "very doubtful." We have the testimony of Archbishop Parker that Latimer was a Fellow of Clare Hall. Candlemas 1509-10 is the date given in the *Athen. Cantab.* of the fellowship.

The Duchess of Suffolk, writing to Cecil (June, 1552), wishes

Digitized by Google

to have sent a buck "to Mr. Latimer for the churching of his wife, but she must be churched without it." Only once again is Latimer's name mentioned in the Calendar, and then it is in 1558, in relation to his committal to prison, whence he was to come out to his glorious death.

Of the feudal system, with its abominable outrages on liberty, we have a specimen under the date June 14, 1548, in a licence granted by Edward VI. to the Bishop of Exeter to grant, together with the town of Crediton, the manor of Morchard Episcopi, "with all the natives and villains and their followers thereto belonging." If the eye of the Right Rev. Father in God, Henry of Exeter, should light on this passage, how will he moan over the faded glories of his diocese in general, and of the rural deanery of Crediton in particular!

Of Calvin's famous letter from Geneva to Somerset (Oct. 22, 1548), a meagre and scarcely faithful notice is taken. It is in this letter that Calvin notices the two extremes of theological "rebels" who had risen up against the King. "Both alike deserve," said the Reformer, "to be repressed by the sword." The hint was taken, and in the following year the fire (not the sword) burnt the hapless heretic who represented the Protestant extreme, Joan Bocher. Calvin also recommends for the repression of false doctrine that a religious code should be drawn up, to be sworn to by the clergy, and that a catechism for children should be prepared. Both suggestions were acted upon. It was by Calvin's advice that the system *of binding down pastors and curates to a certain written form* began, which is still, in this the third century since the advice was given, oppressing the consciences of our clergy. Multitudes of our countrymen still think with Calvin "that it is both right and fitting to oppose the levity of some fantastic minds, who allow themselves in too great licence, and also to shut the door against all eccentricities and new doctrines." But this celebrated letter contains some better counsel, especially on the necessity of having powerful preachers of the gospel. "The utmost care should be taken that, so far as possible, you have good trumpets, which shall sound into the very depths of the heart." Of these, the salient points in Calvin's letter, not a hint does Mr. Lemon give in his notice of it.

In 1549, August 2, we have the record of a letter of the King to Bonner, Bishop of London, imputing to his evil influence the absence of the people from prayer and the Holy Communion. The King prescribes to the Bishop the heads of his first sermon at St. Paul's, particularly against the sin of rebellion. What would our Bishops say now if the Queen were to send to the Bishop of Oxford the skeleton of a sermon on humility, or to him and the Bishop of Exeter another on the sufficiency of scripture?

Digitized by Google

In the following month, we have the précis of the commission to Cranmer and others for citing Bonner for disobedience to the King's injunctions.

July 24, 1550, we have the first notice of the refugees from religious persecution in Holland. The King grants letters-patent to a congregation in London for the pure interpretation of the Scriptures and the administration of the Holy Sacrament. Elizabeth also was gracious to these "persecuted strangers." In 1561, John Utenhovius was the pastor of the Dutch congregation in London. The church, however, became the nursery of heresy, and in 1575 (April 8) five Dutchmen were condemned for anabaptism, and their confession of faith and appeal to the Queen's mercy are calendared. These five were perhaps those who recanted and bore faggots at Paul's Cross. Fourteen women and a young boy (the latter having been whipped) were banished. Five others were shut up in a dungeon, where one of them died. On July 22, two were burnt at Smithfield. It was in behalf of these unfortunate foreigners that John Foxe wrote the letter to Queen Elizabeth, supplicating mercy and pleading for toleration. Of this letter no trace appears in the Calendars. Settlements of Dutch refugees are also alluded to at Colchester, Norwich and Halstead. At the last-named town, in Essex, these strangers were engaged in bay-making. Their departure about 1580 to Colchester caused much distress in the place, and petitions from numerous villages in Essex were numerously signed, praying for their return.

October 28, 1552, Northumberland writes to Cecil that he wishes the King would appoint Mr. Knox to the Bishopric of Rochester. "He would be a whetstone to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a confounder of the Anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent."

"Anabaptist" was what "Socinian" now is, a term of extreme reproach. In 1560, Queen Elizabeth issued a proclamation against "Anabaptists and others of dangerous and pernicious opinions coming into England from abroad."

The Calendar of the State Papers in Mary's reign is faulty from its extreme brevity, the whole being comprised in little more than sixty pages. There are some passages which throw a little light on the obscure plots of Dudley and Throgmorton and the rebellion of Wyatt. We look in vain for anything relating to the men who died during this reign at the stake for their religion.

One entry illustrates the dismal condition in Mary's reign of married ecclesiastics, especially those of high rank. Dr. Robert Holgate had for ten years enjoyed the Archbishopric of York, and in that office had accumulated immense wealth by exchanging manors connected with his see for advowsons, &c., gained by the Crown on the dissolution of monasteries. He had married, in

Digitized by Google

1550, Barbara, daughter of Roger Wentworth, Esq., previously betrothed to one Norman. Soon after the accession of Mary, he was imprisoned for this marriage. In the letter of his to Richard Southwell, now calendared, he pleads that his marriage had been brought about by the advice of the Duke of Somerset and through fear of the Duke of Northumberland. The most remarkable feature in the letter is an offer of £1000 to the Queen as the price of his liberty. The offer was accepted, though it is possible that the motive that led to his liberation was concealed, and the false one of the intercession of King Philip alleged. If the statement be correct in the *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, that he obtained his freedom in January, 1555, the conjectural date given to this document of December in that year should be altered. The biographies generally describe the charge against Holgate as one of treason. Whether this or the lighter offence of his contracting marriage occasioned his imprisonment, what must we think of the state of public morality when a prisoner openly bids a price to the Queen for his liberty?

The papers illustrative of the reign of Elizabeth indicate, as the editor has observed, a marked change of character, and throw no small degree of light on biography, genealogy, local history and the social condition of England. The Protestant bishops seem to have had no beds of roses. Pilkington of Durham, describing in 1561 the disordered state of his diocese, says that, "like St. Paul, he has to fight with beasts at Ephesus." In 1577, Archbishop Sandys describes the Yorkshire men as "a stiff-necked, wilful and obstinate people." It was in this year that returns were required of all persons not coming to church, "with the valuation of their lands and goods." The returns given indicate the combined strength of the Papist and Puritan parties.

Some curious pieces of secret history in relation to Queen Bess's bishops are related. Thus in April, 1580, we find William Overton writing from Chichester (where he was treasurer of the cathedral) to Mrs. Becon, seeking her husband's influence to obtain him a bishopric. This was not Thomas Becon, the noted Reformer and author of the "Postells" (he died in 1570), but Dr. John Becon, Precentor of Chichester. Overton offers, in case he gets the bishopric, that Becon and his wife shall live with him, and all that he had should be theirs. Before the close of the year, Overton is called upon to utter those words, so melodious to clerical ears, "Nolo episcopari," and was installed in the see of Coventry and Lichfield. But Dr. Becon was doomed to find, what Prime Ministers have often experienced, that clerical memories are none of the best on the episcopal bench, or at all events that gratitude is not always an episcopal virtue. The Bishop appointed Becon his Chancellor, but afterwards quarrelled with him and attempted to drive him from the

Digitized by Google

office. The quarrel led to many scandals and even to a riot in the cathedral and to proceedings in the Star Chamber. This incident probably brought Overton's discreditable letter into the collection of State Papers. The copy is in Becon's MS., and endorsed by him as a true copy.

In 1567, we find Whitgift defending himself to Cecil from a charge of being a favourer of Nonconformity, but admits that "it grieveth him that any man should cease from preaching on account of things indifferent." Thirteen years after, Bishop Cowper writes to Walsyngham concerning a Mr. Prise, of Washingley (near Stilton), who was a prisoner in the Fleet for Nonconformity. While the Bishop prays that two other prisoners may be released, both being willing to conform, he asks that the wife of Prise may be sent for and examined, "she being more obstinate and wilful than her husband."

The glimpses of university life which the State Papers give are not always suggestive of literature and scholarly peace and order. The students of Magdalen Hall, Cambridge, complain of Dr. Diggory Nichols, who at the instigation of Dr. Andrew Perne had been made President of the Hall, and allege three crimes and misdemeanours, viz., 1, that he was an enemy of all Welshmen; 2, that he had his kine milked at the college hall door; and, 3, that his wife was such a scold as to be heard all over the college. In 1565, there was much trouble in the university on the vexed question of ecclesiastical vestments. Mr. Fulke and others are accused of making "Robin Hoodes pennyworthes of their copes and other vestments." Dr. Beaumont at the same time writes to Cecil, complaining of his want of success in engaging from the university two preachers to go to Ireland.

The letters of Sir Christopher Hatton, of which the abstract is given, are curious documents, and shew a combination of the courtier and the lover. Some passionately warm expressions give a colour to the imputations on her cousin, the utterance of which by Mary Queen of Scots probably led to the tragedy at Fotheringay.

The volumes edited by Mr. Bruce, including the reign of Charles I., are admirable specimens of the skill required in a Calendar of State Papers.

Several of the State Papers in 1632 and 1633 refer to the curious case of Henry Sherfield, a bencher of Lincoln's Inn, the iconoclast Recorder of Salisbury, of which our readers will find a full account in Neal's History of the Puritans, II. 224—226. The date given by Neal (May 20) must be inaccurate.

"1632, Feb. 6. Notes of proceedings in the Star Chamber at the hearing of the case of Henry Sherfield, Recorder of Sarum, informed against for having destroyed a portion of a glass window in the church of St. Edmund, in Salisbury. The window contained a representation of God the Father in the shape of an old man with a pair of compasses

Digitized by Google

making the world. The vestry ordered the picture to be removed as idolatrous, but the Bishop inhibited the removal. Thereupon Sherfield borrowed the keys of the church, and broke the window with his staff. These notes contain the speeches of counsel for and against, with the evidence and a long note of Bishop Laud's speech on this occasion."—State Papers, Vol. CCXI., No. 20.

Soon after, we find, in a letter of John Nicholas, father of Edward Nicholas, Secretary to the Admiralty, a reference to the troubles which this Star-Chamber prosecution occasioned to the Recorder and his family.

"Distraction in the worthy family of the Sherfields. The writer's neighbour claims the inheritance of the Recorder's land under a conveyance made before the Recorder's cause was heard in the Star Chamber, to prevent the King from his fine and to deceive his creditors. Ramsey, that married the Recorder's daughter, and his wife are at Sarum, and all the tribe are in arms. Ramsey has served the writer's neighbour and his son with a subpœna into the Chancery, and swears that no man shall have a penny out of the estate but by the extremity of law."—State Papers, Vol. CCXIV., No. 92.

According to Neal, the sentence of Sherfield, moved by Laud, was a fine of £500 (Laud had named £1000), imprisonment in the Fleet till the money should be paid, the loss of the Recordership, and his entering into recognizances for good behaviour in future. But it would seem from other State Papers calendared by Mr. Bruce, that, in addition to his other punishments, Sherfield was sentenced to go through some kind of public ecclesiastical penance.

"1633, Feb. 16. Sec. Windebank" (a creature of Laud's) "to Bishop Davenant of Salisbury.—Doubts not he has heard of a sentence lately given in the Star Chamber against Mr. Sherfield for a foul and notorious crime in defacing an ancient window in the parish church of St. Edmund, in New Sarum, *part of which* sentence consists in an acknowledgment of the insolency before the Bishop. The King, not forgetting his princely care of the Church, has commanded Sec. Coke and the writer to intimate that it is his pleasure that the Bishop cause the acknowledgment to be done publicly and with as much submission both in word and behaviour as may be. The Bishop is to require the Dean and Chapter, and as many of the prebends and others of his clergy as are within convenient distance, with the gentlemen of the county, to be present. His Majesty in detestation of this notorious profanation, expressing so much tenderness of the Church, expects the Bishop to second the King's intentions in vindicating his own cause, adding what he shall think fit, and may in strictest construction of the sentence, be done for aggravation of this part of the punishment. . . . *Sec. Windebank has endorsed that the letter was written by His Majesty's commandment, and was seen and allowed by his Majesty.*"—State Papers, Vol. CCXXXII., No. 56.

Feb. 26, 1633, Edward Stanley writes to Sec. Windebank:

"They hear much of the Recorder of New Salisbury's business, and

Digitized by Google

of the censures of the Lords upon it. Discontented men are not sparing of these too. The writer subscribes to the Secretary's opinion that New England were a fitter place for him. It must be new or it will not please him."—State Papers, Vol. CCXXXII., No. 107.

Dr. Edward Mason writes, March 15, 1633, to Sec. Windebank:

"Until this day it did not please Mr. Sherfield to repair to the Bishop to offer his submission. Before he came, all things were settled with the Bishop according to the enclosed form of submission, but because the Bishop is now upon his journey to preach at court, and the time too short to call in such assistance and testimony as the Bishop by advice thought fit, the day is put off to the 8th of April, when he will be returned and many more will be ready to attend. Does not doubt it will be solemnly done when it is done, but rather suspects that Mr. Sherfield will not condescend to all conditions and circumstances required, wherein, lest the Bishop should out of his facility be overwrought to connivance, he hopes that at court they will take order for his better direction and confirmation. The submission was drawn by the writer in a more significant form, but many passages the Bishop rased out. . . Trusts the Bishop will be confirmed in his resolution, that the faction that now domineers in his diocese may have a warning example. Recommends petition of Dr. Lynne for the charges of the prosecution of Mr. Sherfield, which it is desired should be presented to the King, and it is thought the Bishop of London would second it. In all business of ecclesiastical defence, the Bishop of Salisbury casts backward and retires himself into caution and silence."

From the enclosures it appears that Dr. Lynne's costs for the Star-Chamber proceedings against Sherfield amounted to £132. 9*s*. 4*d*. (State Papers, Vol. CCXXIII., No. 88.)

In the passage that follows we have a reference to some of the writings of Socinus:

"1632, Oct. 22. Petition of Humphrey Robinson, stationer, to Archbishop Abbot. Petitioner having some books lately sent to him out of the Low Countries in his absence, they were sent to the Bishop of London. Amongst them were found the controversy of Socinus, not above three or four copies, one of which he intended for the Archbishop, another for the Archbishop of St. Andrews, and the third he supposed the library in Oxford would have of him, which books have never been prohibited. Prays that he may dispose of the books as above, or give security to return them into Holland, and never meddle more in them." Vol. CCXXIV., No. 43.

The Archbishop concurs in the proposal, and Robinson and another bind themselves, under a penalty of £20, to dispose of the books in the way suggested.

The ecclesiastical commissioners having taken proceedings against William Turner, of the University of Oxford, for having, together with Michael Sparke, published unlicensed books, it appears from his and the other's answer to the charge that one of the unlicensed books was "Lame Giles," and that it was the

Digitized by Google

work of Mr. Prynne. Other unlicensed books named were "Dent's Sermons," of which an edition of 3000 had been printed; Dr. Preston's Five Sermons, 2000; "Book of Promises," or "Saint's Legacies," 1500 copies.

"1632, Nov. 14. Sir Henry Herbert called to account in the Star Chamber, why he has allowed Dr. Donne's Paradoxes to be printed. This was done by the Bishop of London at the King's command."

The first notice we find of conventicles occurs in the postscript of a letter from Bishop Laud to Francis Windebank:

"Fulham House, June 13, 1632. We took another conventicle of Separatists in Newington Woods, upon Sunday last, in the brake where the stag should have been lodged for his hunting the next morning."

The Bishop took as much pleasure in hunting his Puritan fellow-countrymen as any sportsman had in pursuing the stag. Islington and Newington were from an early period favourite haunts of the persecuted Nonconformists.

Among the letters to Laud contained in these volumes is one from Dr. William Gouge, the noted Puritan minister for six-and-forty years of Blackfriars. It bears date, Oct. 19, 1631. This is the abstract of it:

"The report that has come to his ears of his traducing the Bishop or his proceedings has much perplexed the writer's guiltless soul. Esteems highly the Bishop's favour, and having heard it more than once, out of his own mouth, that he will not entertain a report against a minister without proof, nor censure him till he have spoken what he can for himself, assumes that apology which blessed Queen Elizabeth made for herself in her troubles, thus translated by an Eton scholar:

'Plurima de me mala suspicantur,
Attamen de me mala non probantur.'

Has ever observed the Bishop prudent, moderate, courteous. Good proof thereof was given to Dr. Sibbes and the writer before he was their diocesan; and after that, with Dr. Taylor and Mr. Davenport at the Bishop's house in London, when they four were cited to the High Commission Court; and again to the writer alone, when complaint was made about his manner of celebrating the Holy Communion. Concerning some ministers that refused to subscribe and conform, the writer is a witness of the Bishop's patient forbearing with them, giving them time to consult conformable ministers, and vouchsafing to confer with them himself. Never heard that any have been deprived but such as utterly refused to conform. Dr. Tayler, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Foxly and Mr. Prime, are instances of the Bishop's backwardness in taking advantage of private accusations. All England takes notice of his special grace to the writer. What he has here written he has everywhere testified."—State Papers, Vol. CCII., No. 3.

In his after-life, and especially after attaining the Primacy, Laud was little entitled to the praises which Dr. Gouge gives him in this soothing letter. Exemplary as Gouge was for piety and charity, he was repeatedly in trouble. Bishop Neile im-

Digitized by Google

prisoned him for republishing Finch's book on "The Calling of the Jews." As one of the feoffees of the Puritan trust for purchasing impropriations, he was ordered to be presented in the Star Chamber; for aiding and advocating the collections for the persecuted ministers of the Palatinate, he was convened before the High Commission as a notorious delinquent. Prynne, in his "Canterbury's Doome," also mentions a prosecution to which he was subjected for opposing Arminianism and the new ceremonies. Dr. Gouge's son, Thomas, the friend of Archbishop Tillotson, was one of the ejected clergy. Richard Roberts, another of the Two Thousand, was his son-in-law.

These volumes abound with curious illustrations of local history; e.g., the religious history of the county of Essex is strongly marked with a tendency to Nonconformity. At Braintree, Dr. Samuel Collins, vicar 1612—1657, had fallen under the displeasure of Bishop Laud for his Puritan leanings. The vicar thus writes to Dr. Duck, the Bishop's Chancellor, 1632, Jan. 18:

"My Lord of London's displeasure pierces deep into him, not so much in regard of his power, as his fatherly love towards the writer, for which he conceived his Lordship to be the best friend he had in the world. The complaint which has provoked the Bishop, the writer occasioned by his endeavours to reform the error of sundry in his town, who would not be persuaded, but that it still lay in him to procure them a toleration of their wonted nonconformity, which he laboured to draw them from. He attained thereby in some measure his end, and since the last court has gone on by degrees to the practice of conformity. It is no easy matter to reduce a numerous congregation into order that has been disorderly these thirty years, and for the last seven years has been encouraged in that way by all the refractory ministers of the country by private meetings and leaving schismatical books among them. These persons have laboured to make his person and ministry contemptible and odious, because he would not hold correspondence with them. If he had suddenly fallen upon the strict practice of conformity he had undone himself, and broken the town to pieces. Upon the first notice of alteration many were resolving to go to New England. By his moderate and slow proceeding he has made stay of some, and hopes to settle their judgments."—State Papers, Vol. CCX., No. 41.

In the same year, we have the rude lines of some Colchester Nonconformist, who gives portraits in sorry verse of the clergy of the place. The parson of St. Nicholas had railed round the communion-table in his church, and commenced proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts against his parishioners who refused to contribute to the expense. The poem opens with this stanza (we modernize the spelling).

"The complaint which I have in hand
Is of our parish tutor,
Because with Bonner he is turned
To be a persecutor."

Digitized by Google

It is alleged in dispraise of the parson that he preaches but once a month, and then has much ado

"His hour-glass to fill."

Of Ayres, another clergyman, it is said, that if the times of Popery should return,

"A dainty friar he would make."

Of another, named Honnifowld, though a scholar and a divine, it is alleged that, in addition to other unclerical appetencies, he loves a cup of wine. The fourth bore a name afterwards honoured in the annals of Essex Nonconformity, Newcomen. The lampoon ends with this stanza:

"And thus you see four clergy knaves
Together all compact,
And still they do continually
In the devil's service act."—Vol. CCXXIX., No. 123.

The volumes relating to the reign of Charles II., admirably edited by Mary Ann Everett Green, are most valuable additions to the sources of knowledge of English history. The editress appears to have fulfilled the instructions of the Master of the Rolls so exactly, that many who will never see the original State Papers of this period will yet be familiar with their contents.

We cannot at the present time offer more interesting extracts than those which relate to the progress and passing of the Act of Uniformity, and to the proceedings of the Government against those who preferred violating the unjust laws of men rather than abstain from the pure worship of God. A prominent characteristic of these Papers is the eagerness of the Government to receive tidings of plots and intended risings on the part of the persecuted Nonconformists. An army of spies immediately arose, ready to report them, or to concoct them if there was nothing to report.

"1661, Nov. 28. Secretary Nicholas to Henry Coker, of Wiltshire.—The King thanks him and the other justices for their loyal vigilance; but as there is a Bill depending in Parliament concerning Uniformity, wishes them to forbear the issue of warrants till it has passed."—Vol. XLIV., No. 132.

"1662, March 12. Henry Chapman to Mr. Muddiman.—John Palmer, a violent Presbyterian and lecture-driver, of Kington, near Shaftesbury, in Dorsetshire, has hung himself on reading of the further subversion of Presbytery by passing an Act of Uniformity."—Vol. LII., No. 54.

"March 31. The Chancellor informed the H. of Peers that the King wants a power in the Act of Uniformity to dispense with ministers using the surplice and making the sign of the cross."—De Wiquefort's Despatch, p. 524.

"April, 1662. Edward Potter to Secretary Nicholas.—There is great general discontent for want of bread. If the Act of Uniformity comes forth, they will not submit to it. There are agents among them, as Col. Biscoe and others. The Quakers are buying up the best horses

Digitized by Google

in the country, &c. Has met with one Mumford, who lately came from Richard Cromwell. Col. Whalley has a tenant in the Isle of Ely, who may have letters from him."—Vol. LIII., No. 98.

"1662, June 12. Thomas Culpepper, &c., to Sir Edward Hales.—Unlawful meetings of Quakers and Anabaptists are held within the seven hundreds of Kent, and dangerous and disaffected persons hold unlawful meetings in the night. Unless this be prevented, good subjects must suffer."—Vol. LVI., No. 48.

"Notes in short-hand (by Secretary Nicholas), of Chandler, a fishmonger, who dispersed the book called the Wise Virgins; of Ludlow's being seen in Westminster; of many of the other party being enlisted in the King's regiment, and 8000 in Scotland. They will stay till the Act of Uniformity comes into operation, whereby the Presbyterians will be exasperated."—Vol. LVI., No. 49.

"June 25, 1662. William Williamson to Sir William Compton.—The Fifth-monarchy-men are ready to strike in with any rebellion. The Commonwealth-men do not think it safe to stir till the Presbyterians rise, they being the most numerous and zealous, and having the largest purses. They wait till the people shall have tasted the scourge of the Act of Uniformity and the other late Acts."—P. 418.

"Aug. 27, 1662. Dean Guy Carleton to Williamson.—The fanatics (of Carlisle) speak broad treason, and say that their deliverance is at hand. If not disarmed, they will soon rise in rebellion there, where all are so secure and negligent that unquiet spirits are impudently bold."—Vol. LVI., No. 100.

"1662, Nov. 29. Stephen Harris petitions the King for the office of Keeper of the White Lion Prison, on the grounds that he apprehended Hugh Peters, and has since apprehended 40 or 50 of H.M.'s enemies in a day; has quite lost his trade among the factious people of Southwark, who call him a Saul or Persecutor. The King commends the appointment of Stephen Harris as 'diligent, active and loyal.'"—Vol. LXIII., No. 111.

"1652, Dec. Robert Johnston informs Secretary Bennet of various suspicious persons, viz., Mr. Raden, formerly of the Post-office, now near Exeter; Mr. Forbes, a Scot, formerly of Gloucester; also Dr. Owen and Goodwin, who now scruple at the surplice, but used to wear velvet cassocks, and to receive £500 to £700 a-year from their churches; Mr. Helmes, a witty, projecting man. Describes Baker as banished from New England for blasphemy and atheism and as a liar; only met him accidentally."—Vol. LXV., No. 110.

"1662, June 1. William Williamson to Sir William Compton.—Has been busy all the week conversing with the leading men. They say they must go to their closets and bewail their apostacy in this day of visitation. The Independents and Presbyterians, who could hardly give each other a good word, on the publishing of the Act of Uniformity held a great meeting at Great St. Bartholomew's, Thames Street, received the sacrament together, and have appointed a fast."—Vol. LVI. No. 1.

"1662, Dec. 26. Declaration by the King of his regret that the recent traitorous practices have compelled the death of some of his subjects, and assuring them, notwithstanding the malicious reports to the contrary, that the Act of Indemnity will be faithfully and honestly

Digitized by Google

performed; that the guards are only raised for a safety of H. M.'s person against conspiracy, and not from a desire of military or arbitrary rule; that the indulgence to tender consciences promised at Breda and since, is still intended, notwithstanding the Act of Uniformity; and that he will request from Parliament an Act for dispensing with nonconformity, &c. &c."—Vol. LXV. No. 54.

"1662, Dec. 28. Minute of a letter to the Lord Chancellor, sending lists of the prisoners in Newgate and the Gate-house, about 280 Anabaptists, whom the King is willing to set free if they will take the oaths, and waits his Lordship's opinion thereon.

"Note of prisoners in the Gate-house: 20 for sedition, 2 priests for saying mass, 9 persons of felonies. In Newgate: 289 Anabaptists and others taken at unlawful meetings, 5 felons, 32 convicted of high treason but reprieved, 18 for misdemeanors; total, 386."—Vol. LXV., No. 65.

"1662, July. Representation of the importance of the city and castle of Chester, and arguments that it should be garrisoned, because so many ejected ministers go about like firebrands, and because of the numbers of Presbyterian gentry and others who hold private meetings; the gentry being dissatisfied because put out of the Commission of the Peace, and all disliking the Church Liturgy."—Vol. LXII.

The next batch of extracts relate to the conventicles which the Government was so diligent in suppressing.

"1661, Aug. 24. Sir Richard Browne, Lord Mayor of London, to Secretary Nicholas.—Has obeyed his orders in searching at St. Bartholomew's for Major John Cobbett or Corbet. There had been a meeting of 300, but all were gone except 10 men and 30 women, whom he has apprehended and sent to Newgate; gives the names and addresses of the 10 men, and what they will confess of their callings. They say they met to serve God, and being told he best served God who obeyed the King, replied they were not bound to obey him when the Spirit commanded the contrary."—Vol. XL., No. 84.

"1661, Sept. 11. Information by Hodgkinson, the printer, that Knowles, Jesse and John Simpson, are the persons who preached at Great All-Hallows, Mr. Bragg's church, at a fast on Aug. 24, and that they preach there every Monday and Thursday, where they may best be apprehended. Those that preach there are bred to it at a conventicle in Archer Lane, where two pulpits are put up for prophesying. A brief was read last Sunday, where the King's name was muttered over, and those of archbishops and bishops omitted."—Vol. XLI., No. 39.

"1661, Sept. 12. Notes by Secretary Nicholas relative to the removal of prisoners from the Tower to remote places; proclamation for cashiered officers and soldiers to remove 20 miles from London; Major Wansey, a desperate villain; the flocking of fanatics to the funerals of their brethren, &c."—Vol. XLIII., No. 56.

"Oct. 13, 1661. Edward Potter to Secretary Nicholas gives nine names of persons attending meetings. They are fearful to begin anything in London, but expect something abroad in the country; thinks he could best get an account of their undertakings by going into the country. Will meantime make searches about London. Gives extracts from sermons preached at Great All-Hallows, by Kissen (Kiffin?),

Digitized by Google

Hurst, Wiss, Ford, James Palmer and John Simpson. Endorsed, Sir Edward Broughton."—Vol. XLIII., No. 57.

"1661. Information against persons taken at an unlawful meeting of 800 or 1000 persons. Blaze Allen, a physician of Rudge, co. Somerset, told Capt. Long he need not be so harsh; it might be their turn soon. Maj. Will. King, of North Bradley, co. Wilts, had built a barn, as he called it, on purpose for meetings, and letters of dangerous consequence were found on him. Thos. Hicks, of Devizes, and M. Elliott, of Clifford, co. Somerset, are two of their teachers."—Vol. XLVII., No. 119.

"1662, July 3. William Williamson to Secretary Nicholas.—The Commonwealth-men still resolve to wait till the Presbyterians take the lead. They keep quiet themselves and laugh to see the Quakers and others drawn to prison, while they blow the fire by seditious pamphlets, &c. They call Major-Gen. Browne one of the best fellows in England. A strange fire is kindled among the people. Some blame the Chimney Act, some the breaking up of meetings and the late trial of Bolton, an ancient citizen. They hope much from the division between the City and the Parliamentary Commissioners about the choice of Aldermen and Common Councilmen. A meeting is to be held to consult what to do, if there is a transportation before the Presbyterians are touched."—Vol. LVII., No. 15.

"1662, July 7. The King to the Duke of Buckingham sends a letter to inform him of factious meetings about Leeds and Wakefield, where Noste and Marsden, under the profession of godly preachers, possess the minds of the seduced auditors who flock to them from all parts with dislike to the present Government; to prevent mischief, he is to order their apprehension, to suppress all tumultuency and disorderly meetings in those parts, to secure peace, and keep exorbitant people within the bounds of obedience."—Vol. LVII.

There is, we have no doubt, an error in one of the names. Noste should be Nesse, Christopher Nesse, one of the ejected clergy of Leeds, of whom an account was given in Christian Reformer, July, 1847.

"1662, Nov. 1. John Eyre, a Justice of Peace for Wiltshire, to Secretary Bennet.—The county longs for quiet. The Separatists still disobedient to Church government, and have their meetings as frequent as ever. Has issued warrants for their suppression and for the apprehension of the most dangerous; but sending them to gaol does little good. They glory in their sufferings. There will be no safety unless they are kept down with a strong hand, for there are 5 to 1 against the present Government."—Vol. LXII., No. 9.

"Nov. 1. Richard Winstanley to Henry Muddiman.—The fanatics there increase by over-indulgence, but are quiet. Capt. Pierrepoint has been sent for to Nottingham, and his troops searched the house of Garland, formerly a captain of the rebels, where they found a peck of bullets and powder, and match proportionable."—Vol. LXII., No. 14.

Among the Baptists whose names are included in the ejected clergy, no more worthy man is to be found than Henry Jessey, of St. George's, Southwark, distinguished by his learning, his philanthropy and his gentle patience. He died the death of a

Digitized by Google

martyr, expiring in his prison, Sept. 4, 1663. Some passages relating to him in the Calendars add something to our knowledge of the later portions of his life.

"1661, Dec. 8. Examination of Mr. Jessey. Has long been in the habit of collecting notes of remarkable events. Gave one sheet of them in Nov. 1660, to Mr. Stanbridge, and another was taken on Dec. 28, 1660, when his house was searched and he taken by order of the D. of Albermarle; his last sheet contained a note of the strange death of Major Orde in the Bishopric of Durham, which was in the Annus Mirabilis: particulars of wonderful things mentioned in his notes. Knows Lt.-Col. Danvers and his son, Francis Smith, and talked to them about prodigies that had happened. Also visits Mr. Cockain, and has written out prodigies for him, and heard them from him. Heard that a book of prodigies was to be printed, and since it came forth a copy has been given, will not say by whom."—Vol. XLV., No. 28.

"Dec. 10. Jessey writes from the Lamb Inn, St. Clement Danes, to Mr. Howard. The party from whom he thought he received the book denies it. Knows not from whom he had it. Begs advice for his enlargement from an inn where the noises disturb his rest."—Vol. XLV., No. 53.

"1662, Dec. Petition of Henry Jessey, an ancient minister still in durance to the King and Council for performance of the good orders passed in Council for his release. Was seized in bed on Aug. 30, with sundry others now released, and accused before the D. of Buckingham and Sir John Bennet, for telling Mrs. Nickens of an intended rising in London; whereas, on hearing of it he informed the Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Bourne, Major-General and Mrs. Nickens, because her husband was a constable, but knew not who the risers were. Orders in Council for his release were made Oct. 3, 15 and 17 last, but not executed."—Vol. XLV., No. 183.

One of the early Unitarians of England was John Knowles, whose name is enrolled in the Two Thousand as ejected from the cathedral of Bristol. Much obscurity hangs about some portions of his life. He was for some years in America, and we now learn from these State Papers that he was for a time in Holland. We find him in these volumes associated with John Crellius (third son of the more celebrated John Crellius), with whom he had probably become acquainted in Amsterdam. It is also interesting to find that Knowles was the agent for distributing pecuniary help to the ejected ministers in England and to the persecuted Unitarians and other Protestants of Poland. We give all the passages that relate to Knowles in the Calendars.

"1661, Sept. 26. Capt. Wm. Pestell to Sec. Nicholas. The people are transported with jealousy, will not believe in the King's goodness, and spread seducing pamphlets everywhere; they are as bold in their meetings as before Venner's plot. Fifth-monarchy men preach and visit with the Presbyterians, and encourage the people to withstand the Common Prayer and the oppression and idolatry of the Court. They have bought a small ship to convey each other abroad. Mr. Knowles and others who were in Newgate, are sent into Holland, where they

Digitized by Google

are in good condition, but act their business more secretly than here; they only wait an opportunity. Several of the old sea-captains at Plymouth are determined that the Common Prayer shall not come into Mr. Hughes's church; the same feeling exists at Dartmouth and other places on that coast, where Anabaptists and Quakers abound. Crofton, a prisoner, spreads a report that his sister, petitioning the King for his trial, was told he should be tried soon enough to suffer; this embitters them and they declare he shall not die alone. Is very jealous of some officers of the Fleet, who correspond with known enemies to Government; though they appear well now, yet if a distraction were to come, they would be wolves in sheep's clothing. Two late prisoners in Venner's business said that God's people had more hopes now than ever, and the King and his bishops were riding post to their own destruction. Belchar, who was the principal preacher at Colman Street and should have joined with Venner had they not differed, is at Limehouse, where Venner's plot was hatched, and goes about to seduce the people as he did then."—Vol. LXII., No. 38.

"1662, June 5. (Huntingdon). H. Hed to John Knowles.—Will bring the son of the famous Crellius, who has come over on purpose to know the friends of the Archi-catholic (?) faith, and take him to Oxford. Begs Knowles to meet him there with Th. Morrett and G. C. Mr. Biddle, with seven others, was taken in London at a meeting and sent to Newgate."—Vol. LVI., No. 22.

The G. C. was probably Gilbert Clerke, of Stamford, the author of the "Antinicenismus" and the "Brevis Responsio." H. Hed and Th. Morrett, or Merret, are, we believe, new names in the roll of English Unitarians.

Edward Riggs, a spy of the Government, writes, 1663, Aug. 28, from Rotterdam to Sec. Bennet respecting Presbyterians, Independents and other suspected persons: "They expect something to be done in England. Knowles is come to London and is in Wapping." (P. 258.) During each of the two following months, Knowles is again named by the same writer as engaged with Lawrence, Thorne and others, in plots against the Government at home. But in 1663 we have the heads of a letter (probably intercepted) to Knowles. It bears date Dec. 19, London. H—— P——

"Wishes he (Knowles) or Thos. Merret would come and reside there, where is a fine opportunity of doing good; religious people, being driven into corners and chambers, are most ready to hear. Will visit Oxford with a Transylvanian friend of Mr. Orell. Sends him Irenicum Irenicorum and the Exile's Epistle."—Vol. LXXXVI., No. 2.

Mr. Orell is doubtless a mistake of the transcriber or printer for Crell. The "Exile's Epistle" we have never heard of. The "Irenicum Irenicorum" is by the learned physician Dr. Daniel Zwicker. Its further title (translated) is, *The Triple Rule of the Reconciler of Modern Christians; viz., the Sound Reason of Mankind, Sacred Scripture and Tradition.* Amst., 1658. 8vo. Among the replies to this work was one from the pen of Dr.

Digitized by Google

George Bull. An interesting account of Zwicker may be found in Wallace's Antitrinitarian Biography. The Irenicum was was brought up in the Horsley and Priestley correspondence, but the work was unknown to both the writers.

J—— C—— writes to John Knowles:

"Is too ill to go to Oxford with him. Is glad he is doing something for the Poland exiles. Could not hear whether the contributions made for them are paid in. Has got some contributions of 10*s.* each, but the sum will not exceed £5. *(Two pages.)*"—Vol. XC., No. 91.

John Wade, Jun., writes to John Knowles:

"Acknowledges his letter and proposes polemical questions relative to the ministry, &c. With note that the writer is probably a Socinian. *(Two pages.)*"—Vol. XCIV., No. 97.

H—— P—— writes from London to John Knowles:

"Has delayed his visit to Oxford; hopes something has been done in the business of charity for the Polish exiles; presumes he has received his epistle about it. Particulars of the state of religion in Holland; that owned by authority is Presbyterian Calvinism, but forms of prayer are often used, and sermons are learned by heart, and repeated without book. Remonstrants are discountenanced. Anabaptists baptize adults by sprinkling, are allowed to give evidence without oath as the Quakers do, &c."—Vol. XCIV., No. 117.

John Johnson writes from Alcester to John Knowles, April 14, 1664:

"Has sent several copies of Knowles' letter to Mr. Crabb, but there wants good assurance how the money gathered may be conveyed to the parties that want relief. Asks further light for the scrupulous, the money collected for the Protestants of Piedmont having miscarried.

"*Encloses,—J. B. (Dr. Brian) to John Johnson. Is ready to contribute and beg for some scattered saints in Poland, but thinks that relief should be recommended from less private hands, as Mr. Baxter, Mr. Griffith, Drs. Owen and Goodwin; wants full testimony of their afflicted condition. Coventry, April* 8."—Vol. XCVI., No. 109.

H—— H—— writes, May 23, 1664, to John Knowles:

"Will transmit the moneys received for distressed brethren and strangers. Their situation grows worse, their money being expended, and the spirit of persecution raised in some countries. Some have come to Holland, the Lutherans leaving them no quiet in Holsatia; but a more particular account of their losses and necessities will be sent in, to satisfy those who would save their money. £60 is collected. Has not yet shewn Oxford to the Transylvanian strangers."—Vol. XCVIII., No. 96.

On this letter there is a note by another hand, characteristic of the times and the hands into which the letter had fallen, suggesting that "by assistance for Polonian fugitives is probably meant help for English rebels in Holland and the Low Countries."

Digitized by Google

1664, Aug. In an account of conventicles it is said, "They have £1000 in Knowles's hands to dispose of to godly men."

We propose hereafter to return to the subject of these Calendars and State Papers. The extracts given must have forced the thought, how laborious and anxious to governors as well as the governed is a state of political repression! It sometimes forces good citizens into plots and conspiracies, and it more frequently awakens needless suspicions in the minds of persons in authority, and gives to circumstances of trivial import an aspect of danger and alarm.

EXTRACTS FROM RICHARD MATHER'S JOURNAL OF HIS VOYAGE TO AMERICA, 1635.

A FEW years ago, the Dorchester (U.S.) Antiquarian and Historical Society printed, from the original MS. in its possession, the Journal of his Transatlantic voyage by the venerable man, some particulars of whose pious and useful life were given in a recent No. of our Magazine. (C. R., p. 345.) The Journal is also included in Alexander Young's "Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay," published at Boston in 1846, but now (in England at least) an exceedingly scarce volume. Mr. Young has added some valuable notes, of which we shall make use. We propose to give the more remarkable passages of Richard Mather's Journal, both as an interesting description of what a voyage to America was in the 17th century, and as a remarkable episode in the early life of two of our own ejected clergy.

Samuel Mather was born in Lancashire, 1626, and was educated in Harvard College, the first in the now long roll of graduated alumni of that College. Returning to England, he devoted himself to ministerial duty in England, Scotland and Ireland. The Act of Uniformity ejected him from Burton Wood, in his native county. *Nathaniel Mather*, born in 1630, was ejected from Barnstable. These two, the one being nine, the other five years of age, were companions of their father, Richard Mather, of Toxteth, when, flying from religious persecution in 1635, he crossed the Atlantic.

To this family the ejected clergy of England owed a third member, Dr. Increase Mather, who was ejected from Gloucester. But he was born in America, about four years after his father's settlement in that country.

Two other sons, making four in all, Timothy and Joseph, were of the party that sailed from Bristol in 1635. Another youth in the same vessel, named Jonathan Mitchell, afterwards studied for the ministry, and became, according to the author

Digitized by Google

of the "Life and Death of Mr. Richard Mather," a "faithful and famous pastor of the church of Cambridge, in New England." Matthew Mitchell and his family came from Halifax, in Yorkshire. They were dogged in their New-England home, year after year, by calamity, sickness, famine, fire, the burning of a shallop by the Pequot Indians, and the death of several of the family inflicted by those savages. A brother of Jonathan Mitchell, falling into their hands, was roasted alive. Such were the mischances and dangers to which the Pilgrim Fathers and their immediate successors were exposed.

Another passenger in this voyage was Daniel Maude, who had been educated at Emmanuel College, and while a student there graduated B.A. 1606, M.A. 1610. In America he took charge of the free school at Boston, and in 1642 became pastor of a church at Dover (N.H.). He died there in 1655, having won the repute of being a peaceable, serious and godly man and a diligent minister.

We have only to premise further that the name of the ship in which Richard Mather and his family sailed was the *James*, of 220 tons burthen, of which Captain Taylor was the master.

We give the opening passages of the Journal entire.

"Praise the Lord oh my soule, and all that is within mee, prayse his holy name! Praise the Lord oh my soule, and forget not all his benefits; yea, let all that is within mee and all that is without mee praise his holy name. And let every thing that hath breath praise the name of the Lord for ever and ever. Who gave unto us his poore servants, such a safe and comfortable voyage to New England. The particular passages whereof were as followeth.

"Wee came from Warrington on Thursday April 16, and came to Bristoll on the Thursday following, viz. April 23, and had a very healthfull, safe and prosperous journey all the way, blessed bee the name of our God for the same, taking but easy journeyes because of the children and footemen, dispaching 119 or 120 miles in seven dayes.

"Comming to Bristoll wee found divers of the company come before us; but some came not till after us: howbeit the last was come by the first of May. Neverthelesse we went not aboard the ship untill Saturday the 23d of May: so that the time of our staying in Bristoll was a month and two dayes, during all wch time wee found friendship and curtesy at the hands of divers godly Christians in Bristoll. Yet our stay was grievous unto us, when wee considered how most of this time the windes were easterly and served directly for us; but our ship was not ready: so ill did our owners deale with us.

"Going aboard the ship in King roade the 23d of May, wee found things very unready, and all on heapes, many goodes beeing not stowed, but lying on disordered heapes, here and there in the ship. This day there came aboard the ship 2 of the searchers, and viewed a list of all our names, ministered the oath of allegiance to all at full age, viewed our certificates from the ministers in the parishes from whence wee came, approved well thereof, and gave us tickets, that is, Licenses under their handes and seales, to passe the seas, and cleared the ship, and so

Digitized by Google

departed. When wee came to King roade (which is a spacious harbor of 5 or 6 miles broad, and 4 or 5 miles distant from Bristoll) wee found neere our ship another ship of Bristoll, called the Diligence, bound for New-found-land, riding at ancre.

"The 24th beeing the Lorde's day, the wind was strong in the morning, and the ship daunced, and many of our women and some children were not well; but sea-sicke, and mazy or light in their heades, and could scarce stand or go without falling, unlesse they took hold of something to uphold them. This day Mr. Maud was excercised in the forenoone, and I in the afternoone. The wind still easterly.

"The 25th, wee that were passengers would faine have had ancre weighed, and sayle set, that wee might have beene gone. But the mariners would insiste that they could not stirre till the goods were stowed and the hatches or deck above cleared, &c. So wee were forced to sit still, and fall in hand with the goodes; wch stay was a greater griefe unto us, because the Diligence, that lay within 2 or 3 stones cast of us did this morning go out in our sight.

"The Tuesday morning the wind beeing easterly and the decke somewhat cleared, the mariners began to addresse themselves for going. But about nine of the clocke, when they had taken up one of their ancres, and were in a manner ready to set forward, the wind turned directly agt us, unto the west, so that wee were forced to cast ancre againe, and sit still. This evening the Diligence, that went out the day before, came in againe, and cast ancre about the place where shee lay before; and found us riding at ancre where shee left us; and another ship also bound for New England came unto us, which other ship was called the Angel Gabriel.

"On Wednesday the wind continuing still at the west, wee having sent some of our men a shoar to fech more bread and victuals and more water for the cattell; our Master Captayne Taylor went aboard the Angel Gabriel; Mr. Maud, Nathaniel Wales, Barnabas Fower, Thomas Armitage and my selfe accompanying him. When wee came there wee found divers passengers, and among them some loving and godly Christians that were glad to see us there. And soone after wee were come aboard there, there came three or four more boates with more passengers, and one wherein came Sir Ferdinando Gorge, who came to see the ship and the people. When hee was come hee enquired whether there were any people there that went to Massachusets Bay, whereupon Mr. Maud and Barnabas Fower were sent for to come before him; who being come he asked Mr. Maud of his country, occupation or calling of life, &c., and professed his good will to the people there in the bay, and promised that if hee ever came there, hee would be a true friend unto them."—Pp. 5—8.

It is noted that Richard Mather himself kept in the background, probably apprehending that he might, if recognized, be stopped. Before he embarked, we know from the narrative of his grandson, Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia Americana* (1.406), that he had thought it expedient to disguise himself by a change of apparel, that he might not be stopped by the pursuivants of the ecclesiastical courts.

Wind and tide were prevailingly against the *James*. For many

Digitized by Google

days they made little progress, and all that the good minister could record was, that "the wind waxed louder, and the ship daunced with wind and waves." The usual unpleasant consequences ensued, from which the women and children on board especially suffered. On the 3rd of June, the Journal is continued thus:

"This evening there came to ancre in the King-roade another ship of Bristoll of 240 tunne, called the Bess, or Elizabeth, bound for New-fond-land, as there had done another two or three dayes before, called the Mary, which was also bound for New-fond-land.

"Thursday morning, the wind serving for us, and our Master and all the saylors being come aboard, wee set sayle and began our sea-voyage with glad hearts that God had loosed us from our long stay wherein we had been holden, and with hope and trust that he would graciously guide us to the end of our journey. We were that set sayle together that morning five shippes; three bound for New-fond-land, viz. the Diligence, a ship of 150 tunne; the Mary, a small ship of 80 tunne, and the Bess: and two bound for New-England, viz. the Angel Gabriel of 240 tunne, the James of 220 tunne. And even at our setting out, we that were in the James had experience of God's gracious providence over us, in that the Angel Gabriel haling home one of her ancres, had like, being carried by the force of the tide, to have fallen foule upon the forept of our ship, wch made all the mariners as well as passengers greatly afraid; yet by the guidance of God, and his care over us, she passed by without touching so much as a cable or a cord, and so we escaped that danger. This day wee went about ten or twelve leagues afore 12 of the clocke, and then the wind turned to the west, and the tide also was agt us; so that wee were forced to come to ancre again in the channel, betweene Wales and Winnyard in Somersettshire."—Pp. 9, 10.

No place of this name exists on the coast of Somerset. Minehead, Watchet, or possibly Quantockshead, in Bridgwater bay, may be the place intended.

On the 5th, the *James* anchored within two leagues of the isle of Lundy.

"Which Lundy is an Iland about 20 leagues short of the landes end, and 28 leagues from King roade. This day many passengers were very sea-sicke; and ill at ease through much vomiting. This day at night when the tide turned, wee set sail againe, and so came on Saturday morning to ancre againe, under Lundy, where abiding because the wind was strong agt us four of us were desirous to [go] ashoare into the Iland; and speaking thereof to our master hee was very willing to satisfy us therein, and went with us himselfe, Mr. Maude, Mathew Michel, Geo. Kenrick, myselfe, and some others accompanying him. When wee came into the Iland, wee found onely one house therein, and walking in it from side to side, and end to end, one of the house beeing with us, wee found 30 or 40 head of cattell, about 16 or 20 horses, and mares, goates, swine, geese, &c. and fowle and rabbets innumerable; the Iland is 1700 acres of land, but yeeldes no corne. Here wee got some milke and fowle and cheese, which things my children were glad

Digitized by Google

of, and so came aboard againe; but the wind beeing strong agt us, especially towardes night, wee rode there all night, and the next day, and many of our passengers were this evening very sicke."—Pp. 10, 11.

What Lundy was in 1635 it is now, and is still inhabited by a single family. A century earlier it proved a temporary, but not secure, asylum to a desperado and pirate of the name of Morisco, who had attempted at Woodstock the King's life.

Mather mentions for the first time the name of another passenger, *George* Kenrick. Mr. Young in his transcript conjectures it may be *John* Kenrick, who was afterwards known as a freeman of Boston, and removed thence to Brookline and Newton, and died 1686, aged 82.

Next, with some difficulty, the *James* and its companion ships make Milford Haven. Here the Journal gives us a few names and incidents which Mr. Rees should embody in his next edition of Welsh Nonconformity.

"Friday: A knight of the country dwelling neere Hartford west being aboard the Diligence, sent for mee to come to speake with him: much wondering we had what should bee the matter, seeing I never knew him, nor hee mee. When I came to him he used me courteously, invited me to his house, wished us all good successe, lamented the losse of them that stayed behind, when so many of the best people for upholding religion were removed and taken away. The knights name is Sir James Parret.

"Saturday, wind still against us.

"The 4th Sabbath on ship-board. This day Mr. Maud, Mathew Michel, and many of our passengers and of the Angel Gabriel's went to a church on shoare called Nangle, where they heard two good and comfortable sermons, made by an ancient, grave minister living at Pembrooke, whose name is Mr. Jessop. His text was ps. 91: 11. He will [give] his angels, charge, &c.; and his comming was purposely for the comfort and encouragement of us that went to N. England. I was excercised on ship-board both endes of the day, remayning there for the helpe of the weaker and inferior sort, that could not go on shoare.

"Munday, I went on shore to Nangle, with my wife and children; John Smith and his wife, and Mary; Susan Michel and divers others. It was a faire day, and wee walked in the fields, and at a house got some milke, &c. wherewith wee were much refreshed, and came aboard againe at evening.

"Tuesday, a raynie day, the wind still agt us.

"Wednesday, the wind still agt us.

"Thursday, the wind still agt us: This day in the morning our Master and the seamen, sent away and set on shoare one of the seamen, called Jephrey Cornish, who had fallen out and been in quarrelling and fighting with some of the seamen. The maine matter alleadged agt him was his drunkennesse, and blasphemy, and brawling and cursing in his drunkennesse. In the afternoone there came to the Angel Gabriel and to our ship, Mr. Jessop, to see the Christians bound for New England. He was a grave and godly old man, one that had

Digitized by Google

lost a good living, because of his non-conformity, and wished us all well, and we were much refreshed with his godly company and conference."—Pp. 12—14.

The Mr. Jessop mentioned with such sympathy and praise is only known as the father of Constantine Jessop, a graduate of Jesus College, Oxford, disaffected to the ceremonies of the Church of England, and the successor of the celebrated John Owen in the pulpit at Coggeshall, in Essex. Other particulars of him are mentioned by Anthony Wood, *Ath. Oxon.* III. 540.

At last, after twelve days' waiting, the needed east wind sprung up, and the passengers saw with joy their good ship "caried forth with speedy course," and presently after they bade adieu to the sight of their native land. On June 24th, they had the excitement of pursuing (but only for a short time and without result), a supposed Turkish pirate, the *James* being aided and encouraged by the *Angel Gabriel*, "a strong ship, and well furnished with 14 or 16 pieces of ordnance."

After the customary sabbath-day services on June 28, the Journal continues:

"This evening wee saw porpuyses about the ship, and some would fayne have been striking, but others dissuaded because of the Sabbath, and so it was let alone.

"Munday morning, wind still northerly; a faire coole day. This morning about seven of the clocke our seamen stroke a great porpuyse, and haled it with ropes into the ship; for bignesse not much lesse than an hogge of 20 or 25 shillings a piece, and not much unlike for shape; with flesh fat and leane, like in color to the fat and leane of an hogge, and being opened upon the decke had within his entrails, as liver, lights, heart, guts, &c., for all the world like a swyne. The seeing of him haled into the ship, like a swyne from the stye to the tressle, and opened upon the decke in viewe of all our company, was wonderful to us all, and marvellous merry sport and delightful to our women and children; so good was our God unto us, in affording us the day before spiritual refreshing to our soules, and this day morning also delightful recreation to our bodyes, at the taking and opening of this huge and strange fish. In the afternoone the Angel Gabriel sent their boate to our ship, to see how wee did, and our master Captayne Taylor went aboard the Angel, and tooke Mathew Michel and mee along with him. When we came thither we found their passengers that had beene sea-sicke now wel recovered the most of them; and 2 children that had had the smal pockes, wel recovered againe. Wee were intreated to stay supp there with their master, &c. and had good cheere, mutton boyled and rosted, rosted turkey, good sacke, &c. After which loving and curteous entertainment wee took leave, and came aboard the James again at night.

"Tuesday, a faire hot summer day, but smal wind. This day wee saw with wonder and delight abundance of porpuyses, and likewise some crampushes as big as an oxe, puffing and spewing up water as they went by the ship."—Pp. 16, 17.

On the 4th of July they parted finally with the *Angel Gabriel*

Digitized by Google

Fears came over the passengers that, such was the length of the voyage, the hay for the cattle and the water would not last out.

"July 9. This day and two dayes before, we saw following the ship a little bird like a swallow called a Pitterill, wch they say doth follow ships against foule weather. And wee saw also this afternoone by the shipside a great crampush as big as an oxe."—Pp. 18, 19.

"July 24. One would have wondered to have seen the innumerable numbers of foule which we saw swimming on every side of the ship, and mighty fishes rowling and tumbling in the waters, twise as long and big as an oxe. In the afternoone we saw mighty whales spewing up water in the ayre like the smoake of a chimney, and making the sea about them white and hoary as it is said Job [xli. 32]; of such incredible bignes that I will never wonder that the body of Jonas could bee in the belly of a whale. At evening our seamen sounded and found ground at 50 fathom.

"Saturday morning they sounded againe and found no bottom, conceiving thereby that wee were the day before on New-fond-land banke, on the end of it neerer to New England. This day about 9 of the clocke, the wind turned from being northerly, and came about by the east unto the south; and the great fog vanished away, and it became a cleare sun-shine day. This day Mathew Michel and I taking notice that the hay and water waxed scarce, went to our Master intreating him to tell us how farre he conceived us to want of our journeyes end, that so we might better know how to order our water and provisions for our cattel wch yet were all alive and in good liking; and he thereupon summed up all the passages of our journey past, and conceived 250 leagues to be yet remayning unfinished. On Friday in the evening wee had an houre or two of marveylous delightful recreation, wch also was a feast unto us for many dayes after, while we fed upon the flesh of three huge porpuyses, like to as many fat hogs striked by our seamen and haled with ropes into the ship: the flesh of them was good meate with salt, pepper, and vinegar; the fat like fat facon; the leane like bull-beefe: and on Saturday evening they tooke another also."—Pp. 21, 22.

"Aug. 2. The 6th Sabbath from Milford & the 11th on ship-board. This day was a day of refreshing to us; not only because of preaching & prayers, wch wee enjoyed for the good of our soules; but also by reason of abundance of foule which wee saw swimming in the sea, as a token of neerenesse of land; besides our bodyes fed sweetly on the fresh cod taken the day before, of which our Master sent Mr. Maud & mee good store. And the wind blew with a coole and comfortable gale at south all day, which carried us away with great speed towards our journeyes end. So good was our loving God unto us alwayes, so also this day. Mr. Maud was excercised in the forenoone & I in the afternoone.

"But lest wee should grow secure, and neglect the Lord through abundance of prosperity, our wise and loving God was pleased on Munday morning about three of the clocke, when wee were upon the coast of land, to excercise us with a sore storme & tempest of wind and raine: so that many of us passengers with wind and raine were raised out of our beds, and our seamen were forced to let down all the sayles: and the ship was so tossed with fearefull mountaynes and valleyes of water, as if wee should have beene overwhelmed & swallowed up. But this

Digitized by Google

lasted not long: for at our poore prayeres the Lord was pleased to magnify his mercy in assuaging the winds & seas againe about sunrising."—Pp. 24, 25.

On Saturday morning, August 8, they "had a cleare and comfortable sight of America," and presently made land at an uninhabited island, 39 leagues N. and N. E. of Cape Anne. There were some dangers worse than any they had yet experienced for them to pass through.

"Aug. 15. But yet the Lord had not done with us, nor yet had let us see all his power and goodnesse which he would have us to take knowledge of; and therefore on Saturday morning about breake of day, the Lord sent forth a most terrible storme of raine and easterly wind, whereby wee were in as much danger as I thinke ever people were: for wee lost in that morning three great ancres & cables; of wch cables, one having cost 50£ never had beene in any water before, two were broken by the violence of the waves, and the third cut by the seamen in extremity and distresse, to save the ship and their & our lives. And when our cables and ancres were all lost, wee [had] no outward meanes of deliverance but by loosing sayle, if so bee wee might get to the sea from amongst the Ilands & rockes where wee ancred: but the Lord let us see that our sayles could not save us neither, no more than our cables & ancres; for by the force of the wind & rayne the sayles were rent in sunder & split in pieces, as if they had beene but rotten ragges, so that of the fore-sayle and sprissle-sayle there was scarce left so much as an hand-breadth, that was not rent in pieces, & blown away into the sea. So that at this time all hope that wee should be saved in regard to any outward appearance was utterly taken away, and the rather because wee seemed to drive with full force of wind & rayne directly upon a mighty rocke standing out in sight above the water, so that wee did but continually wayte, when wee should heare and feele the dolefull rushing and crushing of the ship upon the rocke. In this extremity and appearance of death, as distresse & distraction would suffer us wee cryed unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have compassion and pity upon us; for by his overruling providence & his owne immediate good hand, he guided the ship past the rocke, asswaged the violence of the sea, and the wind and raine, & gave us a little respite to fit the ship with other sayles, and sent us a fresh gale of wind at [blank] by wch wee went on that day in our course south-west & by west towards Cape Anne. It was a day much to bee remembered, because on that day the Lord graunted us as wonderfull a deliverance as I thinke ever people had, out of as apparent danger as I thinke ever people felt. I am sure our seamen confessed they never knew the like. The Lord so imprint the memory of it on our hearts, that wee may bee the better for it, & bee more carefull to please him and to walke uprightly before him as long as wee live; and I hope wee shall not forget the passages of that morning until our dying day. In the storme, one Mr. Willet of New Plimouth, and other 3 men with him, having beene turned out of all their havings at Penobscot about a fourtnight before, and coming along with us in our ship from Richmonds Iland, with his boate and goods in it made fast at the sterne of our ship, lost his boate with all that was therein, the violence of the waves breaking the boate in

Digitized by Google

pieces, and sinking the bottome of it into the bottome of the sea. And Richard Becon lending his helpe to the seamen at the haling of a cable, had the cable catched about his arme, whereby his arme was crushed in pieces, and his right hand pulled away, and himselfe brought into dolefull and grievous paine and misery. But in all this grievous storme, my feare was the lesse, when I considered the clearenesse of my calling from God this way, and in some measure (the Lords holy name be blessed for it) he gave us hearts contented and willing that hee should do with us and ours what he pleased, and what might bee most for the glory of his name, & in that we rested our selves. But when newes was brought unto us into the gunroome that the danger was past, oh how our hearts did then relent & melt within us! And how wee burst out into teares of joy amongst our selves, in love unto our gracious God, and admiration of his kindnesse in graunting to his poore servants such an extraordinary and miraculous deliverance. His holy name bee blessed forever.

"This day wee went on towards Cape Anne, as the wind would suffer, & our poore sayles further, and came within sight thereof the other morning; which Sabbath, being the 13 wee kept on ship-board, was a marveylous pleasant day, for a fresh gale of wind, & cleare sunshine weather. This day wee went directly before the wind, and had delight all along the coast as wee went, in viewing Cape Anne, the bay of Saugust, the bay of Salem, Marvil head, Pullin point, and other places; and came to ancre at low tide in the evening at Nantascot, in a most pleasant harbor, like to wch I had never seene, amongst a great many of Ilands on every side. I was excercised on ship-board both ends of the day. After the evenings excercise, when it was flowing tide againe, wee set sayle, and came that night to ancre againe before Boston, and so rested that night with glad & thankefull hearts that God had put an end to our long journey, being 1000 leagues, that is 3000 miles English, over one of the greatest seas in the world.

"Now this our journey, by the goodness of our God, was very prosperous unto us every manner of way. First of all it was very safe, & healthfull to us; for tho: wee were in the ship 100 passengers, besides 23 seamen, & 23 cowes and heyfers, 3 sucking calves & eight mares, yet not one of all these dyed by the way, neither person nor cattell, but came all alive to land, and many of the cattell in better liking than when wee first entered the ship; and most of the passengers in as good health as ever, and none better than myne owne family, and my weake wife & little Joseph as well as any other. Fevers, calentures, small pockes, & such diseases as have afflicted other passengers the Lord kept from among us, and put upon us no griefe in our bodyes, but a little sea-sicknesse in the beginning of the voyage; saving that 2 or 3 seamen had the flux, and Rich. Becon lost his right hand in the last storme, and one woman and a little child of hers, towards the end of the journey, had the scurvy. The meanes of which infirmity in her wee all conceyved to bee the want of walking and stirring of her body upon the decke; her manner beeing to sit much betweene the deckes upon her bed. And a speciall meanes of the healthfulnesse of the passengers by the blessing of God wee all conceyved to bee much walking in the open ayre, and the comfortable variety of our food; for seeing wee were not tyed to the ships diet, but did victuall our selves, wee had no want of

Digitized by Google

good and wholesome beere & bread; and as our land-stomaches grew weary of ship diet, of salt fish & salt beefe and the like, wee had liberty to change for other food which might sort better with our healthes and stomaches; and therefore sometimes wee used bacon & buttered pease, sometimes buttered bag-pudding made with curraynes and raisins, and sometimes drinke pottage of beere & oate-meale, and sometimes water pottage well buttered.

"And tho: we had two stormes by the way, the one upon Munday the 3d of August, the other on Saturday the 15th of the same, yet our gracious God (blessed and forever blessed bee his name) did save us all alive in them both, & speedily assuaged them againe. Indeed the latter of them was very terrible and grievous, insomuch that when wee came to land wee found many mighty trees rent in pieces in the midst of the bole, and others turned up by the rootes by the fierceneese thereof: and a barke going from the bay to Marvil head, with planters & seamen therein to the number of about 23, was caste away in the storme, and all the people therein perished, except one man & his wife, that were spared to report the newes. And the Angel Gabriel beeing then at ancre at Pemmaquid, was burst in pieces and cast away in this storme, & most of the cattell and other goodes, with one seaman & 3 or 4 passengers did also perish therein, besides two of the passengers that died by the way, the rest having their lives given them for a prey. But the James and wee that were therein, with our cattell and goods, were all preserved alive. The Lords name be blessed forever.

"2ly. It was very delightfull, while we tooke pleasure & instruction in beholding the workes and wonders of the Almighty in the deepe; the sea sometimes beeing rough with mighty mounteynes and deepe valleyes, sometimes againe plaine and smooth like a levell meadow, and sometimes painted with variety of yellow weedes: besides it was a pleasant thing to behold the variety of fowles & mighty fishes swimming and living in the waters.

"3ly. It was comfortable to us, by meanes of the fellowship of divers godly Christians in the ship, & by meanes of our constant serving God morning & evening every day, the dayly dutyes beeing performed one day by Mr. Maud, another by myselfe, and the Sabbath excercises divided (for the most part) equally betwixt us two."—Pp. 28—34.

The storm through which Richard Mather and his shipmates rode in safety, and which he so well describes, proved very destructive both by land and water. It is mentioned in a contemporary narrative as "so mighty a storm as the like was never known in New England since the English came." A vessel sailing between Piscataqua and the Bay was lost, and in it, amongst others, Mr. Avery, a minister, his wife, six children and servants, were drowned. When the storm was at its height, and Mr. Avery expected that each wave would be the wave of death, he lifted up his eyes to heaven, saying, "Lord, I cannot challenge a promise of the preservation of my life, but according to thy covenant I challenge heaven." No sooner had he uttered these words, but a wave immediately came and swept him away, "and so," as the biographer of Richard Mather says, "wafted him to heaven indeed."

Digitized by Google

Of this shipwreck a very affecting narrative exists, written by Anthony Thacher (an ancestor of several eminent ministers, some known in our day), who with his wife succeeded in getting on shore on a desolate island, since named "Thacher's Island," about two miles east of Cape Anne. Their four children were lost.

THE PROPOSED UNITARIAN MISSIONS.

THE British and Foreign Unitarian Association is about to enter with spirit on the work of Unitarian Missions. We extract from the Report of the Committee, which is now ready for publication, some passages explanatory of their plans. We may add, that the mission into Staffordshire is now arranged, the congregation at Newcastle-under-Lyne having concurred with the Committee in inviting Rev. John Ellis, of Diss, to enter on this work. He has accepted the invitation, and will remove to Newcastle at Michaelmas. The mission into Kent is not finally arranged, but it is probable that before our Magazine is in the hands of our readers, the congregations of Headcorn and Cranbrook and the Committee of the Association will have agreed upon a plan of action, and on a minister and missionary to whom they can entrust its execution. No one has yet been found to whom the Committee of the British and Foreign and the Scottish Unitarian Association can confide the mission in the latter country. But they have made a temporary arrangement with Rev. Alexander Gordon, late of Manchester New College, to supply the pulpit at Aberdeen during the months of August, September and October.

The several missions will need, and we think will deserve, aid. Our friends may help the Committee by subscriptions to be specially applied to the support of the missions, and by presents of books and tracts likely to be useful to religious inquirers. Our ministers can render valuable help by occasional exchanges with the missionaries in their several districts, by sympathy and counsel, and by devoting leisure days, whether in the week or on Sunday, to public services, lectures and meetings in aid of the mission.

Already we are happy to observe that friends are sending in contributions to the fund for the missions.

"It appears to the Committee that the Association will now be justified in entering on new and enlarged plans of usefulness. They have anxiously considered what course it was their duty, under these altered and pleasing circumstances, to recommend for adoption. They have come to the conclusion that the signs of the times are favourable to new and enlarged missionary action. The agitation which has recently been going on in many circles of English society, shewing the dissatisfaction of earnest and thoughtful men with many of the old systems of theology, and the refusal of some of the more powerful ecclesiastical organizations to modify and improve their establishments and creeds and mode of worship, and the openly avowed refusal of some of them to grant to those within their pale greater freedom, whether in speculation or in religious action,—these circumstances seem to combine to call upon Unitarians to be more earnest and united, and better organized to make known their views of Christian truth, and to invite those of their fellow-countrymen who need a free ecclesiastical system and a rational and benignant form of Christian theology, to listen to them, and, if convinced, to act with them.

Digitized by Google

"It has, after careful consideration and correspondence with intelligent friends in different parts of the country, appeared to the Committee that several independent missions for the diffusion of Unitarian Christianity might now be advantageously attempted. In selecting their ground of operation, the Committee have been guided not only by the need of the several districts in which they propose to make trial of missionary action, but also by the prospects of success, one important element of which is the existence of local organizations and of intelligent and well-affected individuals ready to act with and help your Association in its missionary plans.

"They believe that Scotland is now ripe for a Unitarian mission. To this conclusion the Rev. H. W. Crosskey, of Glasgow, the Rev. R. B. Drummond, of Edinburgh, and other friends in those cities, in Aberdeen and elsewhere, appear to have come; and hence the re-establishment of the Scottish Unitarian Association. Some extracts from the report recently transmitted by the officers of that Society to your Committee, will place the wants and prospects of the Scottish Unitarian churches clearly in view.

"The Committee recommend that the sum of £100 should during the next year be set apart towards aiding a mission in Scotland; that the Committee of this Association be instructed to co-operate with the Committee of the Scottish Association, and to unite with them in employing at least one missionary, in selecting the ground for his work, and in directing his operations.

"Another locality which appears to your Committee favourable for missionary effort is that of the Potteries in Staffordshire. Here there is no local Unitarian Association, although there are organizations in neighbouring counties from which some aid may be sought. But here there are Unitarians not a few—some in most of the towns of that busy district; and there is one Unitarian church, that of Newcastle-under-Lyne, which is now seeking a pastor, and is happily willing and anxious to co-operate with your Association. It is believed that a minister may be found who will prove acceptable to the Newcastle congregation, and who, with their consent, will devote a portion both of his sabbath and week days to missionary duty at Redwood, Hanley, Burslem, Longton, and other easily accessible stations where there is a known opening for Unitarian worship.

"The Committee recommend that for this scheme the sum of £100 should be set apart during the ensuing year.

"In looking round for a third missionary district, your Committee have, though with less strong and hopeful convictions than in the two former cases, selected the Weald of Kent. In this county there is an organized Society—at present, however, possessing no funds—willing to co-operate with your Committee, and there are several chapels and congregations, now imperfectly supplied with or wholly wanting ministerial service, which are within an easy distance from Tenterden and from each other. The two principal of these are Headcorn and Cranbrook; both are General Baptist foundations and have small endowments. At Headcorn there is a good parsonage house. Now it has appeared to your Committee that if the two congregations named could agree to elect a minister in whom your Committee could place confidence, he might, in addition to the supply of these two pulpits, render occasional services at Rolvenden and Northiam, where there are Unitarian General Baptist chapels, but no ministers. The missionary might also keep up occasional intercourse with the more distant Unitarian churches at Hastings, Battle and Deal.

"The Committee desire to acknowledge the friendly spirit in which they have in their inquiries and negociation been met by Rev. J. A. Briggs, of Tenterden, who at present conducts a religious service in the afternoon at Headcorn; and also the kind and friendly co-operation offered by Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan, Rev. Edward Talbot and other friends, both ministerial and lay, in Kent. Those friends are willing, if a mission can be established in the county, to make a small annual contribution of from £20 to £30.

"It is the wish of the Committee, under all the circumstances, to recommend this locality to the favourable consideration of their successors in office, and, should the different interests and parties affected be brought into harmonious action, to recommend that a sum not exceeding £75 should during the next twelve months be appropriated to the support of a mission in Kent.

"In making these recommendations, the Committee know that the proposed expenditure will exceed the present means of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, and that an appeal must be made to the zeal and liberality of their friends throughout the country to enable them to carry out the suggested plans. Without indulging in extravagant predictions, the Committee believe that there is sufficient basis of fact

Digitized by Google

and experience to justify the hope of at least a moderate success. In respect to Scotland and Staffordshire, they venture to anticipate considerable additions to existing Unitarian churches. In respect to Kent, they believe that an important result will be achieved in enabling several feeble churches to unite, and by union to pass safely through a period of weakness and difficulty.

"The Committee select various documents bearing on the state and prospects of Unitarian Christianity in Scotland, the Potteries of Staffordshire and Kent.

"1. SCOTLAND.

"During the past year, the Scottish Unitarian Association has been re-organised, under circumstances of hopeful promise. The first annual meeting was held in Glasgow upon November 11, 1861. Representatives were present from all the Scotch churches, and a hearty welcome was given to the Rev. R. B. Aspland, as the representative of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. As a means of connecting together the different churches in Scotland for the purposes of mutual encouragement and support, of bringing the Scottish into fellowship with the British and Foreign Association, and of stimulating every individual to renewed exertions, this meeting was one of the most important, as it was one of the most numerous and influential meetings, ever held in Scotland in connection with the Unitarian cause. In Scotland, our churches are so widely scattered, and the struggle to be sustained is everywhere so intense, that the establishment of this Association becomes a matter of grave moment.

"In Scotland there are now five Unitarian churches, viz., at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Paisley and Girvan. Upon these five churches rests the responsibility of sustaining the Unitarian cause against the most powerful Protestant organisations existing in the world. No Englishman who has not long resided in Scotland can understand the ecclesiastical influences with which the whole social atmosphere is pervaded. Here, Church courts are living realities and not shadows of the past; and presbyteries are among the powers that be. There is no such thing as a neutral platform; and the admission of a Unitarian minister even to a scientific and philosophical society, becomes a matter for grave debate. Under these circumstances, it is an achievement for a Unitarian church to hold its ground, and advance can only be made inch by inch and step by step. Since the formation of the Scottish Unitarian Association, more active missionary exertions have been made than during many preceding years; and what we have done and what we propose to do, will now be briefly noted in this report.

"I. Our first duty is to sustain our smaller congregations, and to work from our existing societies as centres of missionary activity. Girvan, under the faithful pastorship of Mr. Matthew Scott, who sets a noble example to Unitarian laymen, by taking charge of a church which otherwise would exist under grave difficulties, has been effectively aided by the Irish Association. Paisley has been visited at various times during the past year by one of the Secretaries of the Scottish Association, and signs of hopeful progress are evident in that small but earnest church. For many long years, under good report and ill, Mr. Callender has sustained this congregation, unsparing in toil, and anxious for no reward beyond the consciousness of duties well discharged. Among the venerable labourers for the Unitarian cause associated with the late lamented George Harris, many have likewise gone to their rest; among those still spared, Mr. Callender stands first. The lectures delivered and the religious services conducted, on the part of the Association, in Paisley during the past year, have proved that missionary work may be effectively carried on in that town. Aberdeen is unfortunately without a minister. The most emphatic want of our cause in Scotland at this hour is a minister for Aberdeen. There is a small church free of debt in that city. The congregation, although few, are eager for work. If a minister could be settled at Aberdeen for two years, there is little doubt that the church might become self-supporting. The Scottish Association has provided services for several Sundays during the past year; but the great distance of Aberdeen from other churches render a settled minister an indispensable necessity.

"II. In addition to granting aid to our smaller churches, various courses of lectures have been given in connection with the Association. Lectures bearing upon the Unitarian controversy have been delivered by various members in the districts around Glasgow, in the St. Vincent-Street church, in Airdrie and Greenock. The result of the year's experience has been to confirm the conviction that a respectful hearing may be obtained for Unitarian principles. The audiences have been composed of those to whom our gospel was *new* tidings, and much thoughtful inquiry was frequently excited. Our experience convinces us that the ground is ready for missionary work.

Digitized by Google

"III. With a view to next winter's work, a class has been formed in Glasgow, under the superintendence of one of the Secretaries of the Association, for the purpose of preparing its members for the duties of lecturing and lay preaching. As matters now stand, we can indeed say the harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few. The ministers at Glasgow and Edinburgh are the only two men who can give their whole time to this great work; and the mighty influence of a hierarchy is daily felt against us. If a few lay preachers and lecturers can be trained, duties may be discharged which are now beyond the human strength of the one or two labourers in the field.

"The two great and pressing wants in Scotland now are—first, a settled minister at Aberdeen; second, a missionary at large. If we had a missionary, we propose that he should work from existing churches as centres. By his aid, the smaller churches would be refreshed and strengthened,—the ministers at Glasgow and Edinburgh would be from time to time able to leave their pulpits (a thing now almost impossible) and engage in missionary operations, while new ground could be broken up in promising districts. A missionary, dividing his time in the neighbourhoods of our existing churches and visiting the districts around them, would link to actual centres any new stations he might establish, and his labours, instead of being scattered and diffusive, would be compact and consolidated.

"Our great aim in all missionary action is not simply to gather together bands of controversialists, but societies of Christian worshipers. To persuade men, not only that the Unitarian church opposes popular errors, but that it can adequately supply the spiritual necessities of the Christian life, and sufficiently minister to the sanctities of Christian adoration, *this* is our watchful endeavour and our unceasing prayer.

"Glasgow, May 28, 1862." "HENRY W. CROSSKEY."

"2. STAFFORDSHIRE.

"Bradford, Yorkshire, May 12, 1862.

"Dear Sir,—Your letter of the 8th instant I received duly, and shall be most happy, as far as I can, to give you the result of my observation and experience in the district of the Potteries. The Potteries consists of about ten townships, which, taking Hanley as the centre, lie within a radius of three and a half miles. Seven years ago, when in connection with the General Baptists, I settled in Longton, but was deprived of my preaching place (the Town Hall) on the ground of heresy: at that time (five years ago) I had a congregation of about 700 people, which remained with me until scattered by having no room in which to worship. I went about three years ago to Newcastle, to the old Presbyterian place there. There was no congregation except about five or six people, sometimes even less. At the time I left, the night congregation was about 100, the morning 50 or 60. I mention these things to shew that there is ground for the opinion I now express, that a man of the right kind, well sustained, might do a great work in the Potteries.

"For a time, I am convinced that any effort made there must be sustained largely from the outside; for, with one exception, or two at most, there are no persons in the district who could do much financially. . . . The chapel at Newcastle is old, small and very inconvenient both in itself and in the location it occupies; nor is the town, as I think, the best for the centre of operations. Hanley would be better every way. There used to be a small chapel there, but it was sold, and I believe that about £100 which remained at the winding up of its affairs now lies in the hands of Mr. Godfrey Wedgwood, which would be available for any effort there. There still exists a small congregation at Longton, the residue of my work there, and in that town I know that there is a large amount of liberal, independent material which would speedily rally round any movement that promised success. The obstacles in the way of such a movement I imagine will be found to be,

"1st. The difficulty of securing places of meeting in the different towns: there is a scarcity of these; and what there are, are for the most part in the hands of persons who would oppose you.

"2nd. The Potteries is the stronghold of Methodism (New Connection), and has been for many years. The people have been in the habit of having money *screwed* out of them, and do not understand voluntary giving; they have also *been governed*, and in corporate matters are almost incapable of self-government. If I could have been sustained by such a Society as yours, I think I could have succeeded, and should not have sought another sphere of labour.

"If in any other way I can help you in forming an estimate of this district, I shall be most happy. I wish I could have been with you at your meeting, to have answered any questions that may arise.

"Most faithfully yours, "T. W. FREckelton."

Digitized by Google

"Diss, Norfolk, May 10, 1862.

"Dear Mr. Aspland,—Your very welcome letter is to hand, and the box and its contents all right. Many thanks, in which Mr. Fields joins. The tracts will be useful.

"Permit me through you to thank the British and Foreign Unitarian Association for its generous grant of books; they shall be well employed.

"As to the mission question, I have requested Mr. Statham, of Hanley, to supply you with such information as I cannot give. I may say, however, that within five miles of Newcastle there is a population of 200,000, an unusually large portion of whom are hard-headed working men, who are repelled by orthodoxy and attend no place of worship. The Methodist New Connection appears to exercise the greatest religious influence in the Potteries.

"In Newcastle, Chesterton, Stoke and Burslem, *Church* power predominates; in Hanley, Longton, Redstreet, Silverdale, Etruria and Tunstal, Dissent prevails and rules.

"On inquiry I was informed that at the following places, rooms might be obtained and mission stations formed:

At Newcastle,	population	12,000,	we have a chapel.
At Longton,	,,	24,000,	,,
At Redstreet,	,,	3,000,	,,
At Etruria,	,,	1,200,	an infant-school.
At Hanley,	,,	35,000,	rooms might be obtained.
At Silverdale,	,,	3,000,	,,
At Stoke,	,,	11,000,	,,
At Tunstal,	,,	16,000,	,,
At Chesterton,	,,	8,000,	,,
At Burslem,	,,	27,000,	,,

"I was also told that in each of these places are Unitarians, and that six lay preachers are willing to co-operate with an earnest missionary who is able and willing to take the lead in a practical Christian mission. When I visited Newcastle, I determined to test the general feeling of our congregation there on the subject of what some people call old-fashioned Unitarian Christianity, the kind of Christianity that is expounded in Scott Porter's Twelve Lectures; and I feel assured that had the Newcastle people been mere negative theologians or cold philosophical speculators, they would never have given me such a warm invitation to become their minister.

"I lectured at Longton on 'Christian Liberty.' I issued no placard; the only notice given was on the Sunday evening previous, when a lay preacher conducted the service, and we had about 40 in attendance.

"The chapel had only been opened six weeks for Unitarian worship; it was a deserted Swedenborgian chapel; and in that short time 60 children had been gathered and 14 teachers obtained as the commencement of a Sunday-school.

"I have no doubt as to the success of a mission there if a practical plan be adopted, and a faithful, earnest missionary appointed. . . .

"JOHN ELLIS."

"3. KENT.

"Tenterden, May 12, 1862.

"My dear Sir,—I will first give you the information you ask for, and then give you my opinion as to missionary efforts in this district.

"You ask for a detailed statement of the condition of the congregations at Cranbrook, Rolvenden, Northiam, Battle and Hastings.

"Cranbrook is a General Baptist congregation, and is supplied once a month by Mr. Black, of London; but Mr. Badcock, of Cranbrook, a trustee of the chapel, whom I saw last Friday, says that it is very irregularly supplied; a service once in the day is, I believe, given by a layman, Mr. Alfred Dobell. The religious society here is at a very low ebb. If our Baptist brethren would cordially work with the Association, some good might be done here. There is a very small endowment, some £15 a-year. If they would co-operate, this would be a help. There is a very excellent chapel at Cranbrook. Cranbrook is the head-quarters of high Calvinism, and in consequence of the death of Mr. Hodges, our late Liberal Member, it is likely that High-churchism and Toryism will become very powerful in this district, Mr. Hardy, a High-churchman and Conservative, having purchased Mr. Hodges's estates. This therefore is likely to be a very dark place, and it is a pity therefore that our candle here should go out if it can be kept alight. But the very circumstances which make help so needful render success more doubtful. But if the Baptists *will* work with us, I should say, try.

"The chapels at Rolvenden and Northiam are both closed. Both these are General

Digitized by Google

Baptist chapels, and were supplied for many years very efficiently by lay preachers. The late Mr. Payne (great-uncle of Mr. Iden Payne, of Northampton), who preached at Rolvenden, was the very model of a village preacher. Mr. Blundell and Mr. Edwards, of Northiam, were also very useful preachers at the chapel there. Mr. Payne and Mr. Blundell were shoemakers, and Mr. Edwards a farmer. This race of men has died out in this neighbourhood; and the question now is whether, on the scene where they so long laboured, Unitarian Christianity shall die out with them. As for salaries, these men never had any; and it would be deceiving the Association to hold out the expectation that the labourers and very small tradesmen of whom these congregations almost entirely consisted, will ever raise nearly enough to support a minister. A few years have now elapsed since service was regularly conducted at either Northiam or Rolvenden, so that the best way to look at the matter will be *to regard the district as new ground, but with chapels free from debt already provided.* No doubt to re-open the chapels will bring back some of their old frequenters.

"The Kent and Sussex Unitarian Association have no funds, and for the last few years our operations have been confined to an annual re-union. This of course is not a satisfactory state of things. The fact is, that there are but two strictly Unitarian congregations in Kent, viz., Maidstone and Tenterden, historically Presbyterian; all the other Kentish societies are General Baptists, viz., Canterbury, Dover, Chatham, Deptford, Bessel's Green, Headcorn, Rolvenden and Cranbrook. The Baptists have their own annual Association. It is a misnomer now to add Sussex to our title. Some of our laymen have been much dissatisfied with this state of things; and our Secretary, Mr. Maclellan, is about to call a meeting of the laity and clergy of this diocese at Headcorn, to consider what should be done and to hit upon some plan of usefulness. It seems to me that the suggestion of missionary effort in your letter has come most opportunely. This year is the jubilee of our Association, a very fit time therefore for revival and renewed effort; and I cannot but think that if the Unitarian Association in London were to make some such suggestion as that which you propose, viz., to find a missionary for this county on condition of the Unitarians in Kent finding one-third of the sum required, that it would be productive of much good; and as at Cranbrook, Rolvenden and Northiam, chapels are already provided, that these places be the chief stations of the missionary's labours. If a proposition of this sort were made to our Secretary, Mr. Maclellan, it could be taken into consideration at the approaching meeting at Headcorn.

"I should think Cranbrook would be the best place as the centre of the mission; house-rent is low in this district. There is a great deficiency of public conveyances; the missionary would very often have to walk or hire.

EDWARD TALBOT."

"*Report of the Deputation to Headcorn to the Committee of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association.*

"In fulfilment of the resolution of the Committee, we accepted the invitation of Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan to meet the Committee of the Kent and Sussex Unitarian Society at Headcorn, and proceeded to that place on Tuesday, May 27. We there had the pleasure of meeting Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan and Mr. Ellis, of Maidstone; Rev. Edward Talbot, Rev. J. A. Briggs, Mr. Mace, and other friends from Tenterden; Rev. T. B. W. Briggs, of Dover; and one of the members of the Headcorn congregation.

"We learnt from the friends present that the proposal of a mission into Kent had had the effect of stopping a possible dissolution of the Kent and Sussex Association; that the Committee were desirous of some more practical object than they had hitherto had, and would gladly co-operate with the British and Foreign Unitarian Association in promoting a Unitarian mission. They generally described the condition of the Unitarian churches in Kent (with the exception of Tenterden) as languid and weak. At Cranbrook and Headcorn there are small endowments of General Baptist foundation. They thought that if the two congregations could agree in choosing a minister who could give his morning service at Cranbrook and his afternoon service at Headcorn (seven miles distant), the result would be satisfactory. Week-day and other occasional services might be given at Northiam and Rolvenden, and visits might occasionally be paid at Deal and other places where there is no resident minister.

"Mr. Briggs, who at present preaches once each Sunday at Headcorn, states that the congregation has greatly increased since he began his afternoon service, and believes that it might still further increase under a zealous resident minister. He, Mr. Talbot and Mr. Maclellan proffered their willingness to direct a mission if established in this way, and by occasional exchanges and other means to give aid to missionary action.

Digitized by Google

"The congregation at Cranbrook is small, and it is feared less unanimous than might be desired. Rev. W. H. Black, of London, is nominally minister at Cranbrook, but does not often supply the pulpit. It is supposed that he would be not unwilling to concur in any arrangement made for regular service at Cranbrook.

"In respect to financial aid, it was thought that the Kentish churches could do but little. But possibly a contribution of from £25 to £30 could be obtained. Tenterden would have to do the most.

"It was stated that at Tunbridge there is a small fund available for the support of Unitarian worship, the result of the sale of an ancient chapel. There are a few Unitarians there, with whom it would be the duty of a missionary to put himself into friendly communication.

"The friends assembled at Headcorn did not countenance the expectation of large or immediate success as likely to follow missionary plans in Kent. They did not expect that societies likely to sustain themselves could be raised at Northiam or Rolvenden; but they thought that a mission might be the means of keeping alive Unitarian faith and worship in several places where otherwise it must die out. Before parting, the assembled ministers and friends agreed to the following resolution, a copy of which was placed by the Chairman, Rev. Edward Talbot, in the hands of the deputation:

"'At a meeting of the Unitarians and General Baptists of the county of Kent, held at Headcorn, May 27, it was resolved, That it is desirable that Unitarian missionary efforts should be resumed in this county, and that this meeting recommends that funds should be raised for that purpose, and will be most happy to act in conjunction with the Unitarian Association.'

"One of the deputation has since conversed with the Rev. J. C. Means, and has received from him assurances of the goodwill of the General Baptist body, and their willingness to aid this Association in any plans likely to be useful. Mr. Means at the same time expressed himself as not sanguine of successful results from missionary agency in Kent.

"The deputation have to express their sense of the great courtesy and kindness of the ministers and friends in Kent, and would also record their sense of the great candour and fairness of all the statements made.

"R. Brook Aspland.
"Alfred Lawrence."

QUESTIONS FOR MR. SHARPE'S PRIZES AT THE RECENT EXAMINATION AT CARMARTHEN COLLEGE, JUNE, 1862.

1. What is the difference between Ναζωραιος and Ναζαρηνος? And what passages in the writings of the Prophets are alluded to in Matt. ii. 23, "He will be called a Ναζωραιος"?

2. Explain the double play upon words in Numbers xxiv. 21, in the original Hebrew, "Thou puttest thy nest in a rock."

3. In Genesis x. 7—11, Havitah and Sheba and Ashur are said to be children of Ham; but in Genesis x. 22—29, the same tribes are said to be children of Shem. Explain which ethnological opinion is likely to have been most modern among the Hebrew writers, and which opinion agrees best with our present writers on ethnology, adding the reasons upon which such opinions may be founded.

4. In Psalm lxxii., gold is mentioned as being brought from Sheba; in Ps. xlv., it is said to be brought from Ophir. If we judge by these expressions, which Psalm is the most modern? and what historical event must we place between the two writings?

Digitized by Google

5. Suetonius tells us that at the time of Nero's death, the Jews popularly believed that he was not really dead, but that he would shortly return again to take upon himself the empire. Where does that opinion shew itself in the book of Revelation?

6. Jeremiah tells us in chap. vii. 22, that when Moses led the Israelites out of Egypt, the Lord gave them no command whatever about burnt-offerings. How is this to be reconciled with the full commands on the subject of burnt-offerings in the books of Leviticus and Numbers?

7. Which other books of the Old Testament speak slightingly of burnt-offerings, and which speak of them as important?

8. From a comparison of Jeremiah chap. i. and Ezra chap. vii. with the genealogies in 1 Chron. chap. vi., state the relationship of Ezra to Jeremiah, and both of them to Hilkiah, who found the Book of the Law in the temple in the reign of King Josiah.

9. From a comparison of the writings of Jeremiah with our five books of the Mosaic Law, which is probably the book that Hilkiah then wrote?

10. Does the phrase in the Hebrew of "chariots of Egypt and captains over every one of them," in Exodus xiv. 7, tell us the number of soldiers that rode in each chariot? and if so, how many were they?

11. What are we to understand by the injunction given to Paul by his fellow-apostles in Galatians ii. 10, that he should remember the poor? What poor? and on what occasions?

12. What part of Balaam's conduct is it that is particularly blamed in Revelation ii. 14 and Jude 11?

13. The last twelve verses in Mark have been thought to be a modern addition; if so, from which of the older Gospels are the facts copied?

14. Many persons mentioned in the New Testament have both a Hebrew and a Greek name, of which one is the translation of the other: of what New-Testament name may Cleopas, mentioned in Luke xxiv. 16, be a translation?

15. Are there any grounds for thinking that persons and places are in the Bible called occasionally by wrong names? and may we suppose that Jeroboam, who Amos says will die by the sword, meant any other king? and which?

16. What passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews may be supposed to shew any traces of Alexandrian opinions?

17. What grounds are there for thinking that Barnabas, like Apollos of Alexandria, was educated in Alexandrian opinions?

18. Who is John, mentioned in Acts xii. 5 as the companion of Paul?

19. Which are the words quoted from the Old Testament as "this scripture" in Acts i. 16?

Digitized by Google

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Reminiscences, Personal and Bibliographical, of Thomas Hartwell Horne, B.D., F.S.A., D.D. of the University of Pennsylvania; Rector of the United Parishes of St. Edmund the King and Martyr, and St. Nicholas Acons, in the City of London; Prebendary of St. Paul's; and Author of "An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." With Notes by his Daughter, Sarah Anne Cheyne, and a short Introduction by the Rev. Joseph B. M'Caul. Pp. 208. London—Longmans.

In forwarding to us a copy of this work, our friendly correspondent, Rev. Benjamin Mardon, addressed these remarks:

"I observed the announcement of this publication with much pleasure. It was about twenty-six years ago that I was introduced to this well-known writer in the British Museum by the late excellent Richard Taylor, the printer. Mr. T., knowing him so well, did not, I believe, mention his name to me, so that I had to find it out for myself. Mr. Horne may have heard my name, and, presuming that I knew who he was, spoke of his having reviewed the second volume of Scholtz, upon which I was then myself engaged. See C. R., Vol. III. p. 123.

"Some of my readers may not be prepared to find that Mr. Horne was in early life much connected with the Wesleyan Methodists, and that his first distinct religious impressions were in that communion. His name must have been well known in that connection, and we would fain believe that young men for the ministry among the Wesleyans may have known something of learned divinity from the pages of Hartwell Horne. Nay, why should not the colleges of the Wesleyans have been partly owing to his instruction?

"We have, however, to speak of the episcopal patronage which Mr. Horne received, and which should not be grudged, though the truth should be told, that the learning of Mr. Horne was filched from the Presbyterian ministers,—from Lardner, Leland, Wakefield, Benson and Taylor downwards. We had been long aware of the great obligations under which Mr. Horne laid himself to this class of ministers, altogether deserving at his hands of the fullest acknowledgment. We hope we should have expressed the same sentiment if the injury had not been sustained by our own body; and we have pleasure in quoting a writer in the Christian Reformer for 1856, who has properly shewn to the public, *during Mr. Horne's life*, the extent of these obligations. 'The value of the contents of Horne's Introduction, or its utility as a Christian apology, it is not now intended to deny. On the contrary, it may be pronounced to be an excellent *vade mecum* on the wide range of subjects which it treats, containing as it does a collection of passages, not more remarkable for their extent and variety than for their valuable quality, derived from some of the most able and accomplished of Christian apologists, Unitarian and Trinitarian.'—C. R., 1856, p. 77.

"It should be said that Horne's references to Lardner in particular are very abundant, and the extracts from his works copious. Nor need any man hesitate to acknowledge his obligations to this great writer, to whom Dr. Paley in his Evidences shews himself to have been so greatly indebted. But then the renown of this distinguished apologist for

Digitized by Google

Christianity (the most extensively useful, perhaps, since the age of the apostles) ought to secure for that class of Christians to which he belonged a far greater measure of confidence, sympathy and gratitude.

"The Bishop of London (Bloomfield) bestowed on Mr. Horne two livings in Cheapside. Other Bishops gave him commendation, Dr. Copplestone of Llandaff, Dr. Jebb of Limerick, and perhaps others. We begrudge no commendation; but truth, which Unitarian ministers may be supposed to aim at, without worldly reward, compels me to say that Horne, though a voluminous publisher, and one who has done good to many others as well as to himself, was no original theologian, and beyond measure inferior to Dr. Edmund Law, Bishops Marsh, Maltby and Dr. Parr, all of whom remained in the Church of England. The day cometh which will try every man's work. Let every man act with sincerity and love of Christian truth. B. M."

An examination of the Reminiscences has been attended with sufficient interest to induce us to give a slight sketch of the career of Thomas Hartwell Horne, whose name will henceforth be added to the not short list of our countrymen who have successfully pursued the search of knowledge amidst difficulties and discouragements.

Hartwell Horne was born of humble parentage, being the son of the clerk of a barrister, Robert Graham, afterwards a Baron of the Court of Exchequer.

By the presentation of Arthur Murphy, a friend of Baron Graham, young Horne was put on the foundation of Christ's Hospital. His studies at that excellent institution were going on between 1789 and 1795. Coleridge was during two of those years head Grecian. An intimacy sprung up between the youths, Coleridge giving Horne instruction in the summer vacation of 1790, and receiving hospitality in return from the family. By the help thus given, Horne was advanced earlier than he ventured to hope into the upper school, ably conducted by Rev. James Boyer, whose name and peculiarities are sufficiently familiar to the careful readers of the Biographia Literaria. The school was at that time far from perfect. The juniors were ruled by the senior boys with a rod of iron. Neither writing nor arithmetic was taught in the grammar-school. All the instruction young Horne had in these necessary elements of learning after he entered Christ's Hospital, was from the voluntary lessons of a writing schoolboy during a vacation. The head master was deficient in that cardinal virtue of a schoolmaster, good temper. Besides Coleridge, Horne numbered among his schoolfellows Barnes (of the *Times*), Greenwood, afterwards Head Master of the Hospital, and Rev. J. R. Pitman, Preacher of the Magdalen and Foundling Hospital.

In the summer of 1793 he lost his father, and was left the eldest of six orphan children. He became clerk to a barrister, and continued in that humble station for eight years. Mr. Toller, son of the eminent Independent minister of Kettering, who afterwards went out to India, was his first employer. He occupied his leisure, which was considerable, in private, undirected, unhelped study. French he studied after a very singular fashion, by translating Rolle's Norman French Abridgment of the Law of England. A strange vocabulary must have been the result,—much as if a Frenchman were to get hold of a law-book in English and French of the age of Henry VIII. or earlier. He now and

Digitized by Google

then asked and received help as to a French idiom from the bookseller from whom he had bought his little stock of French books. His knowledge of Latin he endeavoured to keep up by writing out a Latin Grammar.

His salary was somewhere about eight shillings a-week, and that at a time when the coarsest loaf cost eighteen-pence. Necessity first made him an author. His Christian faith had been shaken by reading an infidel novel of French extraction. To re-establish his mind, he turned his attention to the important subject of Christian evidences. At his master's house he had access to some good books; amongst them he found Leland on the State of Religion in the Heathen World. He read it, became settled in his faith, and from the knowledge thus gained prepared a little work entitled, "A Brief View of the Necessity of the Christian Religion," which he fortunately was enabled to sell to a bookseller for two guineas. In his twentieth year he had the gratification of seeing his work in print, which had indeed been prepared two years earlier.

When his employment with Mr. Toller ceased, he obtained a situation as amanuensis to Dr. Willich, who was then compiling his "Domestic Encyclopædia." He lived in the Dr.'s house, and by rising early was able to amuse and instruct himself with the books in the library. He digested at this time many volumes of the Monthly Review.

But still his religious views were far from being settled. He sometimes wandered into the Roman Catholic chapel, and was not insensible to the attractions of music. A Roman Catholic, designing to complete the conversion which he hoped had begun, lent him "Challoner's Grounds and Reasons of the Old Religion." Horne was able to undo the web of its reasonings, and sent to his friend a MS. answer. Presently afterwards he was attracted by curiosity to a Wesleyan chapel, and he was greatly impressed by the preaching of Rev. Joseph Benson. The sermon which effected his conversion was delivered on the first Sunday evening of 1801, "How long halt ye between two opinions?"

In the following year, Mr. Horne wrote an essay on the Causes of Infidelity, but was not now fortunate in finding a purchaser of his work. On leaving Dr. Willich's service, he obtained a situation with a Roman Catholic barrister of the name of Crewes, and also obtained occasional literary employment from the more celebrated Charles Butler. He found his means too small for his domestic wants, especially when in 1805 he had to provide money in aid of a younger brother then leaving Christ's Hospital. He obtained literary occupation from one of the firms in *the Row*. But the manner and the terms shew how often literature is disgraced by some of the wretched traders who gain subsistence by it. For an *effectual* introduction to Mr. Crosby, of Stationers' Court, Mr. Horne had to pay to *his friend* half the gross receipts paid him for his literary labours. He was set to work on "The Complete Grazier," which gave him nine months' work and produced £50. Paying half the sum to his introducer, there would be left to him about 13*s.* a-week for his uncongenial toil.

After a day's employment in chambers, he returned to his humble cottage in Lambeth, and then, refreshing and stimulating himself with strong tea, he began his toils of the pen and brain, which lasted far into the night.

Digitized by Google

In 1806, his connection with the Wesleyan body gave him a good turn, as he obtained a clerkship with fair remuneration under Mr. Butterworth, the law bookseller and Member of Parliament. Mr. Horne became superintendent of the Lambeth chapel Sunday-school, and discharged other offices in connection with Wesleyan associations. He was occasionally called upon to read prayers from the Book of Common Prayer at Lambeth chapel.

The useful compilation by which eventually Mr. Horne became so widely known in his "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures," was a work of which he conceived the plan as early as the year 1801. But it was not till 1812 that the course of reading he had prescribed to himself was accomplished and he began the composition of his book.

By Mr. Butterworth's kindness he was introduced to Mr. Caley, then Keeper of the Records at Westminster, and was entrusted with the formation of laborious indexes for the Catalogue of Harleian MSS. and other works of a similar character. He seems by his industry and intelligence always to have conciliated the confidence and esteem of his employers, and rose, as he deserved to do, by every change. His employment as a clerk in the Record Office brought him into communication with Mr. Speaker Abbot (afterwards Lord Colchester), who proved a useful patron.

In 1809, he was elected Sub-Librarian of the Surrey Institution, Dr. Adam Clarke being the Librarian in chief.

Rising year by year in his worldly position, he succeeded in 1812 in contracting a marriage with an amiable and well-educated lady, the daughter of Mr. John Millard, of Cordwainers' Hall.

Although most of his leisure hours were given to the "Introduction," he found time to prepare and publish a useful work on the "Study of Bibliography," and also edited for two or three years the "Literary Panorama," which was afterwards merged in the New Monthly Magazine.

In the summer of 1818, the first edition of his "Introduction" appeared in two volumes 8vo. A third and supplementary volume appeared six months after. The book was received graciously by several of the Bishops and others at the head of theological training institutions, and the author's position and repute became at once established. The Bishop of London (Dr. Howley), disregarding Mr. Horne's want of an University degree, consented in 1819, in acknowledgment of his service to sacred literature, to give him ordination. He entered himself a student at St. John's College, Cambridge, where he ultimately proceeded to the degree of B.D. His first curacy was that of Christ Church, Newgate Street, the rector and vicar being Rev. Samuel Crowther.

He now adventured to appear as a champion of the doctrines of the Church which had admitted him to serve at its altar, and published in 1820 a statement and defence of the "Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity," and a vindication of the Church of England from the charge of uncharitableness in retaining the Athanasian Creed.

It is many years since we had the opportunity of reading this tract, which is in fact the substance of two sermons preached on Trinity Sunday. If we may trust a distant and dim recollection of it, the ple

Digitized by Google

for the mysterious doctrine in question was not more clear or convincing than most attempts of the kind to reconcile to reason and charity a doctrine and a creed which seem to be little in harmony with either. Mr. Horne abstained from all attempts at novelty in the conduct of his argument, and his work was publicly quoted and praised by Bishop Bloomfield.

In 1821, Mr. Horne began to prepare for Queen's College, Cambridge, a classed Catalogue of its valuable library. The Catalogue eventually appeared in two large and handsome volumes, and is in many respects a model classed Catalogue.

Towards the end of 1821, a second and greatly enlarged edition of his Introduction appeared, and was received with warmer favour than the first. In a letter of acknowledgment for a copy, Archdeacon Wrangham, then examining chaplain of the Archbishop of York, writes: "I am threatened, it seems, in return for a passage in my late Charge, with the anti-visitation of a Socinian controversy. But I feel 'thrice armed' in my cause." The Archdeacon of course refers to the "Three Letters" addressed to him by Rev. Charles Wellbeloved. Those who are most familiar with that remarkable controversy and its issue, so little in accordance with the wishes of the orthodox party, will smile at the expression of the confidence of their champion. It illustrates the wisdom of Ahab's message to Benhadad—*Let not him that girdeth on his harness boast himself as he that putteth it off.*

In 1825, the rector of Christ Church died, and Mr. Horne lost his curacy in that parish. While Bishops and noble Lords were thanking him for his book, which they praised perhaps much beyond its merits as a substantial service to theological literature, its industrious author was left to fatten on barren compliment. None of the pleasant sinecures or the substantial benefices of the Church were given him in reward of his labours. Presently he got a ministerial post of a humble and not lucrative kind, a reader at Marylebone chapel, which he held till 1833.

A cleverly-executed piracy of his Introduction gave him much annoyance in 1826, especially as the lawyers whom he consulted did not lead him to believe that an application to the Courts would give him substantial redress. He succeeded, however, in putting the piratical work out of the English market by making and publishing with the greatest expedition possible an abridgment of his own work, which was sold at half the price charged for the piratical volume.

It was not until 1831 that any ecclesiastical preferment was given him, and then it came in the shape of a Prebendal Stall in St. Paul's, producing the large income of £11, and costing in entrance dues £100!

In 1833, he was, however, rewarded and cheered by an appointment, at the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to a benefice, the rectory of St. Edmund the King, Nicholas Lane, Lombard Street, of the value of £305 per annum. So large a portion of the buildings in the small parish are occupied by banking establishments and counting-houses, that the parochial duty was light. Mr. Horne appears to have made a faithful and industrial use of his opportunities of fulfilling the cure of souls. As chaplain to the Lord Mayor (Kelly), he was brought into the round of civic ecclesiastical duties and honours. He breakfasted and read prayers daily at the Mansion House during his year of office.

Digitized by Google

In the year that he obtained his preferment, Mr. Horne put out his Bibliographical Notes on the Book of Jasher. He thus describes that literary imposture:

"'The Book of Jasher .... translated into English from the Hebrew by Alcuin of Britain, who went a pilgrimage to the Holy Land,' is the title of an anonymous pamphlet in quarto, which is now known to have been composed, printed (it is said by night in his bed-room), and published for two shillings and sixpence, by JACOB ILIVE, a non-sane infidel printer at London, in the year 1751. It was reprinted at Bristol in 1829, in a thin quarto volume, at the modest price of one guinea, and with a list of nearly one thousand credulous subscribers; the editor of which publication appears to have believed that it really was the long-lost 'Book of Jasher.' My 'Bibliographical Notes' were undertaken at the urgent request of a friend, a woollen-manufacturer in Gloucestershire, who, as well as many other neighbouring manufacturers, had literally been *taken in* to purchase a copy of this literary forgery, as being the genuine 'Book of Jasher;' and also in the hope of preventing unwary readers from being imposed upon by a second edition, for which a prospectus was extensively circulated. These 'Notes' contain a history of the forgery, and a detection of its falsehoods, anachronisms and contradictions of the Holy Scriptures."—Pp. 73, 74.

It was chiefly owing to Mr. Horne's exertions that the tercentenary Jubilee of the Reformation in England was celebrated. He put out on that occasion a useful summary of facts, entitled the "Protestant Memorial," of which in three months as many as 14,000 copies were circulated.

The controversy with the Romish Church was one in which Mr. Horne took a deep interest. As might be anticipated from his religious history and the early influences of Wesleyanism on his mind, he had no sympathy with the Puseyism which he saw springing up around him at this time. He defended the Protestant faith, according to his views of it, in several sermons, tracts and magazine articles. Indirectly he promoted the cause of the Reformed faith by serving on the Committee of the Parker Society, which published more than half-a-hundred volumes, reprints, with biographical introductions, of the works of the Fathers of the Church of England.

Mr. Horne had the gratification of seeing ten editions issued of his Introduction. Of these, nine were prepared for the press by himself. The tenth was, in consequence of Mr. Horne's age and infirmities, entrusted to other hands, and greatly was he mortified by finding his own orthodox views of the Inspiration of the Scriptures subjected to the modifications of modern theology, in the hands of the editor of the second volume of his work, Dr. Samuel Davidson. The result was, as our readers doubtless remember, that Dr. D.'s portion was severed from the rest of the work, and another edition, prepared to order and duly orthodox, was substituted by Rev. John Ayre. But recent events have shewn that no agreement of the friends of the old orthodoxy of Protestant Churches can suppress even in their own boundaries, fenced and guarded though most of them are at so many other points, the results of free inquiry and a theology possessing any claims to a scientific character.

Mr. Horne's services at the British Museum were continued to a very late period of his life. He had risen to be Senior Assistant Librarian, and devoted much time and thought to the new Catalogue now in the

Digitized by Google

course of formation under the direction of Mr. Panizzi, the principal Librarian. In 1855, he received a silver inkstand from his colleagues in the department of printed books, as a mark of their esteem and affection for him after thirty years of service in the institution. Five years after, in 1860, he retired from his post.

Mr. Horne's domestic life was happy, though not unmarked by sorrows, the principal of which were the loss, in 1835, of a daughter aged sixteen years, and in July 1858, of his excellent wife. His own release from the duties and sorrows of life took place January 27 of the present year. He was buried in the cemetery at Nunhead, and many of his literary and theological associates joined in the last offices of respect to his character and memory. He died in his 82nd year.

Although our own sympathies with Mr. Horne's religious opinions are limited, and our admiration of his theological labours much less than that expressed by his biographer, we feel an interest in his example, as one who raised himself from a very humble rank to usefulness and repute by unflinching industry and by a wise concentration of his intellectual powers, and we can pay to his character the tribute of respect for his sincerity of purpose, his amiability of temper, and, above all, his unmistakable religiousness of heart.

Lectures on Modern History, delivered in Oxford, 1859—61. By Goldwin Smith, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Oxford and London—Parker. 1861.

This volume, of which we have long designed a notice, is the rich fruit of the new statutes recently made by the Crown, on the recommendation of the Council, for the purpose of adapting the Professorship of Modern History to the present requirements of the University of Oxford. We cannot but feel gratitude to those who have advised the Sovereign in respect both to the chair and the appointment of the accomplished man who now so ably fills it. It is a very remarkable fact, that the scheme now being carried into execution was devised in the reign of the first George. Mr. Goldwin Smith conjectures that the merit of the scheme belongs to Sir Robert Walpole, and he well observes, that if he were "the real founder, if he even as Minister approved the foundation, it is a remarkable testimony from a political leader of a turn of mind practical to coarseness, and who had discarded the literary statesmen of the Somers and Halifax school, to the value of high political education as a qualification for the public service." The original scheme comprehended the appointment in each University of a chair of History, to which were to be attached two teachers of Modern Languages and twenty King's scholars. Subsequent regulations recognized International Law, Modern History and Political Biography, as the subjects on which the Professor of History was to treat. Now that Oxford has its Professors of Modern History, Political Economy, Diplomacy and the Modern Languages, we may hope to see the wise intentions of the founders of a school of Law and Modern History in our Universities fulfilled, and may venture to anticipate results of the highest value to the public service.

The addresses contained in the volume before us, valuable in themselves as the expressions of thought of a singularly able man, are peculiarly interesting as illustrations of the free and manly spirit in which

Digitized by Google

Mr. Goldwin Smith enters on his work. A work more interesting or more captivating to a wise and patriotic ambition it is not easy to conceive. The Professor of Modern History may without vanity indulge the hope that he will be permitted, by his instructions to the youth who resort to his class-room (amongst whom will be some of high social rank and rich intellectual promise), to mould the future policy of the statesmen of England, and through England to affect and advance the welfare of the world.

The portions of this volume which especially interest us are the two lectures on the Study of History, and a third on some Supposed Consequences of the Doctrine of Historical Progress. In the first lecture, he gives his reasons for hesitating to believe that history is governed by necessary laws. Starting with a declaration of his belief in the freedom of the human will, he grapples, and with great vigour, with the theory of M. Comte, that "the development of humanity is regulated by the progress of science through the successive stages of theological, metaphysical and positive." He takes the preliminary objection that the three terms used by M. Comte do not form a series, for sound (or positive) science and theology are in minds of the highest order not successive but co-existent. It is gratifying to find that, with a freedom of speculation and a boldness of utterance not often equalled, Mr. Goldwin Smith builds his theories on Christianity. He is, as an apostle of Progress, no teacher of a new doctrine. He denies that Christianity is opposed to Progress, and he challenges opponents to shew the contrary. The three elements of which human progress consists are virtue, science and industry. This is a trinity which Christianity does teach. Let us learn from Mr. Smith's own eloquent words what he conceives to be the great truth whence the philosophy of history springs:

"That truth is the moral unity of the human race; the softening down of mere dogmatic and ecclesiastical divisions between different parts of Christendom, the intercourse, the moral relation, the treaties and bonds ratified by common appeals to God, into which Christendom has entered with nations beyond its pale, have let in the conviction that virtue and truth, however they may vary in their measure, are in their essence the same everywhere, and everywhere divine. It may be that the growth of this conviction is a more potent cause of the change which we see passing over the face of the world than even the final decay, now visibly going on, of feudal institutions, and of the social system with which they are connected. Its consequences, to those who have imagined that the vital faith of man rests on ecclesiastical divisions, are not unattended with perplexity and dismay. But if the Churches of Hildebrand, Luther, and Calvin are passing away, above them rises that Church of pure religion and virtue to which in their controversies with each other they have all implicitly appealed, and which therefore is above them all. A certain man was hung by his enemies blindfold over what he supposed to be a precipice, with a rope in his hands; he clung till his sinews cracked, and he had tasted the bitterness of death; then, letting go the rope, he found that he had been hanging but half-a-foot from the ground.

"Moral discoveries are generally followed by exaggeration. The unity of the human race has been exaggerated into identity; and a strange vision has arisen of an aggregate humanity, of which each man is a manifestation and an organ, and into which we at death return; the difference between death and life being, that the one is an objective, the other a subjective existence. This wild realism is broached, singularly enough, by a school of thinkers who pour contempt on metaphysical articles. It is, in fact, part of a desperate attempt to satisfy the religious instincts of man and his sense of immortality,

Digitized by Google

when an irrational philosophy, discarding all sources of truth but the observation of the outward sense, has cut off the belief in the invisible world and God. Among the evidences of religion the fact that the blankest scientific atheism has been compelled to invent for itself a kind of divinity and a kind of spiritual world, and to borrow the worship of the Roman Catholic Church, will not hold the lowest place."—Pp. 51—53.

Against every kind of dogmatism our lecturer earnestly protests. In his view, the advances of the race in philosophy and science are the result of fearless intellectual conflict. The false hypothesis where mental freedom exists is rejected, and the process favours not only truth, but promotes man's capacity and his sense of the value of truth. How truly Christian and noble are the foundations of Mr. Smith's belief in man's progress is evidenced by these axioms, "that man has really been created in the image of God; that the morality of man points true, however remotely, to the morality of God; that human justice is identical with divine justice, and is therefore a real key to the history of the world."

We have seldom read anything bolder or finer than the warning which the Professor of Modern History gives to those who put their faith in the resisting powers of an Establishment when opposed to the progress of truth. The disciples of Mr. Mansel will feel the rebuke contained in the closing words of the passage:

"If the doctrines of any established Church are not absolute and final truth, its corporate interests are apt ultimately to come into collision with the moral instincts of man pressing onwards, in obedience to his conscience, towards the further knowledge of religious truth. Then arises a terrible conflict. To save their threatened dominion, the defenders of ecclesiastical interests use, while they can, the civil sword, and wage with that weapon contests which fill the world with worse than blood. They massacre, they burn, they torture, they drag human nature into depths of deliberate cruelty which, without their teaching, it could never have known; they train men, and not only men but women, to look on with pious joy while frames broken with the rack are borne from the dungeon of the Inquisition to its pile. Uniting intrigue with force, they creep to the ear of kings, of courtiers, of royal concubines; they consent, as the price of protection, to bless and sanctify despotism in its foulest form; they excite bloody wars of opinion against nations struggling to be free. Still, the day goes against them; humanity asserts its power; executioners fail; sovereigns discover that it little avails the king to rule the people if the Magian is to rule the king; public opinion sways the world, and the hour of Philip II., of Père la Chaise, of Madame De Maintenon, is gone never to return. Then follows a hopeless struggle for the last relics of religious protection, for exclusive political privileges, and for tests; a struggle in which religion is made to appear in the eyes of the people the constant enemy of improvement and of justice,—religion, from whom all true improvement and all true justice spring. This struggle, too, approaches its inevitable close. Then recourse is had, in the last resort, to intellectual intrigue, and the power of sophistry is invoked to place man in the dilemma between submission to an authority which has lost his allegiance and the utter abandonment of his belief in God—a desperate policy; for, placed between falsehood and the abyss, humanity has always had grace to choose the abyss, conscious as it is that to fly from falsehood, through whatever clouds and darkness, is to fly to the God of truth. In weighing the arguments put before us on these questions, let us not leave out of sight influences whose fatal power history has recorded in her bloodiest page."—Pp. 60—62.

The lecture on the Supposed Consequences of the Doctrine of Historical

Digitized by Google

Progress is one which deserves and will reward intelligent study. In it the Professor meets in the gate the plausible objection that the doctrine of historical progress is inconsistent with Christianity. The notion which prevails in some quarters that Christianity is expiring, that it has entered on its last phase and will presently disappear from the world, he traces to the reform now going on of Christian doctrine. He argues that many who are appealed to as proofs of the ability of the human mind to make progress without the help of Christianity, really prove the contrary. They have, perhaps unconsciously, derived their light from the revelation they profess to oppose.

"These apparent seceders from Christendom remain Christians in their whole view of the world, of God, of the human character and destinies; speak a language and appeal to principles and sympathies essentially Christian; draw their moral life from the Christendom which surrounds them; receive their wives at Christian altars, and bring up their children in the Christian faith. Many a great writer who is brought forward as a proof that the intellect of the age is Christian no longer, will be found, on examination, to have nothing in his writings which is not derived from a Christian source."—P. 8.

We would especially commend to notice Mr. Smith's wise and gentle criticism on Mr. Newman's objections to Christianity. Mr. Newman has somewhat rashly ventured to hold up as a rival to the character of the Saviour, the amiable Fletcher of Madely. Here is Mr. Smith's brief but satisfactory criticism on that folly:

"Fletcher's character was no doubt one of remarkable beauty, and certainly not wanting in righteous indignation against Pharisees. But being that of an Evangelical Divine, it was produced, not independently, but by a constant imitation of the Character of Christ. Mr. Newman should have gone elsewhere for an independent instance; to the School of Socrates, to the School of Roman Stoicism, to the Court and Camp of Bonaparte. He knows history too well."—P. 25.

And then the Professor continues the subject in these words:

"The truth is, that Sectarianism has narrowed not only the pale of Christianity, but the type of Christian character; and made men think of it as a rigid, austere, priestly, or puritanic mould, shutting out the varied grandeur, beauty, and beneficence of history: so that a schism has been produced between the consecrated type and the heart of man. There are in history a multitude of mixed characters, often of a very fascinating kind. In these we must separate the good from the evil before we pronounce that the good does not belong to Christianity."—Pp. 25, 26.

To the argument drawn from the anti-christian character of some eminent men who have favoured and helped human progress, Mr. Smith gives this answer:

"I admit that Voltaire and Rousseau, in spite of the fearful mischief which every rational man must admit them to have done, were contributors to human progress, but I deny that so far as they were contributors to human progress they were enemies to Christianity, or outcasts from the Christian pale. Voltaire contributed to human progress in spite of his unchristian levity, mockery, vanity, and obscenity, by preaching Christian beneficence, Christian toleration, Christian humanity, Christian hatred of Pharisaical oppression. Rousseau contributed to human progress in spite of his unchristian impurity, and the egotistical madness from which practical Christianity would have saved him, by preaching Christian brotherhood and Christian simplicity of life. Rousseau's writings are full of the Gospel.

Digitized by Google

His theory of the world is couched in distinctly Gospel language, and put into the mouth of a Christian minister. Voltaire railed against what he imagined was Christianity, but you see in a moment it was not the real Christianity; it was the Christianity of the false, corrupt, and persecuting State Church of France, the Christianity which recalled the Edict of Nantes, which inspired the Dragonades, which, in the abused name of the religion of love, murdered Calas and La Barre. Whom did Voltaire call the best of men? Of whom did he say, with an earnestness to which his nature was almost a stranger, that he loved them, and that, if he could, he would pass the rest of his life among them in a distant land? It was not the philosophers of Paris or Berlin of whom he spoke thus, but the Quakers, with whose sect, then in its happiest hour, he had come into contact during his residence in England, and whose benevolence, tolerance, and gentle virtues he recognizes as identical at once with those of the Primitive Christians and with his own." Pp. 28, 29.

To the allegation that Christianity interferes with the progress of science, Mr. Smith replies:

"As a matter of fact, science has not only been advanced, but for the most part created by Christians. A bigoted or cowardly theology has indeed created some confusion in the relations between science and religion, by attempting to dominate beyond its proper sphere; but the highest scientific minds have found no difficulty in keeping their own course clear, and preserving religious and moral Christianity, in spite of any imperfections in the scientific ideas of its teachers caused by their having lived in an unscientific age. That religious persecution has fearfully interfered with science, and every other kind of intellectual progress, both by its direct and its indirect effects, may be easily granted. But the tendency to persecution has historically been limited to countries in which certain vicious relations existed between religion and political power. If it has been found beyond these limits, it was as a lingering habit and in an expiring state."—Pp. 30, 31.

Looking at the aspects of European politics and changes, Mr. Goldwin Smith foresees the fall of the Papacy; and since he wrote, much has happened to confirm his prophecy. With the closing passage on this subject we bring to an end our series of instructive extracts:

"The Papacy will perish; and in it will perish the great obstacle to the reconciliation and re-union of Christendom. Nor will it perish alone. It will draw down with it in its fall, sooner or later, all those causes of division which have subsisted by mere antagonism to it, and many which it has kept alive by its direct, though unrecognised, influence over the rest of the ecclesiastical world. Then, if Christianity be true, there may, so far as the outward arrangements of the world are concerned, once more arise a Christendom, stripped indeed of much that is essential to religion in the eyes of polemical theologians, but as united, grand, and powerful, as capable of pervading with its spirit the whole frame of society, as fruitful of religious art and all other manifestations of religious life, as Christendom was before the great schism; but resting on the adamantine basis of free conviction, instead of the sandy foundation of human authority and tradition supported by political power. Those who imagine that such a consummation, if it come, must come with terrible convulsions and distress, do not consider that a great part of educated Europe has, in fact, for some time been united, and guided in the conduct of life and in all international and general relations, by a common Christianity. The world, as usual, has anticipated the results of speculation by tacitly solving a great practical problem for itself; and it has found that the brightness of the sunbeam resides in the sunbeam, not in the motes, and that the crystal floor of Heaven is not as unstable as water because it is as clear."—Pp. 46, 47.

Digitized by Google

Unitarian Christians called to bear Witness to the Truth: a Sermon, preached before the Supporters of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, at their Annual Meeting, in Essex-Street Chapel, June 11, 1862. By William Gaskell, M.A. Pp. 23. Whitfield.

In this Sermon, the eloquent preacher bears an emphatic testimony to the importance of the Unitarian doctrine. He grapples vigorously with many of the pleas for silence with which some men allow their consciences to be put to sleep. Because he believes that the work which Unitarians can do to be the "noblest to which human thought and effort can be given," he argues that we need not be deterred by such considerations as these: 1, that we have not infallible certainty respecting the truth of Unitarianism; 2, that it is easier to overthrow error by a process of secret sap than by open attack; 3, that we must avoid the spirit of sectarianism; 4, that the controversy which we have with the orthodox faith is not of sufficient moment to justify the costliness of the strife. This last topic introduces the preacher to the characteristics of the prevalent Christianity. He handles it with a vigour and an earnest truthfulness never surpassed by any of our Unitarian advocates. The Sermon is published by the Association at a very cheap rate, and is designed as one of the tracts which they intend for popular circulation. We welcome it as a most effective silent missionary, and commend it to all Unitarians, first for themselves, to rebuke indifference and religious sloth, and to inspire a becoming zeal in their minds for Christian truth; and next for distribution amongst their neighbours, that they may rightly know what Unitarianism is, and what claims it has to supersede much that now wrongfully passes as pure Christianity.

We will not attempt to select passages for quotation, because if we began we should scarcely know where to stop, and also because the Sermon may be so easily obtained (as we hope it will) by all our readers.

INTELLIGENCE.

EVENTS OF THE MONTH.

Meeting at Exeter.—The annual assembly of Dissenting ministers meeting at Exeter, which dates its beginning back as far as 1655, was held on the 25th June last. The introductory religious service was conducted by Rev. W. Chignell, the recently-elected minister of George's meeting; the sermon was preached by Rev. J. B. Lloyd, of Moreton Hampstead, very suitably inculcating the duty of free inquiry and dispassionate investigation. The usual business of the assembly was transacted in the vestry, in which the writer of this notice remembers having received religious instruction more than sixty years ago from Rev. Timothy Kenrick in *Practical Instructions*. Several small sums were disbursed to the ministers of congregations who had less than £50 a-year. A discussion took place as to Sir M. Peto's Bill on the Parish Grounds, on which a majority carried a petition. Rev. W. Rowlinson acted as moderator. The customary dinner was provided, Rev. B. Mardon presiding. The aged son of the former Exeter minister, Rev. John Manning, whose name speaks for itself, obliged the company with his presence. The proceedings passed off with entire harmony, and it is believed with mutual satisfaction. Mr. Chignell was received into cordial intimacy with his brother Unitarians.—B. M.

The Warwickshire Unitarian Christian Tract Society held its fifty-sixth annual general meeting at Kingswood, near Birmingham, July 15, when the religious service was introduced by the Rev. Charles Clarke, of Birmingham, and a very impressive sermon preached by the Rev. Rees Lewis Lloyd, of Belper, from Psalm iv. 4, "Commune with your own heart." After the service and usual business meeting, the members and friends of the Society, more than 50 in number, dined together in the adjoining school-room, under the continued able presidency of Alderman James Baldwin, who had conducted the

Digitized by Google

business of the previous meeting, when special acknowledgments were offered to Mr. Edwin T. Greves for the very kind and efficient services which, in various ways, he had rendered to the meeting.

The Kent and Sussex Unitarian Christian Association held its "jubilee," or fiftieth anniversary, at Tenterden, July 16. There was an unusually large attendance, friends being present from Maidstone, Dover, Chatham, Headcorn, Battle, Cranbrook, &c. The introductory services were conducted by Rev. R. E. B. Maclellan, of Maidstone; after which an eloquent and appropriate sermon was delivered by Rev. John Page Hopps, of Sheffield. After service, above a hundred ladies and gentlemen dined together in the Concert Hall, under the kind and able presidency of Rev. Edward Talbot. When the cloth had been removed, and the usual patriotic and denominational sentiments had been proposed, Mr. Maclellan, the Secretary of the Association, read the annual report. That document gave an account, taken chiefly from the *Monthly Repository* of the period, of the formation of the Society at Northiam, in Sussex, on the 20th of October, 1812; and, by extracts from the resolutions then adopted, and from the sermon delivered on that occasion by Rev. Laurence Holden, of Tenterden, shewed that the leading object of the Association was to introduce the Unitarian exposition of the gospel to districts and towns where it was previously unknown. It narrated how at various times this object had been sought to be attained, by preaching, by the distribution of tracts, and especially by the employment of a missionary in the county during the four years 1822-6. The report went on to state that on the 27th of May last, a meeting of Presbyterian and General Baptist ministers and laymen had been held at Headcorn, to consider the desirableness and practicability of again securing the services of a missionary, and that, as one immediate result, the British and Foreign Unitarian Association had made the generous offer of £75 per annum for that purpose, provided whatever more might be needful were raised in the county. In moving the adoption of the report, the Secretary urged strongly on the members present the duty, even though it involved great pecuniary sacrifices, of engaging in missionary work.—Various interesting and important sentiments were proposed from the chair with suitable prefaces, which drew forth stirring addresses from Revds. J. P. Hopps, R. E. B. Maclellan, J. A. Briggs and T. B. W. Briggs; while suggestions of value and encouragement were made by Mr. Charles Ellis, Jun., of Maidstone (the Treasurer of the Association), Messrs. Munn and J. E. Mace, of Tenterden, and other lay friends. It was a pleasing feature of this anniversary that not only the religious services at the venerable Presbyterian chapel, but the festive meeting also, were favoured with the presence of Rev. Mr. Palmer, the Wesleyan Superintendent of the district, and Rev. Mr. Moss, the minister of the Calvinistic Baptist chapel at Tenterden, the latter of whom addressed the company in a liberal and kindly spirit, though not concealing his want of sympathy with Unitarian theology. This meeting was altogether one of the most successful which has been held within the last twenty years, and we have little doubt, from the zeal which was enkindled, that the necessary sum will be raised in the county to enable the Association to avail itself of the noble offer of its Parent in London.—R. E. B. M.

OBITUARY.

June 22, on the anniversary of his 85th birthday, ROBERT MADGE, Esq., of Copplestone. From the early age of thirteen until a few weeks of his death, he was a regular and consistent worshiper at the Bowden-Hill chapel, Crediton, and for many years past its most valuable member and chief supporter. Having commenced life with an ample fortune, he had large means for usefulness. Nor did he fall short of their use, for every religious, educational and humane institution received his willing support. He was fond of retirement, and made no ostentatious show of his wealth. Most of his beneficent acts were unknown; he gave to all in the simplicity of his heart whenever and wherever distress presented itself. He was deeply attached to the English Presbyterian form of worship as conducted at the Bowden-Hill chapel. Though his residence was nearly five miles from it, he never neglected its Sabbath-morning worship. No weather, however severe, kept him from it. He invariably took the journey on horseback, and was therefore exposed to the elements. As his infirmities increased, it was with great difficulty that he could reach his wonted house of prayer. With trembling knees, leaning on his staff, he continued to worship until within a few weeks of his death. His long, consistent, lowly and Christian life well prepared him for his change. He bore his sickness with great

Digitized by Google

calmness, patience and resignation, and a few days before his death expressed his gratitude to the All-wise Disposer of all things for the many and valuable blessings which had fallen to his lot, adding that he had received his spiritual strength and joy from the gospel as preached at Bowden-Hill chapel. He was attached to the ministry of the present minister, whose successful exertions in resuscitating the cause gave him great satisfaction, and encouraged him to look with hopefulness on the future, which before had to him a doubtful aspect. He has happily provided means for its sustentation, and it is to be hoped that his good example will stimulate others to follow in his footsteps. Of him it may be truly said, "Here is the patience of the saint, here is he that kept the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." "Write, Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord from henceforth: yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; their works do follow them." On the Sabbath subsequent to his death, his funeral sermon was preached to a large and respectable audience by the Rev. Jas. Taplin from Job v. 26, "Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in his season."

June 26, ELIZA, aged 2 years and 9 months—July 10, EMMA, aged 1 year and 5 months, the beloved children of Mr. Henry TAYLOR, Elm Terrace, Sale, Cheshire.

July 8, in his 81st year, JOHN TINCOMBE, Esq., of Greenwich. Descended from one of the Two Thousand ministers (there were indeed three of that name among them, then written Tincombe), who, in the year 1662, made such a noble sacrifice of interest to principle, he inherited, and through his long life zealously adhered to, the profession and practice of Nonconformity. He was devout, pious, a firm Unitarian and decided advocate of civil and religious liberty. He was one of the few surviving pupils of Dr. Estlin, of Bristol, so well known formerly in the West of England. In his early life, he succeeded his father as a partner in the banking-house of Sir W. Elford and Co. at Plymouth, which was one of the first firms that succumbed in the disastrous year of 1825. Deprived by this event of his property, he never resumed business, but lived with a dear sister who was attached to the same cause, and who attained to almost the same age as he did. His three daughters were with him when he died, to whom he said, "We shall meet again in the kingdom of heaven." W. W.

July 16, at his residence, Godley Vale, near Hyde, in his 77th year, after a long period of gradually declining health, ALEXANDER WYLDE THORNELY, Esq.

Our pages have recently recorded the departure of the late Mr. Thomas Thornely, of Liverpool. We now have to record the death of his relative and friend. Mr. A. W. Thornely achieved for himself in his native place an honourable position as one of the many skilful and successful manufacturers in the great staple trade of the district. He was a man widely known both in that part of Cheshire in which his whole life was spent, and on the Exchange of Manchester. As a manufacturer and merchant, he was respected for promptitude, skill and unswerving integrity. They who had dealings with him knew that his word was always truthful and his conduct straightforward. His personal characteristics made him widely loved. There was in him a pleasant and not common admixture of simplicity and shrewdness. The simplicity had in it no element of folly, and the shrewdness was not debased by cunning. To the later periods of his life, his feelings were beautifully fresh and had all the tenderness of childhood. He was through life a zealous member of the Old Presbyterian congregation worshiping at Gee Cross. The religion there taught under successive pastors (all of whom were his warmly-attached personal friends*) suited alike his good sense and his love of what was practical and charitable. From bigotry of every kind he turned away with instinctive aversion. He took a leading part in the rebuilding and renovation of the chapel and schools at Gee Cross, sparing neither money nor (when health and strength permitted) personal toil in making these buildings worthy of the objects for which they were raised. In the ground by the beautiful chapel which he helped to build, and near the spot where for more than seventy years he was a regular worshiper, his remains were interred. He leaves a widow, a son and daughter, and numerous grandchildren, who will ever cherish his memory with the tenderest affection.

July 18, at Sandbrook, Upholland, near Wigan, aged 63, MARY, widow of the late Nathan GASKELL, Esq.

---

* His last act as a member of the Gee-Cross congregation was to sign the Address to Rev. Charles Beard, expressive of affection and respect and gratitude for the continuance of the services which the congregation so highly valued.

Digitized by Google

THE
CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCXIII.] SEPTEMBER, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

NONCONFORMITY, 1662.

A Lecture delivered in Cross-Street Chapel, Manchester, May 28, 1862.

BY REV. CHARLES BEARD, B.A.

[We have asked, for the benefit of our readers, the opportunity of printing the lecture which follows, and which will, from its subject, better precede than follow the lectures of Rev. J. J. Tayler and Rev. Charles Wicksteed, which will appear in future numbers of our present volume.—Ed. C. R.]

The 29th of May, 1660, was a day on which the English nation, usually not prone to sentimental excess, seemed to have thrown to the winds all its ancient gravity and reserve, and to have abandoned itself to transports of joy, with which later generations find it hard to sympathize. Flags fluttered in the wind, bonfires blazed on every hill, crowds, by turns laughing and weeping, lined London streets, and all national hope might be judged to have culminated in fruition at the time when the King, escorted by a gay and noble cavalcade, slowly passed westward to Whitehall. The burden of the old cavalier song, "The King shall enjoy his own again," was now accepted as a faithful word of prophecy even by Puritan London; and the fact that a careless and dissolute youth was about to ascend the throne of his father and grandfather was enough to blot out for a time the remembrance of Grand Remonstrance, Petition of Right, Abolition of Star Chamber, and a thousand victories more, which a people earnestly desirous of righteous self-government had won in council-chamber and battle-field over crowned and coroneted and mitred tyranny. "Why have I miserably loitered so long in Holland," Charles is reported to have said, "if this good people are all of one mind to have me for their King?" Cromwell's old soldiers stood sullenly aside as he passed their lines upon Blackheath; but with that one exception, the nation's shout seemed to issue from a single throat. Perhaps the tragedy which had been played out that dim January morning eleven years ago behind Whitehall, still weighed upon the general conscience; and in the King's welcome home again there was an element of recompence and restitution. Cavaliers whose estates had been confiscated, whose social rank had been usurped by upstart Roundheads, whose old houses had been battered about

Digitized by Google

their ears in civil war, who had wounds to shew and loss of kinsmen to recount, and an unstained purity of loyal suffering to boast of, and whose signal failure was now to be unexpectedly turned into glittering success, naturally welcomed the triumph of their religion, their party, their king. Presbyterianism had never been fanatically disloyal; did not see, with James I., the absolute and necessary connection between kings and bishops; was not opposed to a National Church and Liturgy, if only it had itself something to do with the ordering of them; moreover, had been hindered by Cromwell's strong hand from remodelling English religion after its own fashion, and so was not hopeless of making better terms with his successor. Perhaps London tradesmen were glad to have a gay and costly court once more at their doors; and an affable young king, too thoughtlessly goodnatured to care for dignity, fondling his spaniels and feeding his ducks in full view of an admiring public, had more of the elements of street popularity in him than a stern old Protector, believing that government was a gift of the Spirit, and bidding English cannon roar in hearing of Italy and Spain on behalf of God's afflicted people. But *he* had passed away one stormy night eighteen months before; the son could not sit in the father's seat; the kingdom was fast becoming a prey to whichever brutal general should prove himself wariest and strongest; better the King than that! So the King came, and the whole sad farce (farce of which the Church of England has in these last months grown ashamed, and blotted out the commemoration thereof from the Prayer-book) reached its highest point, when, "as he passed along, old Mr. Arthur Jackson, an eminent Presbyterian minister, presented his Majesty with a rich embossed Bible, which he was pleased to receive, and to declare it his resolution to make that book the rule of his conduct."*

How far that resolution was kept, let the scandalous chronicles of the most scandalous period of English history testify. Charles the Second, who was thirty years of age on the very day of his triumphal entry into London, had learned from the troubles of his father's reign, from his wearisome royalty in Scotland, from perils and hairbreadth 'scapes after Worcester fight, from the undignified privations of his ten years' exile, only one lesson. His father, from a persistent adherence to what he thought truth and right, had died upon the scaffold: come what would, he was resolved to die in his bed. From the very moment of his return, he was the creature of what seemed to him the strongest party in the State. Perhaps he thought the Church of England more the religion of a gentleman than Presbyterianism, which offended his taste and rebuked his pleasures; but then he found the Church of Rome more gentlemanly and more accommodating than either. For persecution, he had not the common excuse of

* Neal, IV. 258.

Digitized by Google

a fanatical devotion to truth; if the Presbyterians had been uppermost in the nation's esteem and love, he would have proscribed bishops and passed Five-Mile Acts against Sanderson, and Walton, and Pearson and South, just as easily as he silenced Henry and imprisoned Baxter. He believed in one thing only: not in truth, nor in duty, nor in purity, nor in self-denial, not even in retribution now, or judgment soon to come; but in the lust of the flesh and the pride of life. Give him these and he was content: though Dutch fleets moored in the Medway; though English policy was directed from Versailles; though London rotted in the Plague or lay in ashes from the Fire; though Cavaliers begged their bread and Nonconformists starved in prison; though Oates lied innocent Catholic lives away, and Sidney and Russell died martyrs' deaths for liberty. Through all he laughed and jested and lived a beast's life, and bowed his head to every storm; what were truth and justice and religion and innocent lives to him, so he 'scaped his father's scaffold and died a king! A certain careless courtesy and goodnature made up for much; a monarch profuse of promises, whom all men could speak to in Park or on the Mall; whose ready sympathies exhaled in petty help of present needs; not himself cruel or violent or tyrannical, though too indolent by far to prevent others from being all this in his name;—who could think ill of him? A perfect gentleman, with the slight drawbacks of being unfaithful to his wife, untrue to his promises, reckless in his pleasures, careless of royal duty, and not altogether discerning whether there be in the world such things as right and wrong. A King in whose days the Church sounded the lowest depths of irreligion and servility; English honour was flouted on every sea; English liberty was trampled under foot without complaint; English literature contracted stains of unutterable filth; the national exchequer was bankrupt, and conscience and piety lay silently in gaol!

Charles had been brought home without conditions, political or religious, yet by no means without promises. When Lords and Commons sent a deputation to him, yet in exile at Breda, six of the London ministers went with it, and were received (the prize not being yet wholly within his grasp) with many kind words and specious courtesies. Notably too, in that famous Declaration of Breda, dated in April of this same year 1660, Charles had solemnly published these words, risking his possible royalty, as it were, upon the throw: "We do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom." So, as soon as he arrived in England, a further pledge of concord was given by the appointment of ten Presbyterian divines to be his chaplains in ordinary, of whom no more than four, Reynolds, Spurstow, Calamy and Baxter, had

Digitized by Google

each preached once in the exercise of his office, when the bubble burst. All (at least in outer seeming) looked well for the reunion of the English Church. There was to be a conference between eminent men of either party to dispose of matters in dispute; the King thought that "by abating something on both sides and meeting in the midway," some agreement might be come to. Still one who could read the signs of the times might have discerned a little cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, yet slowly gathering strength, and surely creeping up the sky. First the House of Lords, next the House of Commons, then many of the parochial clergy, silently, yet without hindrance, restored the Prayer-book to its place in public worship. Sequestered rectors and curates took possession of their old livings, including many who had been removed, not for political, but for moral reasons. At Oxford, eight, at Cambridge, six Heads of houses took the place of as many Puritan divines who had once been installed in their room; and the precedent was followed in regard to fellowships, professorships and other minor offices of honour and profit. Though the Presbyterians were still hugging the belief that episcopacy was an open question, vacant bishoprics were filled up, with some reservation, as we shall presently hear, of one or two sees for eminent Presbyterian divines, if by this bribe they could be persuaded to conform. It was very plain, in more ways than one, that a gradual return was being made to the old system; and that while the sects were being amused with negociations and promises, the Church was gathering up her strength for a last and decisive conflict.

The King's new chaplains employed their privilege of access to his person to obtain permission to draw up proposals of union, which were duly considered and settled, carefully answered by a committee of bishops, and cannot be further characterized in this place than as moderate, conciliatory and tending to the advantage of practical religion. The upshot of them was a meeting which took place at the house of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, on the 22nd of October, between the King, certain well-known courtiers, seven bishops, and as many Presbyterian divines. A declaration, drawn up in the King's name, was there read and agreed to. It promised a wise, gentle and godly government of the Church. It modified episcopacy by some admixture of Presbyterian discipline. It announced an intended revision of the Liturgy, and meanwhile gave liberty in the use of it. It indulged tender consciences in regard to obnoxious ceremonies; and, last of all, it emphatically repeated the words of the Declaration of Breda in respect to liberty of worship. Lords and Commons joined to wait upon the King and to thank him for this happy settlement of differences; the London ministers presented a grateful address; nay, Dr. Reynolds, a noted

Digitized by Google

divine of the Presbyterian party, accepted upon these terms the Bishopric of Norwich, while Baxter, more scrupulous, refused that of Hereford,—Calamy, Lichfield and Coventry. Other less notable preferments were offered to smaller men, nor, for a time, altogether refused; at one moment, it almost seemed as if the Church had found the charm which was to heal all her wounds and restore her to more than her former strength and beauty.

Historians tell us that this settlement failed because the House of Commons, having thanked the King for his declaration, refused to pass the second reading of the Bill which was to give it the force of law, not altogether without suspicion of court connivance. I venture to think, after the lapse of 200 years, that it is possible to find a deeper and truer reason; one which puts us upon the track of providential methods and activities. In the conference at Clarendon's house, the Chancellor had proposed the insertion in the declaration of a clause, which, ostensibly in favour of the Independents and Baptists, would have had the effect of securing liberty of worship to the Catholics. Whereupon Baxter, assuredly not the least liberal of his party, replied, "that they desired not favour to themselves alone, and rigorous severity against none; but as they humbly thanked his Majesty for his declared indulgence to themselves, so they distinguished the tolerable party from the intolerable; for the former, they humbly craved just lenity and favour; for the latter, Papists and Socinians, they could not make a toleration their request." I suppose that if English Presbyterians have had any work to do in the world, it has been first to learn and then to teach the lesson of perfect religious liberty. Baxter's words, learned and wise and large-hearted though he be, shew that they do not yet understand the lesson: God's will is that they should go forth into the desert and learn it.

So the winter wore away. When spring returned, Charles was first crowned, then married, being about to fulfil the oaths and vows taken on these several occasions with a like impartial faithlessness. A new Parliament was summoned and met in May, fervid with loyalty, and ready, right or wrong, to do the King's pleasure. A foolish insurrection of Fifth-monarchy men, an absurd story of a Presbyterian plot, were pretexts for harsher speech from the King; Members of Parliament, willing to bask in the sunshine of Royal favour, found it not difficult to choose a side. The Houses began by voting that on a certain day all their members should receive the Sacrament according to the forms of the Church of England; then ordered the Solemn League and Covenant to be burned by the hands of the common hangman; next, after due interval of a few months, proceeded to pass a Bill of infamous notoriety, even in our own day, under the name of the "Corporation Act," which, by various pro-

Digitized by Google

visions, carefully shut out all but abject loyalists and members of the Episcopal Church from municipal office, and therefore, in many cases, from parliamentary influence. Meanwhile, the Royal Commission for the revision of the Liturgy had been issued, on the one hand to archbishops and bishops, on the other to certain learned and able divines of the Presbyterian party. Whoso desires to read the weary story of this Savoy Conference (so called from its place of meeting) may find it in the Autobiography of Richard Baxter, himself a prominent actor in the same: it is not for us to wade to-night through such weedy floods of ineffectual talk. Pearson (he whose Exposition of the Creed is still a University text-book; after this, Bishop of Chester) and Gunning, who has gone his way unregretted into blank forgetfulness, were the chief disputants on one side; Baxter and Bates on the other. The parties did not meet on equal terms, as one at least had hoped; the bishops looked down upon the ministers from an infinite ecclesiastical height, asked them in so many words what they came there for and what exceptions to the Prayer-book they had to bring, carelessly discussed the matter through some weeks, and at last brought the Conference to a close, yielding not an inch. They had come to the discussion resolved, with help and support of the King, to do nothing; and, with much insolence and insincerity, did it.

The work of revising the Liturgy was now transferred from the Savoy Conference to Convocation, from which, as far as possible, all Presbyterian delegates had been excluded. There it went bravely on. Alterations there were in plenty; a word omitted here, a clause inserted there; now an old rubric restored; then a new occasional service added. But of alterations such as the Presbyterians asked for—not one; much rather amendments in an anti-Presbyterian sense. A few more saints' days imposed upon those who objected to saints' days at all; scruples as to the use of the Apocrypha met by ordering "Bel and the Dragon" to be read in churches;—this was the spirit of episcopal legislation. The surplice, the use of the cross in baptism, of the kneeling attitude at the Lord's Supper,—all these things, which, however apparently trifling to us, were real difficulties to the consciences of our fathers, were left unchanged. There was a possibility of keeping 2000 ministers, many of them learned, most of them pious, all of them conscientious men, within the pale of the Church, and the Church wilfully cast them out. Said Sheldon, then Bishop of London, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, when the Earl of Manchester remarked, "that he was afraid the terms of conformity were so hard that many ministers would not comply,"—that *he* was afraid they would, "but now we know their minds we will make them all knaves if they conform:" and again, in answer to another remark, "Pity the door is so strait,"—"No pity at all; if we had thought so many

Digitized by Google

of them would have conformed, we would have made it straiter." I know of no words of justice and kindness on that side which it would be fair to balance against this outbreak of triumphant bigotry.

The Prayer-book thus revised, all was ready for the passing of the Act of Uniformity. The King threw off the mask which he had more or less loosely worn since the Declaration of Breda, and declared himself an earnest friend of the Church of England. Both before and after this time the Stuarts shewed that they knew how to make their own declarations valid against Acts of Parliament; now, for once, Charles appealed to an Act of Parliament to free him from the fetters of his declaration. The Bill was read in the House of Commons a first time on the 14th of January, 1662, and finally received the Royal assent on the 19th of May following. Its course was not always accompanied by a prosperous breeze: on one division it escaped rejection only by six votes, in a house of 366 members. More than once the Lords strove to mitigate the severity of its provisions, but the Commons, backed by the Court and the clergy, insisted upon and carried every particular. It needs hardly to say that the Act was to come into operation three months after receiving the Royal assent, on the Feast of St. Bartholomew next ensuing, the 24th of August, 1662.

I shall probably succeed in setting the provisions of this celebrated Act in the clearest light if, abandoning legal technicalities, I simply enumerate the difficulties which it threw in the way of a conscientious Presbyterian minister, anxious, if he could, to retain his place in the Church. It prescribed that he should use henceforth in public worship the form of Common Prayer now amended, and forbade the use of any other form. Beyond this, he was required to declare, "openly and publicly, before the congregation assembled for religious worship, his unfeigned assent and consent to all things contained and prescribed in and by the said book," making use for that purpose of a fixed form of words. All cathedral clergy, all university dignitaries and officials, all parish priests of whatever degree, all teachers, from professors at Oxford down to village schoolmasters and private tutors, are required to make a second declaration,—first, "that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take arms against the King;" next, promising to conform "to the Liturgy of the Church of England as now by law established;" and, in the last place, "abjuring the Solemn League and Covenant." Then all ministers, not heretofore episcopally ordained, are enjoined to seek the same, on pain of forfeiting £100 for every ministerial act committed while still without such ordination. This was what a Presbyterian minister had to make up his mind to before St. Bartholomew's-day;—deprivation, perhaps beggary, staring him in the face else. Convocation had made no

Digitized by Google

fewer than six hundred petty alterations in the Prayer-book; into many parishes not a single copy of the amended Liturgy had found its way, when the fatal day came; still no help, starvation or blind conformity the only choice! Some of these men had in their day sworn to the Solemn League and Covenant, and, in the honesty of their hearts, believed it to be a great national compact not unblessed of God; shall their yea now be nay; their nay, yea? From August, 1642, when the King's standard was first set up at Nottingham, to August, 1662, is but twenty years; are men who had bidden God-speed to the efforts of Pym and Hampden, even of Clarendon himself in his better days, men who had kept godly watch in Cromwell's army, and stood stoutly behind the walls of Gloucester, and helped to raise the psalm of onset at Naseby and Marston Moor and Worcester,—are these men to belie themselves, and subscribe the slavish doctrine that oppressed subjects may never try the issue of battle with a tyrannical and perjured King? Or shall a man like Richard Baxter, who, unhelped by any university, had made himself a miracle of abstruse learning,—who, like the apostle Paul, could appeal to the richest and most abundant fruits of the Spirit growing in waste places as the proof of his commission,—who, whether Bishop of Hereford or prisoner in the Gatehouse, was necessarily a prophet and a king in religious England, not only of that, but of many following generations,—shall he humbly sue for ordination at the hands of a bishop (ordination not asked by those very bishops of Swiss or German Protestant), and confess by the suit that, for all his toils and prayers and triumphs, he has hitherto been no true minister of Christ? Truly said Bishop Sheldon that terms like these were intended to compel men into Nonconformity.

A volume of Farewell Sermons, preached in London on the 17th of August, 1662,—the Sunday, that is, before the ejectment,—has given me a clearer insight than I could have gained in any other way into the spirit in which the Presbyterian clergy met this great affliction. Nor is the scene itself difficult to recall. Think of one of the old London churches (not the dreary, dusty Palladian structures which now stand grimily in the busy streets), but a venerable Gothic pile, soon to be laid low by the Great Fire, but still rising rich in civic memories from a line of quaintly gabled houses almost as stately as itself. Note how it is crowded, nave and aisle and chancel, with eager listeners: staid citizens and their tearful wives, to whom this was a bitter day indeed; happy youths and maidens, intent chiefly on themselves, and full of hopes in which all the world's promise was shut up, yet startled and saddened for once into heedful reverence; little children, wondering why so many faces should be graver even than their wont, and the awe-struck company more still; perhaps, here and there, a gay courtier, come to listen to

Digitized by Google

what passionate appeal a great preacher might make, or some triumphant priest, already hungering for the benefice. There is a great silence as the minister threads his way through the crowded passages, and stands for the last time in his accustomed place; I can fancy a certain tremulousness in the psalm of praise, a deeper than a common insight into the significance of Scripture. The prayers uttered that day remain for us to read,—prayers which, while not forgetting (this Sunday of all Sundays) to invoke the Divine blessing on king and country, are yet full of the deepest sincerity of religious life, as if all thankfulness, all repentance, all supplication, were to be expressed in one passionate outbreak, and thenceforward to be silent evermore. And what a strange yet noble thing is the self-forgetfulness which breathes through all these sermons! It is little to say that they do not contain a word of controversy or of complaint; though surely this was a time when, if ever, a preacher might expatiate somewhat upon himself—when he was almost bound to explain to those who had so long waited on his ministry why he endured to be silenced and cast out. But the prevalent feeling among these worthy servants of Christ seems to have been far other than this. "There, before me," thought each one, "is the people committed to my charge—there, not yet wholly Christ's: one more precious opportunity is given to me of repairing my imperfect shepherding of souls: let me speak with all earnestness, while yet I may, of truth and righteousness and judgment to come!" So in many of these sermons there is no verbal allusion to the occasion: it is quite passed by, as a matter below the level of those great interests which should occupy the thoughts of a Christian teacher and his disciples: its presence can be detected only in the more condensed force of argument, the more persuasive energy of appeal, as if much were to be said *now* which could never be said again. In others, the remembrance of the day breaks out only in indirect allusion. When Calamy was preaching at St. Mary's, Aldermanbury, do you not think a thrill would go through the hearts of his people when he said—they interpreting his words to his own case and theirs—"It is sin that maketh straits deserve the name of straits: therefore you are spiritually mad that commit sin to avoid straits"? And again, speaking of the three children in Nebuchadnezzar's furnace—"I have often told you, when three are cast into the fire for a good conscience, God will make the fourth: therefore, I say, straits and sufferings for God are not worth the name of straits." What a quaint, homely pathos is there in the few words in which Caryl, preaching at St. Magnus of the worthy ones that should walk in white, alludes to the grief that filled his hearers' hearts and his own: "I would only say this to you, that as I have from this text and many more laboured to bring poor souls into a white state, to a state of

Digitized by Google

justification, to a state of holiness, and as I have been pressing you to keep your garments white, that you may be in the habit of white as your reward; so it shall be the desire and prayers of my heart, that if I should have no more opportunities among you, that as you have been stirred up to get into this white of grace, that you and I may meet in the white of glory, where we shall never part." Others, again, thought fit to add to the end of their sermons a word of farewell; yet even so of the briefest and simplest. Said Dr. Bates, at that church of St. Dunstan's which still rears its venerable front over the roar of Temple Bar: "I know you expect I should say something as to my nonconformity. I shall only say thus much: it is neither fancy, faction or humour, that makes me not to comply, but merely for fear of offending God. And if after the best means used for my illumination, as prayer to God, discourse, study, I am not able to be satisfied concerning the lawfulness of what is required; if it be my unhappiness to be in error, surely men will have no reason to be angry with me in this world, and I hope God will pardon me in the next." And still more touchingly, Mr. Lye, at All-Hallows, Lombard Street: "Brethren, I could do very much for the love I bear to you, but I dare not sin. I know they will tell you this is pride and peevishness in us, and that we have preached against it, and are tender of our reputation, and we would fain all be bishops, and forty things more; but the Lord be witness between them and us in this. Beloved, I prefer my wife and children before a blast of air of people's talk; I am very sensible what it is to be reduced to a morsel of bread. Let the God of heaven and earth do what He will with me, if I could have subscribed with a good conscience, I would: I would do anything to keep myself in the work of God; but to sin against my God, I dare not do it." Likewise so said they all, and went out, not knowing whither they went,—Two Thousand honest men.

I am not about to enter into any discussion as to the precise number of the ejected; whether Calamy, in enumerating more than 2000, has fallen into the sin of exaggeration, a sin neither uncommon nor wholly unpardonable in professed martyrologists; or whether, on the other hand, his critics have not unjustly diminished the number of this noble army of confessors. Still less am I disposed to inquire whether the flower of the English Church is to be sought among those who retained or those who left their stations within her pale. Now at least, God be thanked, it is permitted us to love Taylor and Tillotson and Ken, without bating one jot of loyal attachment to Baxter and Howe and Alleine and Heywood. But if it is easy to count up a long bead-roll of famous names on either side, it is the peculiar glory of the Nonconformists that in their ranks can have been but a very small proportion of worldly and insincere and shallow-hearted

Digitized by Google

men. It is difficult to see what temptation there could have been for such to cast in their lot with the ejected. For conscience' sake, they had to cut themselves off from all visible communion with the nation's religious life, to own themselves, at least in sight of men, severed from the body of Christ. They had to abandon a work which God daily helped and blessed; believing that they had a commission from Him to speak, to be silent for the truth's sake; yearning over their people with a love hard to be expressed, to leave them to the ministry of strangers. They were called upon to exchange a comfortable maintenance for the providence of Him who feedeth the young ravens; or if this be never very hard for a true man who is alone in the world and is content to rely on God and his own right arm, many went forth, wife and children in hand, uncertain of to-morrow's bread. Whatever evil things they may have looked forward to on that dark August Sunday, came upon them, with many unexpected persecutions added: for years yet to come it will be a gainful trade to hunt down a Nonconformist; and the gaols will be full of those who fear the greater woe which will come upon them if they preach not the gospel. Many died in faith: before others stretch almost thirty years of alternate storm and calm, till at last the reward of much self-denying patience comes, not in a re-union with the Church from which they had been cut off, but in a sort of half-contemptuous permission to live out their obscure lives and preach their rude gospel untouched by penal law, yet with abnegation of all honours and acknowledged influence in Church and State. Many of the great self-sacrifices which history records have been more brilliant than this; not one, I think, so pure. For the sacrifice was very bitter and close at hand; the reward, hidden far away with God.

My account of the events which followed must be briefer than the narrative of those which preceded the Act of Uniformity. Fortunately, however perplexing in detail, the ecclesiastical policy of Charles II. and his successor was regulated by a regard to a single group of interests. Charles was a secret, James an avowed Catholic; and each was anxious to obtain at least a toleration for the worship of the ancient Church. But loyal as the Parliaments of this period were, they hated Catholicism even more than they loved monarchy, so that to obtain from them a *legal* indulgence for Papists was an altogether hopeless task. In this difficulty each King bethought him, in turns, of claiming and exercising the power of dispensing, by a mere effort of prerogative, with penal statutes in matters of religion; thus conferring a boon upon Nonconformists and Catholics at the same time, and attempting to play them off as an united party against the Church of England. The position was a perplexing one; the King offered liberty of conscience, the boon which Nonconformists desired above all others, yet offered it illegally; offered

Digitized by Google

it, by the same instrument, to men whom all Protestants agreed in regarding as intolerable; shewing, meanwhile, by his contented acquiescence in penal legislation, that indulgence to Catholicism was his real object, and toleration of Nonconformity only a blind behind which to accomplish this. So for the most part, in both reigns, the Dissenters (as they now began to be called) were deaf to the voice of temptation; availed themselves modestly and thankfully of indulgence without at any time approving or adopting the principle on which it was granted; concurred with Parliament and the Church, on all fitting occasions, in taking measures to secure the Protestantism of the realm and the due privileges of the people; notably stood fast to this self-denying policy in the great struggle of the Revolution; till, when the fight was over, and the Church of England was delivered from its last fear, intolerance once more re-asserted its rights, the wise and kindly counsels of Tillotson and Burnet and Somers were set aside, and, as I have already said, Nonconformists, who asked for comprehension, were fain to be content with toleration.

This long alternation of indulgence and persecution began almost as soon as the Act of Uniformity had been carried into effect. The Presbyterians, fully convinced that they had nothing to hope from Parliament, turned to the King, whose specious promises they had not yet learned to distrust, and whose facile good humour hid from them the hardness and coldness of his heart. So on the day after Christmas-day, in this same year 1662, he issued a declaration, again reciting the memorable words of Breda, modestly claiming the dispensing power, and promising a certain measure of indulgence to Nonconformists and Catholics. This gleam of hope was but of short duration. The House of Commons thanked his Majesty for his promise to maintain the Act of Uniformity, protested against the indulgence, and, by a seasonable supply of money to an always needy monarch, induced him for the time to abandon his intention. The winter and spring passed; some Nonconformist ministers were silent, even attended by times their parish churches as lay members of the Church of England; others preached, as occasion served, paying the penalty of their boldness in fine and imprisonment. The next blow was aimed at the laity, who ventured still to harbour, to support, to listen to, their old teachers. In 1663 was passed an Act, infamously known as the Conventicle Act, which provided that any person above sixteen years of age, who, after the 1st of July, 1664, was found "present at any meeting, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion, in other manner than is allowed by the liturgy or practice of the Church of England, where shall be five or more persons than the household," shall for the first offence suffer three months' imprisonment, or pay a fine not exceeding £5; for the second offence, six months, or £10; for the third, seven years' transportation to

Digitized by Google

the American plantations, or £100. Justices of peace are empowered to break up all conventicles, and to take into custody as many of those present as they shall think fit. These heavy penalties are to be imposed, at the discretion of a single justice, upon the sole oath of the informer. And as if it were not enough thus to put the liberty of Nonconformist preachers and hearers into the hands of any ignorant and brutal country magistrate, without even the small protection afforded in those days by a jury, it was specially provided, by a malignant refinement of cruelty, that such convicts should not be shipped for New England or Virginia, plantations where free men worshiped the God of their fathers after the manner called heresy in England, and where the exiled Nonconformists, therefore, might have looked for sympathy and rest.

In the autumn of 1664, the spring of 1665, the Conventicle Act was put into vigorous operation, and the laity went to join their ministers in gaol. Then came the great Plague of London, when nearly 100,000 inhabitants of the city and its suburbs were swept away; and King and Parliament, affrighted, betook themselves to Oxford. Some of the clergy stood manfully to their posts in the stricken city, many more fled for their lives. But the place of the hirelings, whose own the sheep were not, was filled by the true shepherds; the Nonconformist ministers conceived that this at least was a time to disobey the law with a good conscience, and stood up in the empty pulpits with brave words of exhortation and comfort. All honour to Vincent, Janeway, Chester, Turner, and others like minded! But what shall we say of those who, from their safe retreat by the pleasant banks of Isis, could aim a last and deadly blow at these very men who were taking out at the chancery of heaven their certificate of apostleship? On the 31st of October, 1665, the Five-Mile Act received the Royal assent; compelling all Nonconformist ministers, not only to take the old oath as to the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the King under any pretext, but to swear "that they will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government either in Church or State;" in default of this, forbidding them to approach within five miles of any city, corporate town or borough, or even of any parish, town or place, where, before or since the Act of Uniformity, they have at any time exercised their ministry, and taking from them all liberty of private or public teaching. £40 is the penalty for this offence, one-third of which is to go to the informer; while any two justices of peace are authorized to commit any person, convicted of infringing the Act, to prison for six months, without bail. Some few ministers took the oath, conceiving that, in a certain sense, they might lawfully do so, and hoping thus to clear themselves from the charge of sedition. But most sorrowfully prepared to leave their homes, as once before they had abandoned

Digitized by Google

their churches. They had been partly dependent upon the neighbourly kindness of former hearers; now they were to take up their abode among strangers. Nonconformity was strongest then, as now, in the towns; this Act compelled the ministers to commit themselves, almost without resource, to the unsympathizing neighbourhood of a rude rural population. They had been wont to preach and pray in private families, going from house to house, and so evading the provisions of the Conventicle Act; now even this poor possibility of service was taken away. So they suffered silently; once more informers were busy, once more the gaols were full.

The fall of Clarendon, in December, 1665, was followed by an ineffectual attempt at toleration, not unsupported by the King, who, however, gave way at once to the fanatical bigotry of Parliament. Every negociation of this kind ended in a bargain; Charles sold the Nonconformists for a fresh supply of money to lavish on his infamous pleasures. While every such transaction is in progress, the vigour of persecution is relaxed; no sooner has it come to its natural conclusion, than the sheriffs swoop down upon some notorious conventicle, and lodge a well-known preacher in prison. Some years passed in this way, in which the only fact notable by us now, is the renewal of the Conventicle Act in 1670, with the addition of this truly comprehensive clause: "And be it further enacted, that all clauses in this Act shall be construed most largely and beneficially for the suppressing conventicles, and for the justification and encouragement of all persons to be employed in the execution thereof. No warrant or mittimus shall be made void, or reversed, for any default in the form; and if a person fly from one county or corporation to another, his goods and chattels shall be seizable wherever they are found." Then, in 1672, the King took heart of grace, and issued his declaration of indulgence—offering liberty of public worship, under certain restrictions and licences, to Nonconformists, of private worship to Roman Catholics,—a declaration which remained in force about a year, when Parliament met, and once more bought Nonconformists and Papists at the price of a subsidy. The Dissenters joined, to their honour be it said, in opposing the dispensing power, and were rewarded with promises of a legal toleration—promises conveniently broken when a Bill for that end was formally introduced into the House. Next, in 1673, came the Test Act, providing that no person shall be capable of occupying a place of trust under Government, unless he take the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England; a blow aimed, with the concurrence of Nonconformists, against the Catholics, and indeed driving the Duke of York from office, yet recoiling with fatal severity upon their own heads, and felt till long within living memory. But this was the last of the penal laws. From 1673 to 1685, when the King's death

Digitized by Google

proclaimed his long-concealed Catholicism, Nonconformity lived a troubled yet not altogether unprosperous life. Sometimes the laws were sternly executed; sometimes suffered to fall into temporary disuse. Men might preach and listen if they would, but at the mercy of any covetous or malicious informer who could find a magistrate willing to enforce the penalties. In London, especially, regular congregations were formed, some of them in the halls of the civic companies, consisting of grave and honourable citizens,—a class who, all through the 17th century, greatly affected the Puritan theology. "What are we to do?" said a sheriff of Middlesex at this time to Archbishop Sheldon, who reproached him for not executing the laws against Nonconformists; "we cannot trade with men to-day, and send them to prison to-morrow." So the churches enjoyed an uneasy and often broken repose, assuming daily a more individual form and organization, and ever parted by a wider gulf from the persecuting Church.

This, then, was the condition in which the stormy times of James II. found the Nonconformists. To the events of the Revolution of 1688, I have no intention of alluding to-night, farther than is necessary to make quite clear the nature of the final settlement. The King's policy was what his brother's had been, with this important difference, that his claim and exercise of the dispensing power were not covertly but openly directed to obtaining at least equality of religious privilege for Roman Catholic citizens. And you know how the Nonconformists, almost to a man, rejected the specious gift of liberty; how they preferred still to suffer rather than imperil the freedom of the nation by acknowledging so dangerous a prerogative in the Crown; how, in the hour of the Church's extremest need, they boldly stood by her and the cause of their common Protestantism. When William and Mary were firmly seated upon the throne, and the Bill of Rights was passed, and those liberties secured which since have

> broadened slowly down
> From precedent to precedent,

then, and not till then, they looked to have their wrongs redressed. They were not Dissenters yet; many, perhaps most of them, would not willingly be. They still wished to think it possible that English Christianity should be one in form and organization; they still wished to call their own the stately cathedrals, the venerable churches, where they had themselves once worshiped, and where their fathers lay waiting the resurrection of the just. But it was not so to be; the Church knew not the hour of her opportunity. The Act of Uniformity still continued to mark her boundaries. The Test and Corporation Acts were not repealed. There was no revision of the Liturgy. There was no modification of episcopal government. A Bill for comprehension was

Digitized by Google

introduced into Parliament, but quietly suffered to drop; the Toleration Act remains the sole memorial of what the Revolution did for religious liberty. Quakers are to be indulged upon making a declaration. Others who attend conventicles are required to take the oath of allegiance, and to subscribe the declaration against Popery. Ministers, in addition to this, must sign the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, with the exception of three and part of a fourth. Meeting-houses are to be registered, and congregations assembling in them to be legally protected from insult and interference. But no part of the above applies to Papists and Unitarians, still considered absolutely intolerable. This treaty of peace, all that could be extracted from a triumphant and ungrateful Church, would have been but an unsafe foundation for the religious liberties of Englishmen, had it not been wisely interpreted by the growing liberality of successive generations. To my mind, the date of its passing is the most melancholy epoch in English ecclesiastical history; for *then*, first, it was declared to be a natural and right thing that Christ's church in England should not be one, but many.

I seem to see in this long story (story, which I have tried to tell as briefly as I knew how, and which is indeed being still continued in our own life and work) an exemplification of the method of human progress. All truer thought, all purer life, necessarily finds its first expression in dissent. The man who discerns the possibility of a theory of the universe more accordant with irreversible fact than that commonly received, or he who is able to attune his own life to a finer harmony with eternal law, not only differs from his fellows, but is constrained to make the difference plain. If only he is convinced that Truth is no mere plaything of the speculative intellect, Right something better than a calculation of conflicting expediencies—both of them, indeed, firmly grounded in the very nature of the infinite God—he cannot be content to keep them locked up in his own heart. Whether he will or no, he is forced, to the extent of his new truth, to become a Nonconformist, to incur the sacrifices, to pay the penalty of Nonconformity. Moses in Egypt, Christ at Nazareth, Luther in his convent, Fox, as the crowds hooted him in the market-places, Wesley, when his church turned her back upon him,—these, and countless other sons of God, have been made to feel the bitterness at once and the stern joy of being severed from the communion of men, yet admitted into solitary fellowship with the Father. Not merely as an expression of human ingratitude is it true that the Cross surely waits for the greatest benefactors of our race; it is a necessary law of our common life that one must pay the price for the uplifting of many, and the material instrument of our Lord's last trial has become the symbol by which we signify an

Digitized by Google

universal fact. But then true Nonconformity is not willing to perpetuate itself. The prophet departs into the wilderness, not that he may there hopelessly and alone wander among the rocks, but that through the craggy pass and over the shifting sands he may lead the people into a land "flowing with milk and honey." First a few faithful ones hear his voice and venture timidly to follow in his footsteps; then others gather courage, and then a host; the faint-hearted are made bold, the careless quickened by the great shock of sympathy that runs the nation through, till presently the Lord's people have been delivered from Egypt, and are manfully working out their own salvation. From age to age this process is repeated: Nonconformity dies only to be born again; the world would stand still if it were not so. But the prophet departs only that the people may follow him: Christ hangs upon the cross that all men may be lifted up. And so true Nonconformists make their sorrowful protest against error, in the sure hope that they shall one day be able to re-unite with the brethren whom they have left behind, in a common agreement in the truth.

Thus, I cannot look at the great event which I have too feebly endeavoured to narrate to-night in the light of any special doctrine or transitory interest. I do not hold it up as a triumph of Dissent, for the Two Thousand were not willing Dissenters, nor am I. Still less do I make it ground of accusation against the Church; there are few Churches but have persecuted in their day, and according to the fashion of their day; "let the dead past bury its dead." I have no wish to resuscitate the specific controversies which gave occasion to this signal faithfulness; in rites and ceremonies we have little interest, in doctrine we have penetrated to a region whence we hear but faintly the clash of Arminian and Calvinist controversy. I shall not attempt to point the moral of 1662 to the Church of England of to-day; I cannot enter into the consciences of men, many of whom are worthier servants of Christ than I, to judge, to approve, to condemn; to their own Master they stand or fall. No! here is a great fact,—to me, at least, by far too noble and too sacred to be degraded to any uses of temporary or sectarian controversy. Two Thousand men, who, with every hindrance in the way of their seeing it, have yet seen that of all things a lie is the emptiest and most unprofitable thing in God's universe, and at whatever cost, of substance, of usefulness, of existence even, are determined to keep their lives clear of falsehood! Not all learned, not all refined, perhaps in other respects not all faithful; but all honest, and all resolved by God's grace to keep so. Ministers of God, who have fully apprehended at least this doctrine, that God is Truth, and can be acceptably served only by true men,—servants of Christ, who, like their Master, cannot in the least jot or tittle deny or conceal the

Digitized by Google

thing that is, though the Cross visibly wait upon the Hill of Agony! Brethren, if you only knew how hard it is for those who speak as we do, to speak the whole naked truth, even at the cost of such petty penalties as may still await those who enjoy our freedom; how difficult to free ourselves from old prepossessions; how strong the temptation to say sometimes what you will gladly hear; how all but impossible to maintain a just independence of other minds, and to bare our own souls to your view,—you would wonder with me at the fortitude of these Two Thousand men, who, with one accord, wrenched a visible lie from their lives and went out into darkness and the shadow of death.

By many, the ejection of the Two Thousand will be regarded as having come to its natural end in the Revolution settlement, and, if so regarded, must be adjudged a failure. The prophet went out, and the people did *not* follow him; the protest was uttered against the Church's narrowness, and the Church remains narrow as before. And truly if I had no hope for the future, I should be compelled to utter the same melancholy verdict; for the condition of English Christianity, a condition which at the Revolution first took recognized and legal shape, is to me, as to all observers among foreign churches, a scandal and a wrong, which are all the greater in so far as they are unknown to those who suffer under them. That divisions, multiplied from year to year at the will of any self-willed leader, should be allowed as justifiable if only founded on some microscopic difference in our poor human apprehensions of an infinite and many-sided truth,—and not merely allowed as justifiable, but, with all their attendant suspicions and rivalries and envyings and heart-burnings, looked upon as a necessary and perpetual condition of the Church,—is to me a sorrow which I pass almost silently by, in the hope that in a better day it will wring other men's hearts and so work out its own consolation. But I do not look upon the existence of so many triumphant Dissenting bodies, side by side with the Church, as in any sense a true or legitimate result of the self-sacrifice of 1662. That result I find in the long and obscure history of a number of churches, who in these latter days have wandered far from the theological position of their founders, the victims of the Act of Uniformity. To them men say, "You occupy the chapels, you enjoy the endowments of old Dissent, yet are no true sons of your forefathers,—much more their shame and their reproach; give place to us who maintain the whole truth unimpaired, and stand, as well as we may, where they stood." And the answer to such demand should ring clearly and boldly from our lips, that *our* fathers were men who would not have their sons stand still, and that we never are so truly their children as when we press eagerly on whithersoever truth and duty seem to lead.

Digitized by Google

For when, after much tribulation, the ejected of 1662 had entered into their earthly kingdom of God, they learned that "where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." They gathered themselves together round the old teachers; they built their humble meeting-houses; they poured their substance into the common store; they provided for the education of future ministers; but, doing all this in strict accordance with their own views of truth and right, they left coming generations to God and their consciences. They were content that the Spirit of God should mould men's hearts and convictions in all future ages as it would: who were they that they should haply strive against it? And so long years passed,—years, to many worthy servants of Christ, of obscure self-sacrifice,—years which some stigmatize as a time of declining orthodoxy, and waning piety, and a growing listlessness in the more visible labours of the church. I am not here to accuse or to defend our fathers in the flesh and in the spirit: perhaps, after all, if they did not see our truths as clearly as we, there were truths of their own, even more necessary in that day, which they by no means failed to discern and to lay hold of. One thing I know, that our very ability to grasp the doctrines which we prize so highly and to which we cling in spite of the unanimous censure of Christendom,—the free and open heart with which we address ourselves to the good works now pressing upon our consciences,—are ours by direct inheritance, and are, if we use them rightly, a very sufficient product of two hundred years' Nonconformity. Now, for the first time, has the idea taken root in men's minds, of a theology which should make Truth the sole object of its belief and search, of a Church to be built on no less broad a base than the universal brotherhood of men.—Dreams, dreams, you say: let us gird our loins to perform to-day's duty, and be content. Ay, and so was the kingdom of God a dream when Christ rose from out the waters of baptism, and addressed himself to the altogether impracticable work of saving the whole world! My friends, it is part of God's moral government of the universe that the whole is firmly compacted with every part; that past, and present, and future, are one; that small and great are linked together by a tie that cannot be broken; and that the least and most transitory duty cannot be performed except in accordance with universal and eternal principles of right. And so it rests with us, and others like us (I say it in no spirit of self-congratulation—nay, if I know myself, I speak from beneath the burden of a too awful responsibility), whether yet the Nonconformity of 1662 shall bear its natural fruits or no. It may die, blighted by the coldness of our hearts; it may live, to lift England nearer God.

Digitized by Google

SOME FURTHER PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF THE LATE THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D., F.S.A., &c.

I HAD come home for the Midsummer holidays to my father's house at Pentonville,—then a *ville* of some rural pretensions, being actually separated by fields from London,—when, on a sunny Sunday afternoon, this gentleman was first seen, seated in our front parlour, by the rather observant lad, since grown grey, who pens these supplementary reminiscences. He might then be about twenty-two years of age, and I some ten or eleven years younger. At first sight I was considerably struck with him. Most men in genteel life had already begun to wear the now nearly universal black; but Mr. Horne was habited in a lightish brown coat and nankeen trousers that have never faded from my remembrance. When he was gone, he became the subject of remarks in our family circle, from which I gathered that the visit resulted from his having become acquainted with some relatives of ours on my mother's side who resided at Lambeth; also that he was a very estimable person, though, from his bookish habits and small knowledge of general society, somewhat of what is called "a character." Little did any one present imagine that this same "peculiar" young man would one day become the justly eminent *littérateur*, and both in attainments and look the first-class clergyman, that everybody subsequently acknowledged him to be.

On leaving school, I became, for reasons needless to be particularized, a frequent visitor and guest at Lambeth; and soon found Mr. Horne regularly installed in what is called in the current number of the *Christian Reformer* "his humble cottage," but which was really what the builders designate a *lean-to* to our relatives' residence, consisting of a single room, tiled over, with a window looking upon the thoroughfare in front, and two at the side towards the garden. Of this at that time both comfortable and pleasant apartment (houses and streets built all around have since made a melancholy change in every feature of the spot) our respected friend made a dormitory and library. He was away all day, but generally presented himself to the family in the evening, a door opening from his domicile into their hall, and they being always happy to receive him. Of course the room was equally accessible from their side, and I was once or twice mysteriously conducted to it by an erewhile playmate of the opposite sex, who would laughingly tell me not to touch a book, for "Mr. Horne would be sure to know it." Notwithstanding this injunction, I transgressed, I fear, on each occasion, and was rewarded in the evening by a knowing look, accompanying the intimation that "somebody" had been at the books. There was a goodly number on the shelves; and their owner, I found, gave every otherwise unoccupied minute to the

Digitized by Google

perusal of them, carrying one at least with him every morning when he left home, and reading as he went all the way to Mr. Butterworth's in Fleet Street, where he was then employed. He had long practised this mode of study, and had become such an adept in it that I have heard him say he had read metaphysics in Cheapside. About this time he became superintendent of the Lambeth Methodist Sunday-school; and I had many opportunities of witnessing the indefatigable spirit with which, wearied as he must have been with his week-day labours, he conducted it. Our relative, the head of the family, was an earnest Wesleyan, and a more than commonly good man; and I have no doubt that Mr. Horne owed some of his strongest religious impressions to his connection with him. I passed most of my Sundays in their united society, and that of the other members of this truly pious circle; and it would have been strange had the effect upon myself not been what it actually was, that of making me, as I believed, a confirmed Wesleyan; so hidden from me then was the result of future inquiry and reflection. I should add that Mr. Horne's practical good sense was of considerable service to me at this period, by the distinctions it enabled him to draw, on various occasions, between rational piety and religious enthusiasm; to the latter of which the Methodists of that day, if not of the present, were certainly too much given. It was their own fault if the young men preparing for the ministry, whom our host took his turn in entertaining by twos at his house, did not receive similar benefit.

All the while Mr. Horne resided at Lambeth, he employed great part of the night in writing for the booksellers; an occupation requiring the combined ability and industry necessary to compiling, editing, reviewing, translating, indexing, &c., as the bibliopole's wants or speculative tendencies might lead him to shape his *order*. Whatever may be the case now, this was then a most sorry trade, in a pecuniary point of view, to those who engaged in it; and Mr. Horne never scrupled to confess that he had found it so. Singular as it may sound to such as never knew him until after he had commenced his clerical career, one of the works to which he devoted much time, for a most inadequate remuneration, was a new and greatly enlarged edition of "The Complete Grazier." Yet more strange will it appear to some that the book purported to be "by a Lincolnshire Grazier;" from which he was jestingly called "the Lincolnshire Grazier" for some time afterwards in our family. He never seemed displeased with the joke, but I have heard him explain that the title was the bookseller's concern, not his, having been affixed to the first edition of the work, and that consequently he had not been so much as consulted about it. It was no small proof of the skill and thoroughness he threw into his labour upon this book, that it had much acceptance with the class for whose use

Digitized by Google

it was designed; many of whom regarded as an oracle in their own line that unknown "Lincolnshire" man, who had at that time hardly ever in his life, perhaps, been beyond the suburbs of London. Nor was it less amusing to his friends to find that, on all fitting occasions, "his talk was of oxen;" and that for several years he regularly attended the Smithfield Cattle Show, accompanied by a gentleman, well known to me, whose taste lay in that direction, and who professed to receive much edification from his remarks.

But now, where I well remember to have been the "Leverian Museum," arose, and flourished for some years, the "Surrey Literary Institution;" and that same connection with the Wesleyan body to which he was indebted for his introduction to Mr. Butterworth, served him in good stead when, through the interest of Dr. Adam Clarke, he was appointed Sub-Librarian, Dr. Clarke himself being Honorary Librarian-in-Chief. This was the grand stepping-stone to Mr. Horne's rise in life, as it gave him a very fair salary, greatly extended his acquaintance with the world, and, by the excellent library it placed under his control, was of much service to his literary pursuits. I was a frequent reader in the library, and saw much of my worthy friend in his new capacity. I had not many companions in my studies; but as the books circulated among the proprietors and subscribers, persons were often coming in to return those taken out, or to obtain others for perusal, and the registration of the exits and re-entrances of the volumes seemed to form the principal business of Mr. H. as connected with his post. He was as busy for the booksellers as ever; the only difference being that, his literary reputation being now established, he could choose the nature of his employment, and could even "give out work" to less known members of the profession, deriving of course some profit from their labours to himself. The ease and tact with which, when at the Institution, he would exchange at a moment's notice one species of occupation for another, often excited my admiration. While sitting with clouded brow over some intricate printer's "proof," some complex index to a work going through the press, or some manuscript compilation to which he was giving his soul, he would rise on the instant to devote a courteous smile and all proper services to any one to whom the duties of his office made such attentions requisite. At the same time he would permit no intrusion upon his personal avocations; and when once a leading proprietor, in my hearing, broke in upon him with "Ha! Mr. Horne, what have you got there?" the answer, in substance, if not in terms, was, that Mr.—— had no business to ask the question. Growing rich in his own estimation, and especially when, under the patronage of Mr. Speaker Abbot, he obtained £1000 for a compilation connected with the public records, he married, and never

Digitized by Google

exhibited greater wisdom than in the choice of his wife. With that ill fortune in mere business, however, some amount of which attended him through life, £500 were wasted during the first six months of his matrimonial career in an attempt to form an educational establishment, of which Mrs. Horne was to be the directress, but which, though none could doubt that lady's competency to the undertaking, attracted no pupils, and was therefore never actually commenced.

The event upon which all Mr. Horne's subsequent success and fame were founded, was the publication of his "Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures." Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, to whom he sent a copy, offered him ordination in token of his approbation of the work; and thenceforward he carried all the conscientious painstaking into the performance of his clerical duties which distinguished him in whatever he undertook. And here I cannot but take exception, though with due respect, to Mr. Mardon's broad statement that "the learning of Mr. Horne," as exhibited in the celebrated "Introduction," "was *filched* from the Presbyterian ministers" whom he names. It seems to me much more correct to say, in the words of another writer quoted by Mr. M. that the Introduction "may be pronounced an excellent *vade mecum* on the wide range of subjects which it treats, containing as it does a collection of passages, not more remarkable for their extent and variety than for their valuable quality, derived from some of the most able and accomplished of Christian apologists, Unitarian and Trinitarian." I quite agree with Mr. Mardon that Mr. Horne "was no original theologian;" but I am not less certain that he was incapable throughout life of an action that did not square with his own ideas of perfect integrity. And neither in his writings nor his conversation respecting them did he ever claim, so far as I am aware, originality as an author. He may be said to have lived to obtain information by reading, to digest it for his own use, and then to condense and spread it by his pen for the use of others. The Preface to the second edition of his great work, and which was repeated, I believe, in all the subsequent ones (I have it in the seventh), plainly states his design to be to furnish "a comprehensive Manual of Sacred Literature, selected from the labours of the most eminent Biblical Critics, both British and Foreign." He adds, what supplies the key to the right consideration of this question, that the book "originated in the author's own wants at an early period of life." The truth, I have no doubt, is, that Mr. Horne had collected a large mass of materials on biblical subjects for his private benefit from writers who had gone before him, long before the idea of publishing occurred to him; that he had not always minuted down with his after particularity the volumes and the pages from which

Digitized by Google

these were taken, and had interspersed them with much that was his own; and that when at length he resolved to publish, it would have been no small labour to himself, and of very little utility to his readers, to give his authorities in every instance. Still, we have only to look into his work to see that the number of his references to prior authors is truly enormous; and, taking up one of his volumes, and opening it at random, I find he acknowledges his obligations to *Lardner*, who stands at the head of the list of those from whom he is said to have "filched,"—I am sorry to have to repeat the word,—no less than forty-five times in the course of seventeen pages! (See Vol. I. pp. 70—86.) I make these remarks in pure regard to justice to the memory of an excellent man, with whom I was both long and intimately acquainted.

When I first began to suspect the correctness of orthodoxy, I regarded it as my simple duty to go to Mr. Horne and state my doubts. I am bound to say that his solution of my difficulties, while it seemed perfectly to satisfy himself, had not that effect upon his querist. I have a perfect recollection of some incidents connected with the call at which I at length avowed to him my Unitarianism. He expressed much regret, as I expected; then, with some warmth, said he had as much right to be called a Unitarian as any man who so styled himself,—meaning that the strict Unity of God was not at all impugned by the doctrine of the three persons: in the end he spoke with respect of several Unitarian ministers and writers whom he named, particularly mentioning the late Dr. Carpenter, and allowed that the critical labours of Griesbach had given strength to the Unitarian argument from Scripture. Afterwards seeing Mrs. Horne, who was ignorant of what had passed in her husband's study between him and myself, she took occasion to remark, with motherly affection and pride, on the excellent dispositions of her two little daughters, then aged, I should suppose, some four and five years respectively. She said, "they did not know what a falsehood was." I thought, but did not observe, that there was some discrepancy between this statement and belief in the doctrine of original sin; also that it supplied a reason for our not accepting in their literality the Psalmist's words, "They go astray as soon as they be born, speaking lies."

From the period of the interview just spoken of, I had little communication with Mr. Horne. I imagine we each felt that our paths in life must thenceforward be considerably divergent. It may be right, in conclusion, to say that I have not seen the volume of "Reminiscences, Personal and Biographical," recently published, nor was aware of its existence till I read the review of it in the number of the *Christian Reformer* that has been referred to. I expect on perusing it to find no opposition between anything contained in it and what I have here said.

T. C.

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Sons of Adam.

Our travellers in the East tell us that the Arabic nations consider themselves as the sons of Adam, and think that Europeans and other strangers have no claim to that high title. By sons of Adam we may suppose that they mean those races that we usually call sons of Shem, namely, the nations which speak Hebrew and the kindred languages. Many of the writers of the Old Testament seem to have had the same opinion, and have called the favoured races, not sons of Shem, but sons of Adam, as distinguished from the heathen or the other nations of the world, whom they called sons of men. This distinction is lost in our English Bibles, where the translators have at all times been more anxious to conceal the peculiarities of the original than to explain them, and to make the Bible fit our modern philosophy rather than to teach us the opinions of the writers. I will give a few quotations to shew how these words are used.

Psalm xlix. 1.

Give ear, all ye inhabitants of the world,
Both sons of Adam and sons of men,
Rich and poor together.

Psalm lxii. 9.

Truly the sons of Adam are vanity,
The sons of men are falsehood.

Psalm xii. 8.

The wicked walk on every side
As a great terror to the sons of Adam.

Psalm xi. 4.

The Lord's throne is in the heavens,
His eyes behold, his eyelids try, the sons of Adam.
The Lord trieth the righteous,
But the wicked, and him that loveth violence, his soul hateth.

Numbers xxiii. 19.

God is not a man that he should lie,
Or a son of Adam that he should repent.

In many of these cases it may be argued that, according to the known peculiarity of Hebrew poetry, the one thought is repeated in new words, and that sons of men, and sons of Adam, may differ only in sound and not in meaning. But the parallelism of Hebrew poetry is as often marked by their opposition as by their agreement, and it will at least be allowed that when the two are contrasted, the sons of Adam are put in the more favourable light.

Deuteronomy xxxii. 8.

When the Most High divided to the Gentiles their inheritance,
When he separated the sons of Adam,
He set the bounds of the people,
According to the number of the children of Israel.

Digitized by Google

Here at least the sons of Adam and the Gentiles are placed in distinct opposition, and none of our translators have ventured to conceal it. The same distinction between the favoured race and the Gentiles is marked in Genesis vi. by calling the former the sons of God, where their intermarriage with any but their own nation, an act always so unpopular, is described as the sons of God marrying the daughters of men.

The books of the Old Testament, written in such very different centuries, may well be allowed to shew us different opinions about the origin of the human race; and hence, while the book of Genesis tells us that every man now living is a descendant of Noah, and through him a descendant of Adam, we need not be surprised at other Hebrew writers using the title in a more limited sense. At any rate, it is of the first importance that our translators should have the courage to shew us these Hebrew peculiarities, so that the English reader may judge for himself whether they are peculiarities of thought or only peculiarities of expression.

In the book of Ezekiel, the prophet is everywhere addressed by the Almighty as "thou son of Adam." This the Septuagint translates, son of man; and hence would seem to have been borrowed that title which in the New Testament we find given to Jesus. In the New Testament, the title must be left as it is, but I see no reason why in the book of Ezekiel it should not be translated, son of Adam. In Deuteronomy xxxii. 8, no critic has ventured to translate these words otherwise than sons of Adam.

Sins of Ignorance.

Psalm xix. 12.

Sins of ignorance, who can discern?
Cleanse thou me from hidden faults;
Restrain thy servant also from presumptuous sins.

The word Errors of the Authorized Version hardly describes with sufficient clearness the sins of ignorance of the Hebrew law. In Leviticus, chap. iv., the Jews are ordered, whenever they have discovered that they have sinned through ignorance, or done anything unawares that they should not have done, then to bring a sin-offering to Jehovah. This is distinguished from the guilt-offering of Leviticus vi., which a man is to bring if he has committed a fraud or sworn falsely. This peculiarity in the Hebrew mind that they allowed the possibility of sins of ignorance, should be attended to in the translation of Hebrews ix. 7, where we read that the priest made sacrifice once a year "for himself and for the people's sins of ignorance." A better view of morality now leads us to consider that a sin of ignorance is no sin at all, as it has taught us that a ceremonial work of the law is no good work at all. Hence perhaps there was at the time no great harm in supposing that a ceremonial work could cleanse a man from a

Digitized by Google

sin of ignorance, though now it leads to some confusion of ideas. It was only from sins of ignorance that the blood of Christ is said to cleanse us in the Epistle to the Hebrews, or at most from the fault of having omitted any of the dead works of the law (chap. ix. 14). The writer does not suppose that the blood of Christ is to cleanse men from real sin.

S. S.

THE PRISON CHAPLAIN.*

One of the most perplexing problems growing out of our present civilization is, how we are to dispose of and treat our criminal class. We are spending ten millions a year in various agencies designed to effect the repression of crime, and yet we find new difficulties, and some of them pregnant with most dangerous results, in our path. When the Tudors ruled, they tried to meet the difficulty which now causes us so much anxiety by a very summary process. By the aid of the gallows, year by year hundreds, nay thousands, of the wicked ceased from troubling. With our better civilization, our Christian consciences could not be at rest with such a Draconic policy going on before our eyes. With a humane penal code in operation like ours, the gallows is no relief. Every year the proportion in English society of convict population increases. Not less than 100,000 offenders, after paying the penalty of their crimes, are let loose every year upon society. But this is not the worst of the case. The colonies which once relieved the mother country of its worst criminals, refused any longer "to keep an open cesspool for the criminal sewage of England." We were then compelled to consume our own criminal smoke. The number of criminals in durance soon exceeded our power of safe detention. During the last eight or nine years we have been trying, with but poor results, the ticket-of-leave system. In carrying out this bold experiment, more than 11,000 criminals, many of them of the worst type, have been permitted to return to freedom and mingle in our every-day English life. Of these, a large proportion have abused their liberty, and about 20 per cent. have been brought back to endure penal coercion. What the proportion may be of those who have abused their freedom but have hitherto escaped re-capture, we cannot venture to guess; but the records of growing crime in the daily papers create the painful impression that our social condition is one of increasing danger, from

---

* The Prison Chaplain: a Memoir of the Rev. John Clay, B.D., late Chaplain of the Preston Gaol, with Selections from his Reports and Correspondence, and a Sketch of Prison Discipline in England. By his Son, the Rev. Walter Lowe Clay, M.A. of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. 8vo. Pp. 621. Cambridge—Macmillan and Co. 1861.

Digitized by Google

the number of criminals and convicts now at large. In a leading article of the *Times* of August 14, we read these words: "England is now trying the experiment of 'absorbing' her own criminals, and she does not find it altogether a profitable one. But if we cannot transport offenders to our colonies as we used to do, this is an experiment which we must make, and we must take the consequences of it so far as the experiment itself is necessary." After some observations against the ticket-of-leave system, the writer continues—"It is certain, from the plainest statistics, that outrage and violent crimes increase in proportion as the ticket-of-leave multiplies. The judicial statistics of last year give an increase of 556 burglaries over the preceding year; and the same judicial statistics give an increase also of about a thousand tickets-of-leave in that year over the preceding year. Nor have we seen the last of this growth and multiplication. The Penal Servitude Act of 1853, which did not allow mitigation of sentence, dies out this year, and leaves full and uninterrupted scope to the ticket-of-leave system. We may therefore expect a still larger harvest of this class of crimes. It is evident that something must be done."

However unpleasing the topic may be, the condition and discipline of our prisons becomes a subject of grave importance. Those 100,000 pupils are becoming every month better or worse; and it behoves us to look to them with the utmost vigilance, and to do what we can to cure their imperfections and to aid them so far as they are educating their unhappy inmates for entering anew on the duties and temptations of free social life.

It is not an uncommon thing to hear the chaplain of the gaol or the hulks spoken of as one of the consenting means to the corruption of society, by his too credulous faith in the professions of amendment on the part of criminals, and by his imprudent attestation to the fitness of these men for liberty.

If gaol chaplains blunder in this matter, and if their blunders prove serious in their consequences, endangering alike the safety of life and property, we can scarcely wonder, nor has society much right to complain, when it is remembered of what sort of materials gaol chaplains are sometimes manufactured, and what rewards are offered them for the performance of their laborious and distasteful duties. It has been the custom to regard a gaol chaplaincy as open to those clergyman who have commonly failed to prove themselves fit for any other clerical duty. The salaries, though better than those offered to the chaplains in workhouses (from £10 to £50 per annum), are, except in a few favoured counties, little better than those attached to curacies.

At a time when the education and reform of our criminals is forcing itself upon the attention of thoughtful persons, the publication of the book of which we have now given the title is

Digitized by Google

timely. If we do not err in our estimate of its value and of the character and public services of the remarkable man whose biography it contains, it will receive considerable attention, and will be regarded as a useful manual for gaol chaplains and others called upon to minister to criminals.

There are few portions of the volume which do not give proofs of the ability of the writer and of his knowledge of the subject on which he writes. But it is sadly deficient in arrangement. Historical statements, economical disquisitions, biographical details, private letters and public reports, are jumbled together in strange disorder. It will, however, be matter of regret if this literary defect in the younger Mr. Clay derogates in any degree from the honour which the public ought to pay to his excellent father, of whom we now propose to give a brief account.

John Clay, the son of a ship-and-anchor smith, was born in Liverpool, May 10, 1796. He was as a child delicate, and his life was in danger from the small-pox. But the run of a farm-house restored him to health, perhaps at the cost for a time of his intellectual development, for he was painfully slow in mastering the first elements of education, and acquired in the family, unjustly enough as the result shewed, the reputation of being not only dull, but almost a hopeless dunce. But though at a later period than with other members of his family, the development of power came in time. The precocious talents of a brother, younger than himself by two years, roused his emulation. He did not choose to be surpassed by a junior, and, applying himself with dogged resolution to study, took and kept the lead in their common tasks. Being destined for a merchant's counting-house, he had no higher training than a private commercial school, kept by a Mr. Wylie, afforded. But it must have been of the better sort of commercial schools, for, in addition to figures and penmanship, he there acquired a slight knowledge of French and Latin. He passed the six years of his life before he came of age in the counting-houses of two Liverpool merchants, and but for their failures he might have remained perched on a stool in similar establishments to the close of his life.

Happily for himself, he employed a portion of his leisure in systematic self-improvement, mastering more than one modern language, familiarizing himself with the best works in English literature, and not neglecting general science. Though an insatiable reader, he was not a mere bookworm, but excelled in practical mechanics, was skilled in all kinds of athletic exercises, could box, run, skate and use the sword exercise with the best of his day, and had not entirely neglected painting and music. Some of his mechanical inventions in early youth have survived and been found useful to the present day. A less common talent developed by him during this period of his life was in

Digitized by Google

private theatricals. As *Farmer Harrowby* in Colman's comedy of the "Poor Gentleman," and in *Fusbos* in "Bombastes Furioso," he won commendations from the actor known as "Gentleman Knight." Unlike some of his brethren of the cloth who have trod the stage, he felt no shame respecting it in after life, and had no scruple in alluding to this portion of his experience. If he found himself in company with very grave people and paricularly if a bishop were present, he loved in his clerical days to begin a story with, "When I was on the stage."

Not without its use in reference to the specialty of his life as a prison chaplain was his diversified youthful experience. It is sometimes and justly lamented that clergymen, who need, as much as lawyers and magistrates, accurate knowledge of human nature, often enter on their important parochial duties as raw and inexperienced in the practical affairs of life as hermits or monks. Emerging from the monastic seclusion of a college, accustomed to the language of books and the phraseology of the lecture-room rather than the talk of men and women, they generally fail at first to reach the understanding of the majority of those they address. Very different was the training of John Clay; and he may have owed some portion of his success as spiritual pastor to a very untoward flock, to the early vicissitudes of his youthful life in the docks and counting-house, on the cricket-ground, in the fencing-room, and when fretting his hour of vanity on the stage.

It was a fortunate disappointment in his plan of life that at the age of twenty-one he was thrown out of employment and compelled to make an entirely new cast.

"While still in this state of uncertainty he went on a visit to the house of his connexion and very kind friend, Mr. Charles Swainson, of Cooper Hill, near Preston. Versatile, genial, warm-hearted, and with a marvellous capacity for making himself useful, he was soon as prime a favourite in Mr. Swainson's household as in his own home. The visit was protracted from week to week, and eventually turned into a residence which extended over many years. At an early period of the visit Mr. Swainson, who had formed a high opinion of his sterling character and abilities, strongly urged him to take Holy Orders. The insufficiency of his education, and the inability of his father to bear the expense of sending him to college (even if his age—he was now twenty-two—had not rendered it unadvisable), seemed to him at first insuperable objections; but the thought, once presented, grew rapidly into a strong desire, and before long he adopted Mr. Swainson's advice, and devoted himself with intense application to the studies necessary for the bishop's examination. For rather more than a year he read as a private pupil with the Rev. Robert Harris, then Head Master of the Preston Grammar School, making the Greek Testament his chief study.

"In February, 1821, he lost his father. In August of the same year the assistant chaplaincy of the House of Correction was unexpectedly offered to him. There was an ordination at Kendal five days after the

Digitized by Google

offer was made. Dr. Law, the then Bishop of Chester, was known not to be fond of 'Literates;' moreover, there was no precedent for accepting a prison chaplaincy as a title to orders, the usual notice of candidateship had not been given, and the bishop was a stickler for episcopal punctilios. However, on the urgent recommendation of some potential friends, the bishop waived his objections, and he was ordained deacon on the 11th of August, 1821. On the 22d of September, 1822, he was ordained priest at Chester."—Pp. 8, 9.

To atone for the deficiencies of his education, he gave himself zealously to the study of the classics and of theology, and entered himself at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and, thirteen years after his ordination, took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity.

The circumstances that led to Mr. Clay's becoming a prison chaplain were by no means promising of zeal or excellence. It was to him almost a sort of Hobson's choice, for the only other title to orders which his county presented was a curacy in a church and parish so large as to destroy the lungs and health of successive curates. He felt no special call to his work. Practical philanthropy had not then taken any deep root in the English mind. Gaol chaplaincies were filled by men who could get nothing better. The post was one neither of profit nor honour.

In the Preston House of Correction, previously to 1821, the duties of the chaplain had been performed in the usual slovenly manner by an incumbent of a neighbouring parish, who further eked out his professional income by an under-mastership in the grammar-school. The best thing we read of him as gaol chaplain was, that his sermons were "always homely," and often contained close personal applications that were not acceptable to the men he strove to benefit.

It was the work of a magistrate then recently put on the commission, Mr. Addison, to reform the nature of the spiritual oversight of the inmates of the Preston House of Correction. The first scheme was a Ladies' Committee; but not even Mrs. Fry herself, though she twice made the attempt, could rouse in the dames of proud Preston the requisite philanthropic zeal. Next, Mr. Addison proposed the appointment of an assistant chaplain; the proposal was adopted and Mr. Clay was elected. The death of his senior in 1823 led to his appointment to the sole chaplaincy. Just before this appointment, an event of no small importance in its influence on prison reform had taken place, the passing of the Gaol Act. This statute consolidated and harmonized previous Acts relating to prisons, and gave the force of law to many of the wise and humane doctrines which, through the patient teaching of such men as Howard, Romilly, Mackintosh and their coadjutors and disciples, had at last been accepted by statesmen as truths. The weak part of the Gaol Act was its neglect of the principle of separation of prisoners.

Digitized by Google

In its place, it adopted, mainly on the authority of Mrs. Fry, that of classification. The inmates of gaols were to consist of five classes: 1, debtors; 2, convict felons; 3, convict misdemeanants; 4, untried felons; 5, untried misdemeanants. In houses of correction, the only difference was that the first class consisted of vagrants. Classification of crime is not the same as classification according to character. The tyro and the adult in crime are on this principle banded together; and the prison, instead of being the means and instrument of reformation, may instruct and harden in evil-doing.

The more valuable provisions of the Gaol Act were those which placed female prisoners under the charge of matrons and officers of their own sex, which provided for short daily services in the chapel, for instruction in writing and reading, and restrictions on the power of the gaoler, and necessitated periodical reports to the Court of Quarter Sessions, the Home Secretary and Parliament. The Act also prescribes hard labour for most of the prisoners.

A few years before the passing of the Gaol Act, Mr. Cubitt had invented the tread-mill to reduce the turbulent prisoners in the gaol at Bury. Mr. Bentham had at a much earlier period suggested something of the same kind, which he called a "walking-wheel."

But, according to the author of this biography, "the idea did not then catch the magisterial fancy." He should rather have said that Bentham's plans of prison construction and discipline, though approved and accepted by the Government of the day, were suppressed, at some cost to the nation, in deference to the narrow and prejudiced antipathies of George III. The tread-mill was now adopted in all the larger prisons, and their indolent but often witty inmates gave to this new machine the name of "the everlasting staircase." Romantic anticipations of its potency in eradicating bad habits were in many quarters indulged. Magistrates and others who watched the working of the machine and noted the hatred with which criminals regarded it, imagined that after a certain time spent in climbing this painful ladder, hardened criminals would change their nature and become honest and industrious. The steady labour which the unceasing ascent demanded was in the last degree distasteful to prisoners who in many cases had embarked on a course of crime simply from their dislike of everything like work. The well-fledged gaol-bird made the new instrument of torture the subject of careful study, and presently discovered how to mount the ladder with the least toil. In a year or two the swing of the practised tread-miller revealed in an instant to the experienced eye of the gaoler an old hand.

The Preston House of Correction, which was the theatre for a long series of years of Mr. Clay's judicious and persevering

Digitized by Google

labours, was reputedly a well-conducted prison at a time when abominations of every kind abounded in other prisons. Yet it was far from being throughout a reformatory establishment.

"Efficient and successful as the management of the prison was commonly considered, the evils that were apparent and tolerated were quite sufficient to anger and pain him; and he soon found that there was much hidden vice and corruption besides. The discipline in the yards was wretched,—thieving, gambling, swearing, sparring, and smoking were practised with impunity, for the 'constable of the yard' (a prisoner, not a turnkey) was commonly both unable and unwilling to check the disorder. But bad as was the open riot and blasphemy, there was worse underneath: vile practices and disgusting profligacy, to which the turnkeys were suspiciously blind. Their frail honesty, in fact, was not proof against a fee, nor even against the temptation to levy toll on the property of the county. But it was a difficult task to prove these abuses. The bench officially disbelieved in their existence; indeed, as he could never produce any conclusive evidence in support of his complaints, they were, for many years, shuffled aside with hardly any examination. Among the justices he acquired the character of being restless and meddlesome, and of course he earned abundant ill-will among the officers of the prison.

"To toil and moil, here a little and there a little, to make the Gaol more wholesome and cleanly, was his first undertaking. To provide the prisoners with water enough to wash with (a bucketful in the morning for each yard was the previous allowance); to enforce habits of cleanliness; to ventilate crowded work-rooms; to drain water-soaked cells; to wash filthy prisoners on their admission, and fumigate their clothes; to establish clothing stores—for prisoners often came in and went out half naked and bare-foot, and the mothers of prison-born babies had to wrap them in their own rags—on such matters as these his first and freshest energies were spent. At the same time, he set himself, by quick vigilance and prompt punishment, to improve the discipline. Fighting, gaming, pocket-picking, and swearing, he succeeded in checking to some extent, and he strove hard to restrain the pernicious intercourse which was freely permitted between prisoners and visitors."—Pp. 110, 111.

It was in 1825 that the tread-mill was introduced at Preston. Mr. Clay watched closely its operation and effects, and came soon to the conclusion that, however effective it might be as a means of punishment, it was powerless as an instrument of moral reform.

He soon saw the necessity of a prison school, and worked the scheme through a series of difficulties, at first employing as teachers the better class of prisoners. Then he found that the industrial plans of the prison exhausted the time and strength of those whom he wished to have as pupils. He fell back on a Sunday-school, and it was worked with some success, some of the prisoners learning the art of reading in the prison Sunday-school, with convicts as their teachers. Eventually he induced the magistrates to appoint a schoolmaster; he also succeeded in

Digitized by Google

obtaining the services of a matron to superintend the employments and discipline of the female prisoners.

For some years his plans were more or less thwarted by uncongenial gaolers. One—the man he found in office—is described as "a rough and ready bully, with a flavour of goodnature, and wit enough to manage the prison cheaply," who had passed to his place at the head of the House of Correction through the grades of a serjeant in the army, butler to a county magistrate, and a publican. Ultimately this man was peremptorily dismissed for peculation, neglect of discipline and of cleanliness, and the encouragement of gambling. The next gaoler was honest, but rough, capricious and tyrannical. All that he aimed at was a kind of quarter-deck discipline: for education and the influences of religion on the criminal mind he had little respect, and a zealous and hopeful chaplain he regarded as a mere dreamer of dreams. For a time the majority of the bench sided with the gaoler as against the chaplain, and poor Mr. Clay had to put up with many disappointments in respect to his benevolent plans, and sometimes to personal mortifications.

He cared little for mere paper plans and ideal schemes for reforming prisoners. He soon found that little good came from the lavish distribution among prisoners of Bibles and good books and tracts. He learnt that the only mode of procedure that gave the promise of beneficial results was to acquire the respect and confidence of the men he desired to amend. They were as a class too shrewd to be caught by the services of a mere professional religion, but notwithstanding all the bad and hardening influences of their previous lives, they could not resist the persevering and consistent manifestation of kindness. After describing some of his less successful modes of influencing prisoners, his biographer proceeds thus:

"But one religious weapon he had, which even in that vice-breeding prison wrought with some effect, and that was his own almost womanly kindliness. In every case that came before him, he searched with eagerness for some means of doing a judicious kindness. He would bring news from home to the prisoners, and write, or take in person, their messages back. Whenever he thought good might result he would procure interviews between convicts and their friends. On their discharge, he would, if possible, find work for all who were willing to work, and he would strive to effect reconciliations between them and their friends. For the poor homeless girl, if there was the least hope that her repentance was sincere, he would find admission into the Liverpool Penitentiary. If he thought a prisoner hardly treated, he would always importune for a mitigation of the sentence. If he was convinced of a convict's innocence, he would toil with all his marvellous pertinacity—very careless what trouble he caused, or what offence he gave—till he had exhausted every chance of procuring a pardon. In the prison he uniformly interfered to prevent the infliction of capricious and vindictive punishments. He often sharply rescued poor creatures from the rapacity and

Digitized by Google

brutality of constables, and not seldom forced his remonstrances and complaints on the notice of heedless or tyrannical justices. By such means he gradually acquired great influence, both among the prisoners and the classes from which they were drawn. Within the Gaol he was established as the redresser of grievances, while parents and friends outside resorted to him on all emergencies for help and advice."—Pp. 117, 118.

Conduct like this won him the respect of the prisoners, and very rare indeed was any instance of incivility on their part to the chaplain. Men ready enough to revile the race of parsons, would make an exception in his favour. The growth of his influence, both within and out of the House of Correction, was slow and gradual, but sure. When, in accordance with the better system which followed the Gaol Act, he began to prepare an annual report, the facts and opinions presented by him to the magistrates presently attracted attention. The local press noticed his plans of reform, statistical societies began to build theories on his carefully digested facts, and his name was becoming known as an authority on prison discipline and criminal reform.

Mr. Clay's experience soon convinced him that Mrs. Fry's system of classification was inoperative and delusive as a means of reform, and long before the magistrates were ready to carry the plan into practical operation, he was satisfied that individual separation must be the first step in any efficient prison discipline. In his Report in 1838, he thus states the benefits and dangers of the system:

"... The majority of the inspectors of prisons is in favour of the separate plan; by which is meant, the individual and entire seclusion of prisoners from each other, in cells of about 13 feet by 7, and 10 feet high, which are to be provided with every requisite for warmth, and ventilation, and cleanliness: the prisoners to be furnished with employment; to be visited daily by the principal officers, and to attend chapel on the Sabbath, under such regulations as shall ensure the integrity of the system. Many and powerful arguments are advanced in support of this plan, and there can be little doubt that it must have great advantages. Religious feelings, and the consequent probability of permanent reformation, are certain, in many cases, to be awakened in a solitude which is chiefly interrupted by the visits of the minister of religion. Contamination, if the system be perfectly administered, is impossible. While it has its consolations for the serious or devout, it has none whatever for the hardened; and is therefore adapted to reform the one, and deter the other. It may be said indeed to possess, as regards the characters of the confined, a *self-adjusting* principle. These are only a few, though probably the most prominent, of the reasons in favour of the plan of separation. The objections made to it must now be mentioned: they are, first, the very great expense which would be incurred by carrying out the system into full operation. 2d,—The tendency to insanity which it is said to produce in prisoners who undergo a long confinement. 3d,—The difficulty of providing suitable employment,

Digitized by Google

especially such as would be available to the prisoner on his discharge; and, lastly, the fact, as stated in the report of the inspector of Scotland (a gentleman favourable, nevertheless, to the system), that at Glasgow, the only place in this country, I believe, where the plan has been fully tested, the recommittals are 50 per cent."—Pp. 140, 141.

In prisons which afforded no convenience for the separate system, that of silent simultaneous labour was attempted. In behalf of this system, it was alleged that it combined with the exaction of social duties the encouragement of the habit of self-control. On the other hand, it was alleged that it offered to prisoners a constant provocative to attempt to elude the keeper's vigilance, and thus led to a kind of excitement deleterious because destructive of moral reform.

A brief description of the system as amended at Preston and carried out under the influence of Mr. Clay, will best elucidate his good sense and Christian humanity and hopefulness.

The tread-wheel, introduced in 1825, was abolished. When the humane and Christian principle was recognized that the reformation of a prisoner was an object more to be sought than his punishment, it became apparent that while the mind was irritated and harassed by the ever-present consciousness of punishment, there was and could be no place and opportunity for calm thought and penitent feeling. In 1843, seventy-two cells, properly warmed and ventilated, were completed, and from this time the discipline at Preston assumed a highly improved character, the improvement being entirely in the direction of a *reformatory* kind. Public opinion was at first against the system of separate confinement, the chief objections being that it led to the loss of reason and destruction of health, and that it was excessively costly. As to the first objections, they were satisfactorily met by modifications of the system of separate confinement. As to the objection of cost, there is the fact that the annual cost of a prisoner at Preston was £16, and that amount is often greatly reduced (say to £11) by repayments from the produce of the prisoner's industry. On the other hand, it has been estimated that the cost to a country like England of a thief at large and in the pursuit of his calling is about £150 a-year. The rent of each cell at Preston may be estimated at about £3 per annum.

When the sentenced criminal enters the Preston House of Correction, he is cleansed and clothed in the prison dress, examined by the surgeon, and then, if healthy, passed on at once to work, either in a separate cell or in the work-room. In the latter, during the hours of labour, sixty to a hundred prisoners are engaged, under constant and vigilant supervision; the strictest silence is observed, except when, the allotted work being finished, one of the better educated prisoners reads aloud for the instruction of all.

"Here, in Preston, while the personal discipline is severe enough to

Digitized by Google

deter such as give no hope of something better, our chief efforts are used to produce permanent amendment of character, by rousing into life and action the religious principle originally planted in the breast, and never altogether effaced. Order, cleanliness, and obedience, are enforced to a degree which must be most irksome to persons accustomed only to irregularity and dirt; two hours of active exercise, daily, preserves the bodily health, and keeps up elasticity of mind: instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, &c., is given—and received—as a valuable privilege: work is supplied to all—except when compulsory idleness is inflicted for breach of prison rules,—and the value of regular occupation thereby taught; and those who can exercise their trade in a cell, are permitted to do so,—a boon which is most highly valued."—P. 278.

At Preston was first practised the great reformatory improvement of applying the separate system to untried prisoners. The mass of them enter the House of Correction not systematic thieves, but men or boys led incidentally into crime by ignorance, dissipation or drunkenness. Under the old system of herding the untried together in a common room and yard, the consequences were that hardened and skilful criminals became instructors in all that was bad of those young in crime, and the prisoner, even if acquitted, re-entered the world with a much worse and more dangerous character than that with which he came to the gaol. The prison reformer was met at first by the superficial objection that Government had no right to punish a prisoner before he was convicted. But in reality it was a punishment of the severest kind to an innocent prisoner to be compelled to associate for weeks or months with adepts in crime, whose talk was an incessant stream of moral corruption.

"Let us look," said Mr. Clay in 1846, "at the result of this separation, and we shall find the moral condition of the discharged prisoner *now*, in most happy contrast with what I have attempted to describe above. The prisoner is not now dismissed from his confinement with an imagination heated by the tales of successful plunder which he has heard in 'the yard,' and with a determination to rival the exploits of Turpin and Sheppard. Now, instead of exciting others to crime he is himself desirous to forsake it. He has no stories of his acquaintance redolent of the treadwheel and trial-yard; but when he speaks of prison, he speaks of stern, but wholesome, restraint; of friendly admonition, of the good thoughts which came into his mind when alone in his cell, of his grief for the grief he has caused to those who loved him, of his penitence for his fault, of his prayers for forgiveness, and of his resolution, by God's grace, to sin no more. . . . .

"[After referring to the good accounts received from the police concerning forty-two out of sixty prisoners liberated from separate confinement] I have yet further evidence in support of the views I advocate, which, if not more convincing than what I have already brought forward, is perhaps more interesting,—that of the prisoners themselves. During the process of self-examination which a prisoner, capable of exercising it, must undergo in his cell, he is encouraged to review his past life, and to trace to their source his faults and sufferings. Many

Digitized by Google

of the prisoners have availed themselves of this encouragement in a way which, while useful to themselves, will be, I think, also useful to those who inquire into the mental and moral state of the labouring classes. They have written, and sometimes dictated to me or to the schoolmaster, short narratives of their lives, their delinquencies, their self-convictions, and their penitence. Of these narratives I possess a volume consisting of more than 300 folio (MS.) pages; and it is scarcely too much to say that while evincing the beneficial process going on in the writers' minds, every page illustrates a history of which we are yet too ignorant,—the actual social and moral state of our poor fellow-subjects. Yet the native strong sense of the Anglo-Saxon character shines through almost every tale of temptation and sin, and must add to our regret that such materials for building up 'a great nation—an understanding people,' should lie neglected and exposed to influences equally injurious to their physical and moral state. We see them, boys or men, as they appear at one period, sinking beneath the moral evils which, sometimes surrounding them at their birth, sometimes involving them afterwards, too often beset their position in the *world;* and again, after a time of chastening, we see them prepared to occupy a better and happier place in the community, their mental and religious capabilities having been developed in *prison!*"—Pp. 273, 274.

Mr. Clay was no advocate for the total isolation of prisoners. The solitude he recommended was that which experience proved to be sufficient in duration and strictness to make the prisoner think and to save him from further contamination.

How Mr. Clay performed the duties which specially devolved on him as chaplain is well told by his son.

"He never suffered the religious teaching to degenerate into mere prison routine. It was his endeavour as much as possible to make the prisoner welcome religion as an alleviation of his punishment. He would have been the last to fall into the mistake (committed in some Gaols) of prescribing a certain religious dietary for the convicts. Nothing, in fact, could have been more repugnant to his feelings than to enforce a fixed spiritual regimen as part of the discipline. If, by an evil necessity, a man was left to learn what a Christian ought to know and believe to his soul's health, for the first time in a prison, he would do all that lay in his power to make the memory of that first lesson a pleasant one; not the memory of an irksome, hateful prison-task, but of a precious boon, which had rendered even the blank cell a tolerable—perhaps a happy place.

"With this object in view, he sought to render the school, the chapel, and his own visits to the cells, all valued privileges.

"In the school the men met in open classes, and were not locked up in boxes, as in other cellular prisons. They were indeed forbidden to speak, except to the master; but the penalty of expulsion from the class was quite sufficient to ensure implicit submission to the prohibition. Great care was taken to make the lessons so interesting, short, and infrequent, as to ensure their being enjoyed and prized."—Pp. 197, 198.

For more than fifteen years Mr. Clay read his sermons; it is needless to say that after he acquired the art of extempore address, his success was markedly improved.

Digitized by Google

"The spectacle of those two or three hundred upturned faces—blotched, sin-stricken, ugly faces, generally—staring with half-stolid animal-like fixedness at the preacher, was one not easily forgotten. Few men, probably, could have cast such a spell, as he did, over an audience so dull-brained, so incapable of following the simplest argument. But the chief thing to be noticed was the honest means by which he gained their ears. 'I never heard anything so logical from a pulpit before,' was the remark of a very competent judge, after hearing him preach. Probably what the critic meant was, that he had never heard such a *single-topic* sermon; for this epithet, in default of a better, may be coined to describe his style. 'It is my plan,' was his own account of his sermons, 'to be content with one idea; that is quite as much as my poor people can take in at once; but I try to enunciate my one idea as distinctly and as completely as possible. My endeavour is to keep out all other subjects, which would only embarrass them, and to make all my reasons and illustrations fit together so as to build up one single complete compact notion for them to carry away.' To an educated hearer the impression left by his sermons was, that he had brought some old familiar truth, hitherto but dimly seen (as through an ill-focused telescope) into sharp clear distinctness; and the inference was, that the most stupid in the chapel, however irreceptive, would understand his meaning in some vague way at all events. The sermons were so fluent, so nearly eloquent, that one peculiarity would probably escape an uncritical listener—the scanty use of any words but monosyllables. The number of words, too, that were employed was extremely small, yet the language never seemed bald and meagre. In fact, his greatest difficulty was to find words that the prisoners could comprehend. It was his often-expressed opinion that the vocabularies of many prisoners did not contain a hundred words, beyond those expressive of their animal wants, and those belonging to their trade."—Pp. 200, 201.

It shewed Mr. Clay's strong sense that he would have nothing to do with the modern religious folly or frenzy called revivals.

"The emotions of the ignorant are so heady and uncontrollable when once aroused, and the discipline of the separate system rendered the prisoners so susceptible to excitement, that it was only seldom, and then very carefully, that he ventured to play on their feelings. Had he wished it, he might have had a revival in the prison once a month. But when he did touch the heart-strings—when, for instance, pointing to the young lads in the front rows, he appealed to fathers and mothers for mercy on their own neglected children, or when he told some moving tale of sin and misery—simple and unexciting as the language always was, yet there was something in the manner, in the voice, in the whole man, that was quite irresistible; and half the faces in the chapel, brute faces as they mostly were, would be wet with tears."—P. 201.

The biographer adds in a note a very remarkable anecdote, which we venture to prophesy will find its way into future biographies of the late Sir Robert Peel:

"On one occasion he elicited a display of emotion for which he was unprepared. He had been telling, quietly, yet with some pathos, the story of Sir Robert Peel's death. The moment the name—which had been kept back to the last—was given, it was evident that a slight sym-

Digitized by Google

pathetic shock passed through the congregation, and in a few minutes several of the older men were quietly crying. He afterwards found that among the mechanics of Lancashire, Sir Robert's name was a household word. With the very dimmest notion of what he had really done for them, they considered him the 'Friend of the Poor.'"—P. 201.

If we apply the test of success to Mr. Clay's reformatory discipline, his system comes out with strong claims on our approbation. In his Report, 1854, he says:

"I have been able to show, during several successive years, that of the discharged prisoners who returned to their homes (in the county), after undergoing the sentences of imprisonment passed on them at the sessions, upwards of 60 *per cent.* have given satisfactory evidence of decided moral improvement, or of complete and permanent reformation. And while thus, under Providence, producing these happy results, the PRESTON SYSTEM was not chargeable with consequences which, too often, attended the severer one. In one year, 1852, the medical officer at Pentonville reported cases of insanity, delusion, mental depression, &c. &c., 'rendering removal from the prison advisable,' amounting, in all, to twenty-two. *Upon no occasion whatever have we found it necessary—or even 'advisable'—to remove either a Government convict or one of our own prisoners for a similar cause.* I am justified in affirming, therefore, that not only have reformatory measures had a sufficient trial here, but that they have been followed by results which leave no doubt as to what ought to be the main principle of prison-discipline."—Pp. 333, 334.

We have no more space at present to give to the subject of prison discipline, but we cannot part with this remarkable and sterling (though desultory and ill-arranged) volume without noticing Mr. Clay's personal and social characteristics. He was not the mere gaol chaplain, but was a genial companion, full of vivacity and wit, and a man taking a deep and an enlightened interest in all that was going on around him to benefit and instruct the masses. He was not the man to carry into society the severity, far less the sourness, of the clergyman. With the clergy of Preston, most of whom were of the so-called "Evangelical" stamp, he had little intercourse or sympathy. But we must give the description of his position as a Churchman in the words of his son:

"He was from the first a liberal, and a church reformer: he was, in fact, a Broad Churchman long before the Broad Church party existed. In his earlier life he did not hesitate to say that 'he owed his membership of the Church of England entirely to the accident of his birth; and that if he had to choose his communion over again, he would only prefer the Church because, bad as was her condition, he knew of no other religious body that was better.' Later, however, his hopes for her brightened, and his affection strengthened. He was always eager to acknowledge the increase of zeal and earnestness which marked all the ranks of the clergy during the last twenty years of his life: and he candidly confessed that the church-system rose in his esteem as his practical acquaintance with it increased. But to the last he was far from sanguine. 'If the energy,' he would often say, 'which is wasted on these miserable

Digitized by Google

controversies were combined into one great crusade against vice and ignorance, it might change the fate of England and of the world.' 'I am thankful,' he would add, 'that my isolated position as a gaol-chaplain, saves me from the danger of religious partisanship. I believe I never did, and I don't think I ever shall, deliberately utter a party word, or perform a party action.' And to this line of conduct he did in truth adhere with the most scrupulous consistency. 'Let it be said in his honour,' was a remark made in a leading provincial newspaper shortly after his death, 'that party-feeling or sectarianism, religious or political, never marred or mingled with his benevolence. No public man in this, or perhaps any other district ever indicated a more truly Catholic spirit.' Yet this Catholicity was not the result of any indifference to, or ignorance of, the great religious questions of the day. It arose from his will and power to sympathize, not as a matter of duty, but with the most unfeigned heartiness, with any man, be his creed what it might, who was willing to spend and be spent in the struggle against evil. It was this Catholic sympathy, this determination to make the best of all parties, which, more than anything else, kept him out of the ranks of all. He had the least sympathy with the Evangelicals. He rebelled against Calvinism with his whole soul. 'It is a mystery to me,' he would sometimes say in private—he hardly ever spoke of such things in public—'how many good and most thoroughly Christian men of my own acquaintance, whom I heartily reverence, can really hold a creed, which to me seems to be nothing less than horrible.'"—Pp. 576—578.

He had no sympathy with the severe Sabbatarianism so prevalent in England. He looked with suspicion on the organization of the "Evangelical" party, which he regarded as tyrannical and destructive of free-agency. He also considered the "Evangelical" clergy as the great enemies of Church reform and progress. But though many of his tastes and sympathies brought him nearer to the High-church party, he repudiated their distinctive theories, apostolical succession and ultra-sacramentalism. He was a profound admirer of Dr. Arnold, both in respect to his spirit and his theology. In politics, he worked himself out of Toryism into the liberal system of which the late Sir Robert Peel was the representative. He was an enthusiastic and indefatigable promoter of libraries and mechanics' institutions. As a popular lecturer he had won a distinguished position in Preston, taking such subjects as elocution, meteorology, acoustics, geology, sanitary laws, the divining-rod, local topography, and his own special topic, prisons.

His home duties as instructor of his own children were faithfully performed, and he was their playfellow as well as their instructor. He usually spent six hours each day in the prison; then he had generally two hours' work at home in answering letters, preparing returns and composing his periodical reports. He rarely got a holiday; and even when he had torn himself away from Preston, his thoughts were anxiously reverting to some who he knew needed his personal influence to help

Digitized by Google

them on in the path to reformation. Unintermitted toil like his of body and mind, could not but tell disastrously on his health, which gave way as early as 1846. Such a man ought at once to have been rewarded with a Church living which would have provided him with light but interesting duty and an income equal to his wants. But, as a clerical friend wrote, "During his thirty years of 'weariness and painfulness' at his dreary post, it was his lot to see some hundreds of Church livings given away by a succession of 'wise and paternal governments;' and yet John Clay died an unbeneficed clergyman." In 1854, the magistrates of the county provided an assistant chaplain, with the view of giving Mr. Clay the opportunity of regaining his broken health. But the appointment made was not a successful one. He struggled on with such remains of strength as were left him, and was able to complete his six-and-thirtieth year of prison duty. He was now entitled to a good pension, and the pain of quitting a work to which he was thoroughly devoted was lessened by finding a clergyman qualified to become his successor, and to carry on his plans in his own admirable spirit. The evening of his life was somewhat darkened by an unexpected domestic bereavement, the death of his wife, who was taken from him suddenly, after an union of thirty happy years. Severe attacks of asthma had so prostrated his strength, that his family scarcely dared to anticipate for him any further enjoyment of life. Happily their fears were disappointed, and with the aid of rest and pure air and freedom from anxious responsibility, he sufficiently recovered to pass two or three months of comfort and serenity at Leamington, the place he had selected as his last residence. There sickness overtook him in the month of November, 1858. In the wanderings of his mind an hour or two before his departure, he dreamt of a living in the country, the blessing for which he had for several years pined, being offered him by some patron lord. A smile of pleasure passed over his countenance. In less than an hour he passed quietly away to that land where crime and prisons will not be, but where, in the presence of omnipotent mercy and love, liberty and peace will be the happy lot of God's children.

The closing passage in this deeply interesting volume is a letter written in his last year to Miss Carpenter, assuring her of his interest in her philanthropic labours, and his gratitude for her sympathy and support. "Although I have finished the little work I have found to do, believe me I shall still from my quiet and I fear useless privacy watch your labours with unabating interest."

Digitized by Google

DR. ROWLAND WILLIAMS AND THE INTERLOCUTORY JUDGMENT OF THE DEAN OF THE COURT OF ARCHES.*

When Dr. Rowland Williams, towards the close of his noted Essay and Review, quoted Bunsen's words, "Oh the fools! who, if they see the imminent perils of this age, think to ward them off by narrow-minded persecution!" he intimated that, in the opinion of some persons, the language was "too vehement for good taste." Now that he has been made to feel the bitterness of persecution, he probably agrees with those who "think burning words needed by the disease of our time."

For our own part, we can scarcely imagine words too strong to describe properly the indiscretion of the diocesan under whom it is the unhappiness of the Vicar of Broadchalk to serve. The prosecution instituted by the Bishop of Salisbury against one of his clergy, who is the foremost man in his diocese in theological learning, and whose services to his Church have been not small as Fellow and Tutor in one of our principal colleges, as the Professor of Hebrew at Lampeter College and as a writer on theology, is in itself a fact sufficiently remarkable. Should the consequences to the Church of England prove lastingly disastrous (as possibly they may), it will be little consolation to its friends to remember that this mischief was brought about by one of the least considerable of its prelates, a man undistinguished by natural gifts or the acquirements of the scholar, and whose best security from criticism is his insignificance.

Our object in the present article is, however, chiefly to record certain facts and opinions connected with the prosecution of Dr. Williams. We desire to put these things on record in our pages, because we cannot but think that the present will prove a critical era in the religious history of this country.

It is now little more than two years since Dr. Rowland Williams published in "Essays and Reviews" a very able, instructive and singularly bold article on Bunsen's Theological Researches. Vehement as the clerical outcry against the whole volume soon became, it certainly did not cross our minds that the portion of it contributed by Dr. Rowland Williams would be the first to be the subject of legal prosecution. We saw, with others, evidences of the writer's general sympathy with the scholar of whose researches he undertook to give a sketch; but it seemed

---

* 1. Bunsen's Biblical Researches. By Rowland Williams, D.D., Vice-Principal and Professor of Hebrew, St. David's College, Lampeter; Vicar of Broadchalk, Wilts. (Essays and Reviews, pp. 53—93.)

2. Judgment delivered on the 25th of June, 1862, in the Case of the Bishop of Salisbury *versus* Williams, &c. By the Right Honourable Stephen Lushington, D.C.L., Dean of the Arches. Folio. Pp. 44. London—Butterworths.

3. Persecution for the Word. With a Postscript on the Interlocutory Judgment and the present State of the Case. By Rowland Williams, D.D., &c., &c. 8vo. Pp. 63. London—Longmans. 1862.

Digitized by Google

to us to involve such a dangerous limitation of what Dr. Williams calls "the old Anglican foundations of research and fair statement" to make the historian or the critic responsible for the opinions he records, that we rashly, as the result shews, anticipated that this one, at least, of the Essays and Reviews would be allowed impunity. Its author, forecasting possible objections to his Essay, intimated that "the sympathy which justifies respectful exposition need not imply entire agreement."

Undeterred by the obvious difficulties of the case, growing out of the fact that Dr. Williams rather described the opinions of another than stated or defended his own, the Bishop of Salisbury chose to take proceedings against him in the Court of Arches. The Bench of Bishops had not been unmoved by the storm, the gale of clerical indignation had ruffled their lawn sleeves; but, as a body, they wisely abstained from the recommendation of a legal remedy for the evil which they agreed in deploring. On the path which his Right Reverend colleagues feared to tread, the Prelate of Old Sarum rushed with eager and inconsiderate zeal.

The charges, contained in seventeen articles, were filed according to the course prescribed by the Church Discipline Act and brought before Dr. Lushington as Dean of Arches. The first question he had to decide was as to the admissibility of the articles. Delaying his judgment until the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had decided the appeal in the case of Burder *v.* Heath, the Dean of Arches pronounced his judgment on the 25th of June in the present year. Seldom has Westminster Hall been witness to a more important judicial proceeding.

The charge against Dr. Williams was, that in the Essay on Bunsen's Biblical Researches, he had promulgated doctrines contrary to the Articles of Religion and in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer. We are disposed to assign in Dr. Lushington's judgment as great importance to the preliminary observations as to the actual judgment respecting the admissibility of the several articles.

The able counsel of Dr. Rowland Williams had made three principal objections to the admissibility of the articles: 1, that his client did not himself maintain divers opinions imputed to him; 2, that the opinions imputed to him had been submitted to a test not warranted by ecclesiastical law, viz. extracts from the Bible; and, 3, that the opinions maintained by Dr. Williams are not such as a clergyman is forbidden to hold and publish.

The Dean of Arches, while insisting that the articles should specify the unlawful opinions objected to, also the doctrines of the Church which they contravene, and the Articles and Formularies which contain these doctrines, first considered the objec-

Digitized by Google

tion that the work articled against was not so much an original essay as a review of the writings of another. He alluded to the fact, that this was the first occasion on which a clergyman had been made answerable for opinions stated in a review. This is the decision:

"I must hold that it is not competent to the reviewer, when he either states or professes to give the substance of unsound doctrine from the work reviewed, to leave his own opinion in the dark."

We think this decision may lead to some embarrassing consequences to men who are not otherwise than "orthodox." Historians are but reviewers on a large scale, and many historians have described heresies without reprobating them. Are they liable to be articled against if they live in the diocese of a Bishop having more zeal for orthodoxy than respect for historical fairness? We can also imagine the case of an uncandid writer in whose pages the heresy shall be in the proportion of the sack in Falstaff's tavern bill, and the orthodox disclaimer in that of the halfpenny-worth of bread in the same document. There was a certain Dutch clergyman, orthodox enough in his own profession of faith, who put out an admirable exposition of the heresies of Servetus, sometimes making his Dutch translation clear where the original Latin of Servetus left the doctrine obscure. Though the Dutch reviewer did not "leave his own opinion in the dark," we question whether, if Calvin had sat upon him as Dean of the Arches in Geneva, the Dutchman would have escaped scot free.

Dr. Lushington expressed his conviction that Dr. Williams had manifested a general but not indiscriminate approval of the opinions of Baron Bunsen.

In his Postscript, Dr. Williams thus alludes to Dr. Lushington's opinion on this point:

"To a lawyer, unaware how exceedingly rare, under episcopal and other pressure, theological outspokenness has become in England, sympathy with an author's sincerity, or interest in his researches as a critic, may seem coincidence with his doctrinal definitions as a divine; and some such presumption too evidently swayed the Court's mind; but the English language contains no plainer words than those in which I have expressed my relation to my author; and I cannot become an accomplice in calumniating myself by offering more than a simple and sincere disclaimer of any doctrinal position of our Lutheran philosopher's, which, in itself, or in the harsh construction of the Court, is inconsistent with our Anglican standards. I see that it is in the power of legal technicality to extort a contradiction, where none was intended perhaps by the author, certainly none by his Reviewer."—P. 59.

Dr. Lushington distinctly refuses to apply the test of scripture to the theological views of Dr. Williams. That was not the issue he had to try. He presided over, not a Court of Divinity, but of Ecclesiastical Law. The opinions of living Bishops, the

Digitized by Google

doctrines of distinguished Churchmen, are not the materials that must sway his judgment. He must look to the Articles of Religion, the Formularies and the Canons, and, interpreting these according to legal construction, must acquit or condemn Dr. Williams as he finds his opinions accord with or contradict these standards.

He notices the obvious objection that the enforcement of the Articles and Formularies on the clergy destroys the principle on which the Reformation was founded, the right of private judgment. He rules that a person in orders may hold what opinions he will, provided they are kept within his own breast. No inquisitorial power exists to draw out and then punish latent heresy. Dr. Rowland Williams rejoices in his Postscript that all the freedom he had claimed, and more than he had claimed, for Bible investigation, "is judicially conceded as permissible in the Church of England;" and adds, "Whereas the counter claim of an episcopate to exercise a falsifying influence over hermeneutics, in virtue of the supposed interest of dogmatic theology, is repudiated as illegal."

In Dr. Lushington's judgment, nothing exceeds in clearness, or, we may add, in its startling significance, the declaration that the clergy have no right to share in new truth which militates against the Articles of Religion. We must give the passage in the Judge's own emphatic words:

"Again, it is said this authoritative imposition of doctrine would deny to Clergymen participation in modern discoveries of science or history. A difficulty thus arises. On the one hand, it seems not reasonable to suppose that it was intended to shut out all inquiry and abnegate all future discoveries, however important. On the other, the Act of the Legislature proceeded on this basis, that for the purposes intended, the Church was in possession of all the truth, and that nothing in that respect remained to be discovered. Accordingly the Articles were framed, and all Clergymen forbidden under severe penalties to impugn them. But, to remove all doubt, I will put the case in a strong point of view. I will presume a discovery to be made of great importance, and proved to the satisfaction of very many scholars and divines, and that such discovery militates against some of the Articles. What is the duty of a Clergyman? what of the Court? Is the Clergyman at liberty to use such discoveries so as advisedly to maintain what is repugnant to the Articles? I apprehend, certainly not. Is the Court to discuss whether the discovery be a real or true discovery, to define its effect and operation? The Court can do no such thing; it has only to administer the law. The duty of the Court is to shut its ears to all such discoveries. It is bound by law so to do. The law must be obeyed, even in what may be termed most extravagant circumstances. The Court of Queen's Bench proclaimed and adhered to that principle in the case of Ashford *v.* Thornton (1 B. and Ald. 460), where wager of Battel was demanded. Assuming the possibility of such discoveries as I have supposed, the consequence may arise, that discussions, by the Clergy, leading to truth, may be excluded; but if such should indeed be the case, and if it should

Digitized by Google

be deemed to need redress, recourse must be had to the highest authorities, viz. the Legislature, which established the Articles and Book of Common Prayer."—Pp. 7, 8.

Dr. Williams, while he admires his Judge's courage in accepting consequences as creditable to the logical precision of his intellect, offers a hint respecting the moral inconvenience of the supposed discrepancy between the profession and belief of a person in orders, and rather wonders that the ethical consequences of the discrepancy contained nothing to shock the lawyer in supporting the majesty of law.

We know not what impression this portion of the Judgment of the Dean of Arches will make on the general clerical mind of England; but regarding it as the latest and, until overruled by the decision of a higher Court, as the most authoritative statement of the position of the ministers of the Established Church, we cannot but regard it as humiliating, and a confirmation of the accuracy of the legal as well as moral judgment of our own great Milton in declining to take orders because he was not willing to "subscribe slave." With this sentence of the Judgment in his memory, no member of the Church of England can consistently make it matter of accusation against the Church of Rome that it compelled Galileo to retract his belief in the doctrine of the motion of the earth round the sun. There may be alleged technical differences between the case of the philosopher in his relations to the Church of Rome and those of a clergyman to the Church of England, but the spirit in both Churches is alike; authority in each is made superior to evidence and truth. If there were were no other obstacle to serving at the altars of an Established Church, we can well understand that a dictum like this of the Dean of Arches is sufficient barrier to a truth-loving and truth-speaking man to prevent his taking orders.

On the subject of open questions in theology, Dr. Lushington follows and confirms the decision in the Gorham case, that all theological doctrines not determined by the Articles or Liturgy are open questions.

Another passage in the Judgment is of great interest at the present time, when the subject of subscription is widely agitated both in and out of the pale of the Church.

"With regard to the meaning of the Act of Subscription to the Articles, I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion that the Subscription is a most solemn act, and that though the Court cannot take cognizance of the intentions of a Clergyman when he subscribes them, yet the law will hold him to have taken the obligation *secundum animum imponentis;* and that mind is the plain grammatical sense of the Articles themselves. The subscription to such Articles is a declaration by the subscriber of his conviction in their truth, and a promise to abide by them."—P. 11.

If Dr. Lushington be right, as we believe he is, it is manifest

Digitized by Google

that all who reduce the significance of subscription by clergymen to a willingness to use the Book of Common Prayer, or even to a general assent to it as containing on the whole true and scriptural doctrine, if they are not guilty of a moral perversion, at least fall into a very serious error of judgment. If this one paragraph in the Judgment could be brought home to the intellect and conscience of the clergy, it ought to suffice to awaken an earnest and general desire to have the shackles of subscription at least loosened.

If the philosophy of clerical subscription be as now declared by a high ecclesiastical legal authority, not merely the writers of Essays and Reviews, and all who sympathize with their latitudinarian views, but all, whether of the High-church or the Evangelical school, who disbelieve any one of the Articles or stumble at any part of the services of the Church, ought to feel themselves debarred from subscription, or, what is the same thing, continuing to hold a benefice, to which subscription is a necessary preliminary condition. It was a view of the moral force of subscription similar to that now propounded by Dr. Lushington, which in 1662 influenced most of the Two THOUSAND confessors of St. Bartholomew's-day. There were not wanting then and afterwards prelates disposed to extenuate the force of subscription, and to allure clergymen whom they esteemed into continued allegiance to the Church; but the stern honesty of those conscientious men forbade, though at the cost of their dearest interests, their accepting any lax or non-natural interpretations of the act of subscription. The Dean of Arches now virtually says that those confessors were right, legally and morally, in regarding subscription as *a most solemn act.*

Some of the articles filed against Dr. Williams alleged that the doctrines propounded by him were adverse to those of the Bible. Into the consideration of these articles Dr. Lushington declines to enter, on the ground that the Articles of Religion and the Formularies, not the Scriptures, are the standard of the judgment of the Court; and for the same reason he declines to accept arguments in defence alleged on the authority of the Bible.

The Dean of Arches quotes the judgment of the Judicial Committee in the Heath case as his authority on this point, and then adds these reasons of his own:

"Were I once to be tempted from the Articles and other parts of the Formularies, the Court could assign no limit to its investigations; it would inevitably be compelled to consider theological questions, not for the purpose of deciding whether they were conformable to a prescribed standard, but whether the positions maintained were reconcilable with Scripture or not. Against pursuing such a course as this, the reasons are many, and in my judgment overwhelmingly strong. The exercise of such power, even when it has been demanded on behalf of the accused Clergyman, has been hitherto repudiated, and especially by the Judicial

Digitized by Google

Committee, the highest Court which can exercise Ecclesiastical jurisdiction. A further consequence would be, that, instead of all questions of doctrine not contrary to the Articles of Religion and the Formularies being what are termed open questions, the Court would have to compare what is impugned—a Sermon or Essay—by numberless references to various parts of Scripture. How unsatisfactory would such an investigation be to the Clergy and people of this realm! What confusion would be introduced by the diverse opinions of Ecclesiastical Judges! What mistakes would necessarily arise! Into what a state of uncertainty would the Clergy of our Church be plunged!

"Pressed by these reasons, and urged by every motive to preserve peace in the Church, I will not be tempted, in the trial of any accusation against a Clergyman, to resort to Scripture as the standard by which the doctrine shall be measured; and I may with perfect truth add, that, were such a task imposed upon me, the want of theological knowledge would incapacitate me from adequately discharging it."—Pp. 12, 13.

But are we wrong in thinking that the reasons adduced by the Dean of Arches lead to a larger conclusion than that for which he adduces them? Admitting as we do the truth of his reasons, they seem to us to prove the inexpediency and danger of submitting theological opinions to the censure of any Court, whether the standard of judgment prescribed to it be simple or complex. The difficulties of the subjects on which theology treats, the natural varieties of the human mind, the bias, often unperceived but very potent, of prejudice, the obscurity and imperfections of language, and the absence of any generally recognized standard for the interpretation of terms occurring in theological controversy,—all these considerations are weighty against all theological courts of conscience. As it is, are there not on record "diverse opinions of ecclesiastical judges"? Are not the clergy already, on some questions, plunged into "a state of uncertainty"? The notorious theological divisions of the clergy, not merely on what are regarded as the open questions of the Church, but on matters spoken to by the Articles or involved in the Formularies, rebuke the hope of attaining that uniformity for which Acts of Parliament were passed and ecclesiastical courts gifted with their various functions and powers.

And we may at this point take notice of some of Dr. Rowland Williams's criticisms, in his Postscript, on his Judge and on ecclesiastical courts generally. He admits (we think he scarcely could deny) his Judge's "intentional fairness and desire to do right;" also his vigorous intellectual grasp, certainly very remarkable in an octogenarian; but he allows himself to question Dr. Lushington's official freedom from a prepossession of an episcopal orthodoxy, and his possessing the required knowledge of theological terms and modes of thought, and of the many-sided aspects belonging to positions in theology. It is also charged upon the Dean of Arches that he did not, as he should have done, censure the prosecuting Bishop where he was pro-

Digitized by Google

nounced to have "sinned against the formularies of the Church of England." How pungently Dr. Rowland Williams can criticise both his Bishop and his Judge, let the following passage, taken from his Postscript, shew:

"Beyond controversy, our Church ascribes instrumentality to the Sacrament of Baptism, but significance to water as its symbol. A Bishop with little learning and a mediæval leaning, falls into the hands of partisans, and attempts to make a clergyman assign to the symbolical water that instrumentality which belongs to the service, with all its aggregate of divine promise, human devotion, and faith. If ever there was a case, in which an unrepealed statute of Henry VIII., imposing exemplary damages for unjust prosecution, might have been enforced, this was one. The Court, engrossed apparently with its preconceived idea, that the only business before it was examination of the guilt of a presumed offender, contented itself with rejecting this indictment, but imposed no penalty on its framers."—Pp. 54, 55.

Of ecclesiastical courts generally the Vicar of Broadchalk writes with no more reverence than when he is handling his unlearned mediæval Diocesan.

"It was said, by no less a loyalist than Lord Clarendon, that no man ever had to do with an ecclesiastical court, but he found in it more delay and less justice, than in any civil court in the realm. As it was in the days of Clarendon, so is it now; so it will continue, until a species of judicature, formed for a different stage of society, be placed on a level with the rest of our institutions. If the modern reading of 'benefit of clergy' means, that we may be treated as felons, whenever we have a Tractarian bishop, or one who does not know the passages in Eusebius on the Canon, it is time that in theology, as in treason, a judge should enunciate legal principles, and a jury try questions of fact. Twelve sworn men, with two barristers and a judge of assize, would administer more justice in a week, than an ecclesiastical court in a year."—P. 63.

We have no intention of vindicating our ecclesiastical courts; they are, from the very theory of the Church of which they are the instruments, imperfect and unsatisfactory, seeking neither absolute truth nor agreement with scripture; but we doubt whether Dr. Rowland Williams has done justice either to the Judgment which he criticises or the learned and admirable lawyer by whom it was pronounced. To realize to ourselves the moderation and good sense which temper the decisions of the Dean of Arches, let us fancy, in contrast, the terms in which Convocation, had it taken synodical action on Essays and Reviews in general, or Dr. Rowland Williams' Essay in particular, would have denounced him and them. How would that reverend assembly flout the theory of open questions, and how vehement would its denunciations have been of the heresies advocated in Essays and Reviews touching the authority of the letter of holy writ! Nor are we disposed to think that it would be a pure gain to truth and scripture if theological controversies could be introduced into our assize courts, and submitted to the wisdom and fairness of a

Digitized by Google

judge and jury. The "twelve sworn men" might consist of butchers, graziers and somnolent farmers. Think of such topics as baptismal regeneration, prevenient grace or the five points, being submitted to men whose talk is of oxen and whose subtlest lore is on a Turnpike Act, whose acumen is barely equal to discuss a parochial rate! Again, we have no desire to disparage the purity of the ermine, but we must say we have no desire to hear our Judges talk theology. The specimens of biblical knowledge and theological astuteness which have sometimes been given from the Bench, in passing sentence on a capital felon or in testing the adequate faith and orthodoxy of a witness, have not inspired us with much confidence in judicial theology. Unitarians did not feel their respect for the Judges increased by the language of Vice-Chancellor Shadwell or Baron Alderson, when those learned and estimable men were handling the profoundly difficult points involved in the suit of the Attorney-General *versus* Shore. We cannot therefore accept Dr. Rowland Williams's suggestion of submitting controverted points in theology, or the orthodoxy of this or that rector or professor, to the ungenial arena of a court of assize.

On four points the judgment of the Dean of Arches is unfavourable to Dr. Williams. The first relates to the inspiration of scripture. Dr. Williams had spoken of the Bible as "an expression of devout reason." This the Judge holds to be inconsistent with the doctrine that it was written by the interposition of God.

"It has been said that the Church has not in these Articles or elsewhere defined inspiration. It is no part of my duty to define it, and I shall not attempt to do so; but I must put a construction upon the Articles, and I hold that in the phrases 'God's Word written' and the 'Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation' is necessarily implied the doctrine that in all matters necessary for salvation the Holy Scriptures emanated from the extraordinary and preternatural interposition of the Almighty,—the special mode and limit unknown to man. It is true that all good gifts spring from the same source—from the power and will of the Almighty; but the gifts of genius or of mental power, even in a greater degree than is common, the gifts of any faculty of mind or body in unusual excellence, the existence of these qualities in the highest perfection overleaps not the ordinary course of human affairs, and is plainly to be distinguished from the special interposition of God, which is necessarily implied in these Articles as the cause and origin of the Scriptures. I must hold therefore that any Clergyman who advisedly maintains, whether in direct or indirect language, that the Holy Scriptures proceed from the same mental powers as have produced other works, or *vice versâ*, even with the qualification that these powers in the one case and the other differ in degree, impairs the Divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, does in fact maintain that the Bible is not God's Word written, but is the work of man, and thereby contravenes the Sixth and Twentieth Articles of Religion."—Pp. 15, 16.

Dr. Williams explains in his Postscript that the words ob-

Digitized by Google

jected to ("an expression of devout reason") occurred in an exposition of Bunsen's views, and proceeds:

"The German word is '*vernünftig*,' but is sometimes varied. The original writer meant by it that consistency with reason, and need of reasonable interpretation, which, in antagonism to the ecclesiastical courtiers of Prussia, he required with iteration. If I understand him aright, the antithesis to his sentiment would not be divinely revealed, but irrational. He is not excluding, as I conceive, Revelation, but folly. The acceptance by the Court of Arches of the indictment here proceeds not only upon the harshest construction of the German author's language, but upon the double assumption that I must have understood him in the harshest sense, and adopted that sense as my own."—P. 57.

Another phrase used by Dr. Williams, which the Court regarded as embodying a denial of the divine inspiration of scripture, was that in which he styles scripture as "before all things the voice of the Church."

Dr. Williams objects to his Judge's interpretation of the word Church, and also to his supposed doctrine denying the gifts of the Holy Spirit to the Church of to-day.

"A lawyer, sitting as our Primate's representative in Court, may be pardoned for understanding by the Church that respectable community which enjoys by Act of Parliament certain privileges; but to the theologian trained to meditate on things in their essence, the Church of God is that assembly of faithful men, which, from Abraham and St. Paul, has contained Prophet, Psalmist, Apostle, men of God speaking as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. A thousand questions may suggest themselves, as to manner, limits, variations in dialect, of thought, or speech, and expression of the Eternal in the finite; but that before all things the phenomenal character of our Bible is its procession through or from this company of faithful men, is so far from an indictable heresy, that most persons on reflection will call it a truism. If the Holy Ghost had not spoken by Isaiah and St. John, their works could not be inspired. I suppose no one deliberately doubts this. We ought not to blame a lawyer for his misinterpretation of a simple, however pregnant, truth, so much as the system which thrusts upon him an uncongenial task."—Pp. 55, 56.

Dr. Williams denies that the doctrine of the Church of England forbids the belief that men are now supernaturally illuminated; and hints that his Judge's sentence rejects the most hopeful solution on the side of Christianity of some of the great difficulties of revelation.

The language of Dr. Williams on the subject of justification by faith, in which he represents it as "the peace of mind or sense of Divine approval which comes of trust in a righteous God, rather than a fiction of merit by transfer," is adjudged by the Court to be in contradiction to that Article of Religion (the 11th) which treats of the justification of man.

This is Dr. Williams's explanation:

"Had I been framing a statement of my own doctrine, and not a

Digitized by Google

report of that of another man, I might possibly have written, 'Justification by faith is a doctrine in the Christian scheme which thus far corresponds to the principle of moral self-responsibility in ethics; both place the soul in direct relations with its Maker, and the one stands to ecclesiastical arrangements, as the other stands to legislative.'"—P. 61.

We think his explanation of Baron Bunsen more successful than his own comment on his own text.

Dr. Williams had described Propitiation as "the recovery of that peace which cannot be while sin divides us from the Searcher of hearts;" Regeneration he had spoken of as a corresponding giving of insight, or an awakening of the forces of the soul; the word Resurrection he had explained as a spiritual quickening; and Salvation as our deliverance, not from the life-giving God, but from evil and darkness. Dr. Lushington decides that Dr. Williams had ascribed to these terms, which embody leading doctrines of the Church, a novel interpretation, and one inconsistent with the 31st Article.

On this point, if we understand Dr. Rowland Williams aright, he maintains that he is censured not for his own opinions, but for giving an account of "a philosophical Lutheran's views on Justification and Propitiation," and intimates that his account had been "accompanied by a clear disclaimer of all the non-Anglican doctrines of the author reviewed." The difficulty in the mind of the Judge we suppose was, that while the assertion of adherence to Anglican views was general, the assertion of the heretical doctrine was very precise, and was so unaccompanied by a particular disclaimer as to leave the reader in the dark as to the author's opinion. This is one of the points in the Judgment on which a different decision might have been given, if the Judge had allowed greater weight to the fact of the Essay being in truth an account of the doctrines held by another.

We give in Dr. Williams's words his censure of the Judgment on the four points whereon the articles against him are admitted.

"The miscarriage of justice in these four points may be explained, with no great discourtesy, if we observe that the aspect under which Revelation presents itself to the legal mind is not as saving souls, but as material for framing Articles; and that a doctrinal contradiction thus technically elicited need not be a negation of any truth, but such a variation of tone or aspect, as may admit of being harshly construed into a studied discrepancy. I must confess myself to have looked in vain through the judgment for any recognition of the manifold depth of theological truth, or of that function of the scholar, which handles impartially all monuments of antiquity, without perverting in favour of any Church that by which all Churches profit in turn. Probably not one of the subjects which first entered into the discussion is caught in the judgment at the point of view at which it must have presented itself to either one of the original disputants. With no literary light, there could be no ecclesiastical justice."—P. 62.

For brevity's sake, we omit various points in the Judgment on

Digitized by Google

which the Dean of Arches pronounces against the admissibility of the articles and practically in favour of Dr. Rowland Williams. This part of the case might, however, suggest some curious reflections.

We must confess that on one material point, the latest publication of Dr. Williams disappoints us. It gives us no clear light as to his future intended course. He tells us that his counsel will best teach him how legal fictions are to be met; and that if he were technically to withdraw every expression reserved by the Court in the sense which the Court has technically affixed to it, he should not thereby retract a particle of his meaning or imply any modification of opinion. We have no fellow-feeling with Dr. Williams when he claims a triumph for himself and his principles in that portion of the Judgment which excluded scripture from the indictment. It was upon no broad principle of the right of private judgment, but by a mere technicality, that the Judge excluded scripture from the materials of his Judgment. For while he asserted that his Court only recognized the Articles of Religion and the Formularies, it is surely a needful preliminary on the part of a clergyman, before he assents to those Articles and Formularies, to ascertain that they are consistent with scripture and with truth.

There are passages in his sermon pitched in a higher key, one in particular at p. 44, where he alludes to the possible necessity that might be imposed upon him of following "*where God leads into the wilderness*" (of Nonconformity?), and of gathering together two or three in Christ's spirit, and worshiping the living God in the freedom of the soul.

Yet in another passage of his sermon he intimates that he has "instructed his counsel to submit to the correction of the Court all doctrinal statements."

This will be a very lame conclusion of a painfully interesting controversy, and, if such be the issue of this prosecution, neither Dr. Rowland Williams nor the Church of England will have reason to look upon the issue with complacency. Dr. Williams, in a glowing passage of his sermon, speaks of some of the nobler heroes of Welsh Nonconformity as his prototypes. Those servants of God suffered, as he intimates, bravely from ecclesiastical policy. He adds,

"Their names live in the mindful tradition of our true-hearted race; and the successors of those who cast them out, now build their tombs. So it may be again. I have written some things, with a vision as of a far time, as a protest in the ears of them that shall be hereafter; knowing there was no audience for me in high places now."—P. 45.

Time will shew us whether the name of Rowland Williams will live in the reverence of the friends of liberty and truth, or whether he will add to the long and melancholy list of men who saw truth and loved it, but loved the world and its honours more.

Digitized by Google

CRITICAL NOTICES.

Memories and Hopes. A Discourse preached at the Closing of the Old Chapel, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, on Sunday, June 1, 1862. By Thomas Sadler, Ph.D. London—Whitfield.

Few of our ministers have such ground for comfortable congregational memories and cheering hopes as Dr. Sadler, who has succeeded in raising the congregation at Hampstead from the slough of despond to an enviable eminence. The closing services now published are every way worthy of the occasion.

"We are here," said the preacher, "to bring for the last time our regular Sunday offerings—and many recollections and associations crowd upon our thoughts. The mists of the past rise and cause it to blend with the present; out of the old days and from the invisible world, the shadowy forms of the loved and honoured seem to hover about us; 'the stone cries out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber answers it;' in short, we have those feelings, with which alone it would be fitting and natural to close a long and interesting chapter of our history as a Christian church."—P. 5.

In the Sermon and in an Appendix we have a sketch of the history of the chapel, with the substance of which we propose to enrich our pages. Of the history of religion in Hampstead before the foundation of the chapel, Dr. Sadler professes not to give an account. It is in truth a subject enveloped in obscurity. That the religious teaching at Hampstead in the Commonwealth time and previously was of a Puritan character, is tolerably certain. As early as 1633, the minister of Hampstead was John Sprint, son of the more celebrated Puritan minister of the same name, who was author of *Cassander Anglicus* (1618). Calamy has mistakenly included the name of John Sprint among the ministers ejected in 1662. The register of Hampstead chapel records the burial of the minister, Oct. 19, 1658. Samuel, the brother of John Sprint, was one of the ejected clergy, quitting the rectory of South Tidworth, in Hampshire, on the passing of the Act of Uniformity, notwithstanding the great efforts made by Bishop Morley to induce him to remain in the Church. Of the Hampstead minister, who probably shared the opinions of his brother respecting Church matters, Calamy gives this testimony: "He was a man well reputed of both for his doctrine and life." Notice is taken of a petition of his, referred in 1643 to the "Committee for Plundered Ministers." Among the inhabitants during John Sprint's ministry was the illustrious Sir Harry Vane. It was at his mansion at Hampstead that he was arrested prior to his trial and execution.

We now follow the account which Dr. Sadler gives, either in the text of his Sermon or in the Appendix.

"It is generally believed that this congregation dates back to near the time of the ejection of the Two Thousand Ministers; but our early records are I fear irrecoverably lost. We know that a Mr. Woodcock, the son of one of the ejected ministers, preached here for many years, but by whom he was preceded we have no information. The perfectly unrestrained manner in which the congregation has availed itself of what it deemed progress in religious thought and opinion is however to my mind a sufficient indication of the time of its origin. It has been said that the majority of the Two Thousand did not fully understand the bearings of religious freedom; but they did

Digitized by Google

more, they exemplified the fact that, without it, learned, thoughtful, and godly men would often have to pay a heavy penalty for growth in knowledge and for faithfulness to conscience. The principle of religious liberty certainly ought not to be less prized by us because the conviction of its necessity did not originate in a theory, but was first *felt* in the path of enlightened duty." Pp. 5, 6.

"The first minister whom we can distinctly trace is Mr. Thomas Woodcock. He held that office for many years, and probably was the writer of a MS. sermon, which, by the kindness of the Rev. R. B. Aspland, now lies before me. It is dated July 21st, 1695, Hampstead, and is evidently the work of an able and learned man. The text is James v. 12. Mr. Woodcock's father, a man of considerable attainments and power, was ejected from St. Andrew Undershaft, and was brother to Captain Woodcock, whose daughter Catherine became Milton's second wife—his 'late espoused saint,' in whose person

'Love, sweetness, goodness shined
So clear, as in no face with more delight.'

Thomas Woodcock the elder spent some time at Leyden, for the education of his sons."—P. 18.

"Mr. Woodcock was succeeded by a man of considerable eminence, Zechariah Merrell, who, amongst other works, 'wrote the Exposition of the first Ep. of St. Peter in continuation of Matthew Henry's celebrated Commentary,' and who was one of the original trustees under the will of Dr. Daniel Williams, founder of the well-known library now in Red-Cross Street."—P. 6.

Of Mr. Merrell, Dr. Sadler adds that "he was a man of distinguished ability and piety, and that he published several single sermons."

"About two years before the death of Mr. Merrell, which occurred in 1732, Mr. John Partington took charge of the congregation. He is described by Wilson as a Scotchman. But he was connected with the Cheshire Classis, was ordained by it in 1722, and preached before it after his settlement in London. He came to Hampstead from Coventry, where he had ministered for six years. In 1738, he removed to the Scotch Church, Founder's Hall, Lothbury.

"In Mr. Wilson's account there is a chasm between the years 1738 and 1765, which I am enabled to fill up from other sources. In 1739, Mr. Joseph Simmons was minister. His death took place in 1754, but in 1753 Mr. Walton was preaching. The next name I find is that of Mr. Robert Atkinson, from Coventry, who, however, did not remain long, for in 1757 the pulpit was vacant. In 1758, Mr. Richard Gardner, a pupil of Dr. Doddridge, accepted the pastorship. He removed in 1765, and was succeeded by Mr. Richard Amner, from Yarmouth, whose varied publications bear ample testimony to his attainments, particularly on subjects connected with theology and biblical criticism. He left in 1777, to settle at Cosely, but afterwards took up his residence at Hinckley, his native place."—Pp. 18, 19.

Of Mr. Richard Amner, a biographical account will be found in Nichols's History of Leicestershire. He must have left Hampstead, Dr. Sadler states,

"As early as the year 1777. A member of this congregation, who died only a year before I entered on my ministry here, could well recollect the great pleasure with which she listened to Mr. Amner, of whom she said that 'he was an Arian and regarded as the most liberal preacher of his day.'"—P. 6.

"The minister who followed was Mr. Lionel Brown, who resigned in 1780.

"In 1782, Mr. Edward Gibson left Daventry Academy, and accepted the invitation of the Hampstead congregation. His stay, however, was short, for in 1785 he went as minister to Stannington, near Sheffield, and afterwards to Stockport. Whether he remained at Hampstead even these three years,

Digitized by Google

seems doubtful, for I find this record in the Minutes of the Body of Presbyterian Ministers in and near the cities of London and Westminster: 'April 5th, 1785, Revd. Mr. Fuller has left the congregation at Hampstead.'

"Mr. Fuller came to London from Enfield, and was assistant minister to the Rev. Thomas Tayler, at Little Carter Lane Chapel, from 1778 to 1783. In 1787, the Rev. Rochemont Barbauld settled at Hampstead, and remained till 1802, when he became minister at Newington Green, and was succeeded by Mr. Methuen, who received his education in Scotland. Mr. Methuen's death took place in 1815, and the Rev. Jeremiah Joyce, author of the 'Scientific Dialogues,' preached his funeral sermon, and entered into his labours for about twelve months, when he followed him to the grave.

"For a short time Mr. Shiel, a Scotchman, occupied the pulpit, but in 1819 he returned to his own country.

"The next minister was the Rev. Samuel Catlow, from Mansfield. He died in 1820.

"From this time, the services were conducted by students from the General Baptist Academy, under the Rev. J. Gilchrist, of Newington Green, till the beginning of 1824, when the Rev. William Wilson, from Crewkerne, became the minister. In 1829, he removed to Newbury, and was succeeded by the Rev. G. Kenrick, who resigned after a ministry of sixteen years.

"The present minister entered upon his office at Midsummer, 1846."—Pp. 19, 20.

"With regard to the original meeting-house, we are very much in the dark. In an account of Hampstead written in 1813, it is stated that the chapel in which the congregation then met was said to have been built by Mr. Isaac Honeywood, who inhabited the adjoining house, and who died there in 1740. Subsequently a stone was found with 1736 inscribed on it, in which year it is supposed a rebuilding took place. At this time there was in all probability a numerous assembly of worshippers. There were upwards of 70 English Presbyterian ministers in and near the cities of London and Westminster, and they and their congregations exercised great social influence. It has been often deplored that there should have been so large a falling off in numbers as there has been since then; but I think we should look on this as a sign of the severity of the battle in which our fathers were engaged; and if I am asked whether or not they have been successful, I shall not make a numerical calculation, but consider whether there has been an advance of the principles which they upheld. If the day should come when those enlarged and liberal principles shall be generally adopted by thoughtful and earnest Christians, we may well be reconciled to the thinning of our ranks in the attainment of such a victory for charity and truth. It is no new thing to find that the regiments which bear the brunt of a noble fight, have at the end to lament the fewness of those who remain. We must remember that, with scarcely any exceptions, those congregations which were left free, embraced by degrees opinions which they themselves had deemed erroneous on matters of vital importance: hence over many persons came a spirit of fear; they said, we have been in favour of liberty, but we did not think it would lead to this, and they made their retreat to what they deemed a safer position. It is one thing to uphold the freedom which covers a progressive theology of our own, but another to maintain the freedom which enables others to make as they think advances beyond ourselves, that is, absolute religious liberty as a human necessity and right, and as the atmosphere most favourable to the growth of the Christian spirit and the coming of the kingdom of God."—Pp. 7, 8.

Isaac Honeywood, whose name is connected with the old chapel, was related to the Kentish family of that name. The Hampstead estate passed, on the death of Frazer Honeywood, of London, Banker, to Sir John Honeywood, the third Baronet. Except in the case of Isaac

Digitized by Google

Honeywood, who built the Hampstead chapel, we have no knowledge of any connection of this family with the Nonconformist party.

Dr. Sadler alludes with much taste and feeling to various incidents and associations connected with the last sixty years' history of the little congregation at Hampstead:

"Hampstead is a country village separated from the metropolis by miles of fields, with lonely places, in which sometimes the highwaymen would hide. In the minister's diary it is stated on various occasions that he set out for London, but had to turn back on account of the state of the roads. It is Sunday morning, and we are in a plain old English Presbyterian meeting-house. A quieter place for spending holy-day could hardly anywhere be found. If we had the names of all the worshippers, it would not take long to read them over, but two at least are known far and wide, and rank among the best writers of their time—and both are sweet singers of immortal verse; I need scarcely say I refer to Mrs. Barbauld and Mrs. Joanna Baillie. But I rejoice in finding them here far less on account of their great eminence, than on account of their singularly pure and lofty moral principle, and deep and fervent religious feeling. It is pleasant to think of religious services in which their spirits took part.

"Time goes on and saps the foundation of the walls; they must be rebuilt, but they may be brought closer together now; much space is no longer required. Accordingly in 1828 a new and small chapel was erected on the site of the old. Still there is room and to spare. A record says, 'Five persons present to-day.' Would the worship have to be discontinued? Many of the English Presbyterian congregations had already ceased to exist; would not this share their fate? A very few, principally 'honourable women,' took the question seriously to heart, and made up by zeal what was wanting in numbers. One, who left a substantial proof of her interest, would often in the wanderings of her last illness dream that she was multiplying her gifts, in order that the services in the chapel might be kept up.

"How the mighty city crept on and on till the lurking-places of the highwayman disappeared, and the roads were lined and the fields covered with houses—how our little sanctuary began to look not quite so desolate—how it became full—how in our gladness we pondered whether it were not better to keep our full small building than to run the risk of one larger not so full—how we had faith and added a third in length, and said 'this will do for our time'—how the subject of enlarging presented itself again, and, after the same misgivings as before, we had faith, and added a third in width—how we came upon the foundation of the building as it was before it was made less—how still after a few years we had not room enough, and some of us felt strongly that as a Christian Church we were not doing our duty, and not a few were willing and anxious to form themselves into a staff of workers—I need not here recite; but 'when I remember these things,' and when I think that we are here as worshippers for the last time, 'I pour out my soul in me: for I had gone with the multitude, I went with them to the house of God, with the voice of joy and praise, with a multitude that kept holy-day.'" Pp. 8—11.

Dr. Sadler, in alluding to his own ministrations, says, "The subject which has been chiefly dwelt on here is the central truth of Christianity, the fatherly character of God, as revealed by and in Christ."

We conclude our extracts from this excellent Sermon by giving utterance to the hope that the able and zealous minister of the Rosslyn-Hill chapel, Hampstead, may long continue to preach this glorious doctrine, and that the congregation there may be in numbers and in Christian feeling and religious zeal all that their pastor would wish them to be.

Digitized by Google

The Quarterly Review. No. 223. July.

Of the eight articles which compose the current Quarterly, all are readable, and the greater number are instructive. But we have time and space only to notice the last in order, entitled "The Bicentenary." It is always to be regretted when a question involving matters of history is mixed up with modern polemics. What justice a *Quarterly* reviewer is likely to do to the clergy ejected from the Church of England in 1662, when his object is to throw discredit on the managers of the Liberation Society in 1862, will be sufficiently patent. There is no concealment on the part of the reviewer of his intolerant animus. His opening sentence shews it plainly. He there describes the sufferers as "Puritan partizans who paid the penalty of defeat by losing their spoil just 200 years ago."

The reviewer elsewhere speaks contemptuously of the Bicentenary movement, as though it were an outburst of religious zeal, selecting "*a false view of history as the channel for its expression.*" It may perhaps appear to dispassionate readers that these words describe the fault of the reviewer. It is sometimes the pleasure of clerical writers, when speaking of the struggles of religious parties in the 17th century, to represent the Puritans as for the most part mere fanatics, men without education or learning, weavers, handicrafts-men and the like, who had contrived by the turn of events to dispossess of their livings a learned clergy, and who, when the next turn in the political wheel came, were themselves dispossessed. That there were ignorant men occupying Church livings at the time of the Restoration is true, but their number was very small, perhaps not much greater than are to be found at present, when, by the aid of theological forcing-beds like St. Bees, Scripture readers are manufactured in a couple of years into curates. But it shews a lamentable disregard of history and biography when it is asserted or hinted that the bulk of the men who were put out by the Act of Uniformity were illiterate persons. The lives of the Two Thousand, as written by Calamy, shew that a very large portion of them were persons well known in the two universities, and that many of them were literary men and the authors of various works, especially in theology, held in repute both at home and abroad. It is an equal misrepresentation of the facts of the case to describe the persons on whose position and fortunes the Act of Uniformity took such disastrous effect, as men who had previously played the game of persecution successfully against the Episcopalian party, and in their turn only got what they had given. No candid writer will for a moment deny that the clergymen who in the Commonwealth time chose deprivation rather than violate conscience by subscribing the Covenant or the Engagement, are entitled to praise and honour. Nor can it be with truth denied that there were among the Two Thousand some who were intruders and had been persecutors. When, however, the advocate of the Church of England, for the sake of justifying the cruel policy of Clarendon and the Bishops in 1662, magnifies the number of the deprived clergy and represents them as amounting to six or even eight thousand, the improbability (to use no stronger term) of the statement is easily shewn. In an excellent Address spoken at St. James's Hall in the spring of the present year, Dr. Vaughan thus remarked on the numbers of the clergy alleged to have been sequestered previously to the Restoration:

Digitized by Google

"Mr. Walker spent some ten years in searching for information as to sequestered clergymen in the different dioceses of England. All accessible parties were put into motion to supply him with material. The utmost number of men that he could name after all is a little above 2,000 for the twenty years, and if that were so, you can see that there never could have been 6,000 expelled. But there is a briefer way of settling this point. If 6,000 were in the condition of sequestrated clergy in 1644, or subsequently, then, according to the laws of mortality, there must have been 3,600, and more, of those men alive in 1660, and claiming to be put back into their livings. All that were so living at that time were put back, and the whole number that were so restored did not appear to have amounted to more than some five or six hundred. The point, therefore, is settled by the most certain of tests. This is a course of inquiry which I have worked out for myself. But I would not rest satisfied with my own calculations. I have obtained the opinion of two of the first actuaries and staticians in this kingdom—one of them ought to be, from his position, the very first—and this is their statement:—If there were 6,000 men alive, of 24 years of age and upwards, in 1644, there ought to have been 3,600 of those men living in 1660; and the number of ejected ministers accordingly, between the spring of 1660 and the autumn of 1662, ought to have been between 5,000 and 6,000! I do hope, therefore, that we shall hear no more about these 6,000 sequestered clergymen. The truth is, sir, that we are greatly mistaken in supposing that the test applied to the Episcopal clergy in those times was so severe as it is said to have been."

This sounds like fair and valid historical criticism. But such a statement is anything but convenient to unsparing writers of the Church party. The Quarterly reviewer sets down the number of sequestered clergy as "variously computed from six to ten thousand," and asserts that "the vast majority of them perished miserably;" "only 600 lived to claim their rights when the King came back in 1660." In a note, the reviewer states Dr. Vaughan's criticism, which he admits to be "bold and ingenious," and replies to it in a conjecture which may be "bold," but is scarcely ingenious. Dr. V. appears to him "*to be wholly unaware of the tendency of starvation to shorten human life;*" and after quoting the opinions of the actuaries, adds sarcastically, "We hope that the next time he meets his friends the actuaries, he will tell them of the allegation which certain contemporaries have made, that the greater part of the said 6000 clergymen had little or nothing to eat during the interval in question. Perhaps they will inform him whether that circumstance would make any difference in the calculation of their probable vitality."

When an extreme position like that of the reviewer is taken, it would be well if its consequences were duly forecast. If such were the facts of the case, how little ground can there be for the confidence expressed by Church writers in the historical accuracy of Walker's "Sufferings of the Clergy," a work of which the editor of the "Annals of England" has just put out a mutilated edition, as a fitting offering on the Church side to Bicentenary literature. In a most slovenly manner must Walker have done his work, when he has enumerated little more than a third (if so many) of the numbers sequestered. But what were the numerous clergymen who still enjoyed their livings and gentlemen and lords doing, who sympathized with the sequestered clergy, yet permitted more than 5000 of them to die of starvation? The sequestered clergy had their fifths. The ejected Nonconformists had nothing reserved, but, depending on their own honest industry or the charity of those who sympa-

Digitized by Google

thized with them, were yet preserved from actual want. The reviewer will scarcely admit that the Episcopalians were less attached to their ministers than the poor Nonconformists were, or that the charity of Churchmen was lax and cold compared with that of their Puritan opponents.

The Quarterly reviewer treats the celebration of this anniversary year as simply a piece of anti-state-church machinery. He regards the sentiment towards the ejected as so much stage talk got up for an effect and a purpose. But surely the reviewer must know that admiration of the virtue of the ejected clergy is neither a novel sentiment nor one confined to Dissenters. What said the impartial Hallam?

"When the day of St. Bartholomew came, about 2,000 persons resigned their preferments rather than stain their consciences by compliance,—an act to which the more liberal Anglicans, after the bitterness of immediate passions had passed away, have accorded that praise which is due to heroic virtue in an enemy."

The late Archdeacon Hare, speaking of the ejected clergy, said:

"How grievous was the wound to the Church at the time! How grievous is it still at this day in its enduring effects! Two thousand ministers, comprising the chief part, it seems scarcely questionable, of the most faithful and zealous of the land, were silenced in one day, were severed in one day from their flocks, were cast in one day out of our Church, for the sake of maintaining uniformity!"

The Quarterly reviewer makes it a crime on the part of the Independents that they join in a cry for the abolition of the Act of Uniformity. True, their principles would prevent their benefiting by a State Church, however wide its doors were thrown open; but surely any man with a conscience and a love of integrity may wish to see the clergy of another communion relieved from a burthen and delivered from a snare. Independents have learnt from such teachers as Archdeacon Hare, that the Act of Uniformity was "most disastrous, most tyrannical and schismatical"—"the authors of which, it is plain, were not seeking unity, but division." The greater the charity and the virtue of those who would better a Church and assist its ministers, though they are themselves precluded from joining it.

For Lord Ebury and his attempts at comprehension and the reform of the Liturgy, the reviewer has no more a word of blessing than for Mr. Miall and Dr. Forster. The argument largely insisted on by the reviewer is the old one of fear: If you begin concession and reform, you will not know where to stop. Our readers will be at least amused with one or two passages in which the position, aims and prospects of the "Socinians" and "Unitarians" are alluded to.

"There is a motley throng of religionists crowding outside the door of the Church, anxious to force their way in, in order to divide the treasure which is stored inside. As long as the door is kept shut, they cannot reach the smallest objects of plunder. They have made the effort recently with at first some prospect of success."

The "plunder" we suppose to be protection from rates to a Church in which the Dissenter does not worship, and from the creed of which he may widely dissent. When the writer of these lines, a few months ago, paid on compulsion a church-rate, he felt the process disagreeable, but had not the faintest suspicion that his wish to be relieved from such

Digitized by Google

an impost partook of the nature of "plunder." But the reviewer continues thus:

"But Lord Ebury has two or three friends among the throng outside whom he is very anxious to let in; and therefore he begs to be allowed to open the door just a very little. But he is extremely eager to convince the stern guardians of the door that it is only to be opened just ajar, and that the very moment his friends have slipped in it shall be securely closed again. *The only question is, whether the Socinians and other stalwart sectaries behind, who do not enjoy the advantage of Lord Ebury's friendship, will allow him to smuggle in his own friends, and then patiently stand perfectly still while he slams the door back in their faces.* Lord Ebury, whose simplicity is as confiding as his charity is amiable, believes that they will. We, who have the misfortune to take a gloomier view of mankind, have, on the contrary, an uneasy suspicion that they will not."

The reviewer proceeds to try and shake the nerves of Lord Ebury and other liberal Churchmen by holding out the imminent danger to the Church from the union of the Freethinkers in the Church with the Unitarians.

"The freethinkers, whom he would exclude, are strong in ability, in the influence they have gained with a certain section of the educated classes, and in the fact that as a school they are young, and have the promise of the future before them. *The Unitarians, with whom on such a question they would act, also possess a strength arising from social position and ability out of all proportion to their numbers.* They would never moot such a question of themselves; without assistance they would be powerless to force the defences of the Church of England."

The reviewer pleads for the retention of the present test because from its antiquity it has a power and a prestige which a new test would lack. He is probably not far from the truth when he assumes "that the construction of a new test is an impossibility. A *formula concordiæ* is always a perplexing instrument to construct." He supposes, so fond are the present clergy of narrowness and exclusion, that were an Act of comprehension passed, many whom he calls "the nobler spirits in the Church" would fly off to keep themselves at a distance from heresy. The reviewer draws a dark picture of the consequences to ensue were the Church deprived of that definite faith contained in her Articles and Prayer-book. There would be, he prophesies, disseminated in her name merely a mass of conflicting dogmas, breathing into the soul the ineradicable doubt whether Truth exists at all. But should not the reviewer see that, with its definite faith, the Church of England is already fulfilling in part his prophecy? What conflicting dogmas are disseminated by Puseyites here, by Evangelicals there—by an Arminian in this parish, and a fierce Calvinist in the next—by a high and dry Churchman at the head of one deanery, and a Latitudinarian in another! Is not the bad result he deprecates already accomplished? Do not Essays and Reviews and similar publications prove that ineradicable doubts on vital questions of faith have infused themselves into many minds? Is this acknowledged state of things mended by subscription to Articles which are not believed? Is scepticism alone an evil? It may be honest, compared with a hollow faith and an insincere profession of assent and consent.—We see that the *Saturday Review* has condescended to serve up to its readers the fictions of this Quarterly article, seasoned with its accustomed sauce of vitriol.

Digitized by Google

THE
CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCXIV.] OCTOBER, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

THE CHARACTER OF RICHARD BAXTER, AND HIS INFLUENCE ON THE ENSUING DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH NONCONFORMITY.

BEING ONE OF THE COURSE OF LECTURES RECENTLY DELIVERED IN LONDON.

BY REV. JOHN JAMES TAYLER, B.A.

Hebrews xi. 38: "Of whom the world was not worthy."

Every cause, whatever be its intrinsic worth, is ennobled by a history, when we can look at it through the mellowing light of centuries and trace it back to a living root in the distant past. Till it has borne fruit year after year and weathered many a storm, we have no sufficient evidence of its vitality. Falsehood and folly and the baseless dreams of speculative minds soon die out, and leave no deep impress on the course of human affairs or the direction of human thought. Whatever endures, what no opposition can arrest and no persecution trample down, is proved by the very fact of its simple persistency in life, to bear along with it some imperishable elements of right and truth. And if we see this must be so even in the case of abstract doctrines and outward institutions, still more must it be so in the case of religion, which has its source in the most living of this world's agencies, the utterances and endeavours of an earnest human soul. For religion spreads its sympathies through the ages, and makes successive generations one in a common trust and love. Our faith in God himself is strengthened by witnessing its manifestation in the efforts and sacrifices of noble-minded men who transmit their highest life to a long line of spiritual descendants. Then first do we truly believe in the possibility of a religious virtue, when history shews us that it has been a reality.

The antagonism of which Nonconformity is the expression, goes back to the first ages of Christianity itself, and is older than the organized Catholicism to which it is opposed. Our English Dissent is but a tributary to a broader and deeper stream which flows through the entire history of the Church—a permanent result in our social condition of the great religious strife of the 17th century. That grand, heroic period from which date all our liberties, ought never to be lost to our view. Let not the wealth and splendour and luxury of our actual civilization blind us to the momentous issue that was then at stake, or chill our gratitude to the patriots and confessors who bravely encountered it for our deliverance.—Richard Baxter is the religious

Digitized by Google

genius of that remarkable time—collecting and expressing in his own life its purest elements and highest aspirations—identified with no party, but an example to all. From his spirit are derived the noblest impulses which have animated our English Nonconformity. His was the deep human love which corrects its tendency to bitterness, and his the wide catholicity of soul which saves it from narrowness and vulgarity.

Baxter's father was a Shropshire yeoman of competent estate, one of that manly, independent class, half-way between the labourer and the gentleman, which has furnished England with some of its best intellect and sturdiest virtue. Richard was his only child. Though conforming peaceably to the Church of his ancestors, the elder Baxter was Puritanically inclined; and his son's account of his own youth gives an amusing picture of the conflict of tendencies which was already at work in the national mind. The Book of Sports, authorized by the Court, had quickened into new life the religious strictness which it wounded and scandalized. On Sundays, after common prayer, almost till it was dark, the family devotions of the Baxters were disturbed by the pipe and tabor and the dancing of the villagers round a maypole and great tree close to their own door; and Baxter confesses that in those young days the old Adam was at times too powerful for him, and "he broke loose from conscience and joined them, and the more he did it the more he was inclined to it." But his youth in all essential points was serious and pure; though his instructors appear to have been feeble and incompetent men, and he wanted, therefore, the stimulus and encouragement of a high example. When he should have gone to the University, he was placed instead under the charge of the chaplain to the Lord President of Wales, at Ludlow Castle, only a year or two before Milton's beautiful Masque of Comus was presented within the same walls. Though at this time so nearly in contact, I am not aware that these two great men have anywhere noticed each other in their writings. Baxter always regretted this change in his destination, for it occasioned deficiencies in his scholarship which the unceasing activity and pre-occupation of his ensuing life never allowed him to repair. This was not his only experience of a court life. At the advice of a friend, he went up to London with a letter of introduction to Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels to King Charles I., with the intention of pushing his fortunes in that direction. But he was so disgusted at having to sit through a masque on Sunday afternoon, when he would gladly have listened to a sermon, that he soon abandoned this career, and took up again with redoubled earnestness those religious studies and contemplations to which his natural bias and the influences of his early home so strongly disposed him. For some years he taught the Free School at Dudley, devoting all his leisure hours to practical divinity; and

Digitized by Google

the commencement of his inquiries from this side of theology, is a circumstance not to be overlooked, as it probably exercised no little influence on the aim of his future labours and the ultimate cast of his religious views. In 1638, he received holy orders from the Bishop of Worcester, having at that time no scruples about conformity. It was the imposition of Laud's *et-cetera* oath, which first excited his doubts and made him suspicious of its lawfulness. But the great reforms commenced by the Long Parliament, opened before him a prospect of more freedom and more usefulness. For sixteen years, with occasional interruptions, he was the parish minister of Kidderminster; and during that time, by a steady discouragement of party spirit, and by owning and welcoming vital godliness wherever it shewed itself in men of all opinions, he acquired an extraordinary moral influence over his people, and succeeded in reforming to a wonderful extent a community previously notorious for its irreligion and wickedness. For a short time during the wars, he became chaplain to Col. Whalley's regiment in the Parliamentary army. In this situation, not only was he very active in repressing the sectaries among whom a mischievous antinomianism was prevalent, and whose tendencies he regarded as destructive and revolutionary, but he lost also the countenance of Cromwell by speaking his mind plainly as to the course of action which he saw the great Independent Captain had resolved to pursue. Baxter, indeed, throughout his career, while ever prepared to acknowledge with Christian prudence the authority of successive governments *de facto*, and rendering full justice to the enlightened toleration of Cromwell, stood firm by his attachment to the ancient Monarchy and the National Church, and dissuaded his people from committing themselves by taking either the Covenant of the Parliament or the Engagement of the Commonwealth.

At the Restoration, public attention was universally directed to him as the most eminent minister of the great Presbyterian party. And let not that word Presbyterian deceive us. It had already acquired a new meaning. Of Presbyterianism in its proper sense, as understood in Scotland and Geneva, there was then, as there has been since in this country, next to nothing of pure English growth. Let Baxter speak for himself. I quote from his Autobiography. "The greatest advantage," he says, "which I found for concord and pacification was among a great number of ministers and people who had addicted themselves to no sect or party at all, though the vulgar called them by the name of Presbyterians. And the truth is, as far as I could discover, this was the case of the greatest number of the godly ministers and people throughout England; for though Presbytery generally took in Scotland, yet it was but a stranger here." (Reliq. Baxter. I. 146.) In another passage he remarks: "According to the fashion of those times, any man that was for a

Digitized by Google

spiritual, serious way of worship (though he were for moderate episcopacy and liturgy) and that lived according to his profession, was called commonly a Presbyterian, as formerly he was called a Puritan. Of the Lords, he that was for episcopacy and the liturgy was called a Presbyterian, if he endeavoured to procure any abatement of their impositions for the reconciling of the parties, or the ease of the ministers and people that disliked them. Of the ministers, he was called a Presbyterian that was for episcopacy and liturgy, if he conformed not so far as to subscribe or swear to the English diocesan frame and all their impositions. I knew not of any one Lord at Court that was a Presbyterian; yet were the Earl of Manchester (a good man) and the Earl of Anglesea and the Lord Hollis called Presbyterians." (Ibid. I. 278.)

It was the reform, therefore, of the parochial system and the episcopal discipline after the primitive model, and not its destruction to make way for something wholly new, and foreign to the ancient usage of the country,—that was the aim of Baxter and that large influential party, constituting probably the bulk of the nation, opposed to high-flying prelatists on one hand and to separatists of various name on the other, of which, under the name of Presbyterian, he was the most emphatic mouthpiece and the most distinguished representative. A large majority of those who were ejected from their benefices by the Act of Uniformity, were men of this moderate, catholic stamp. They had naturally hoped that the return of the King would be followed by the settlement of the Church on some broad and durable basis. Baxter shared in these expectations, though he soon discovered how fallacious they were.

So long as the appearance was maintained of an intention to fulfil the promises contained in the Royal Declaration from Breda, Baxter was singled out as a special object of confidence and favour. He was in constant communication with Clarendon; was appointed one of the King's chaplains; put on the Savoy Commission for reforming the Book of Common Prayer; and offered the Bishopric of Hereford, which, suspecting a snare to his conscience, he refused, praying only that he might be restored to his beloved flock at Kidderminster. The violent reaction of popular feeling, aided by the implacable animosity of the High-churchmen, rendered utterly fruitless every plan of comprehension. If the Presbyterians, among whom Baxter was conspicuous, were unreasonably stiff on some points of minor importance, the prelatists met them with a fixed resolution not to give up a single inch of the ground which they had regained. Concessions on one side would only have led to increased demands on the other. It had been determined to eject the Presbyterians from the Church; or, if they remained within it, to brand them with the imputation of perjury and the surrender of their prin-

Digitized by Google

ciples. There is too much reason to believe, that the better feeling of the Government and even of the Court, succumbed with worldly indifference and love of ease to the overpowering malice and vindictiveness of the bishops. Baxter held no living, and could therefore suffer no ejectment. He was simply silenced; and from a feeling of respect for constituted authority and a fear lest his example should encourage others to inconsiderate conformity, he ceased from preaching three months before the Act of Uniformity took effect. When we call to mind Baxter's actuating spirit and constant aim,—how he had always preached moderation and mutual forbearance,—how he had clung to the Church and the Monarchy through all political changes,—the sufferings and losses which he had to undergo for near a quarter of a century after Bartholomew-day cry shame on the malignant hostility and flagrant injustice of the men who inflicted them. He was constantly fined and distrained, his very bed on one occasion being sold from under him; he was deprived of his library, and allowed no settled place of abode, living now at Acton, now at Totteridge, now with some friend in the country, and every now and then, when the occasional indulgences permitted it, in London. In fulfilment of the obligation which he believed was laid on him by his ordination vows, he preached the gospel of love and holiness, wherever and whenever he could, out of the canonical hours of the public service, which he regularly attended himself. But he met with encouragement and sympathy from neither of the extreme factions by which the country was torn asunder. The Church persecuted him because he pleaded for toleration and charity; the sectaries hated him because he would not join with them in their rancorous enmity to the Church. The distinguished head of the Independents, the learned Dr. Owen, though holding principles which, carried to their legitimate consequences, must have utterly upset the Anglican Establishment, passed through this stormy period with far less interruption of studious quiet and domestic comfort than Baxter, and enjoyed to the last the favour of Clarendon. Baxter constantly got himself into trouble by his outspoken plainness of speech, his single-minded honesty of purpose, his unyielding tenacity of whatever had once approved itself to his conscience as right,—by too much eagerness and subtlety in disputation, and by an utter want of that worldly tact and prudence which helps far inferior men to escape the annoyances and secure for themselves not a little of the ease and enjoyment of life. His course was harassed and agitated almost to its close. When already seventy, he was browbeaten in open court with brutal insolence by the inhuman Jefferies. Yet posterity has benefited by what he endured. It was amidst these trials that the graces of his saint-like character, its patient fortitude, its high-minded conscientiousness, its lofty trust, its large and tolerant charity, were exercised and proved.

Digitized by Google

Here it gained that rich and many-sided experience and that deep insight into the spiritual realities of life, which made his writing and his preaching so full of instruction and comfort to thousands of human souls. Though he was misunderstood and maligned by numbers of the high and the low vulgar, the best men of his age and nation admired and honoured him—a Barrow, a Wilkins, a Patrick and a Maynard; and he was compensated for much worldly discouragement by the affectionate intimacy of a select circle of distinguished friends—the wise and good Sir Matthew Hale, the philosophic Boyle, Hampden, the son of the great Parliamentary leader, and Sir Henry Ashurst, a patriotic citizen of London. Glanvil, the latitudinarian, said of him, "that he was the only man that spoke sense in an age of nonsense." Baxter married the daughter of a Shropshire country gentleman, who sympathized in his principles and shared his sacrifices, and gave him her hand after his magnanimous refusal of a bishopric. In the closing years of his life, he retired to a house in the neighbourhood of Charterhouse Square, where he gratuitously assisted the ministry of Mr. Sylvester, the first pastor of the society of Protestant Dissenters which assembled till recently in Little Carter Lane, adjoining St. Paul's, in this city. He had been a voluminous writer for nearly half a century; and the last work which came from his pen, "The Certainty of the World of Spirits," indicates the steadfastness of his faith and the unchanged direction of his thoughts to the termination of his earthly career. He died in 1691, having lived long enough to witness the practical settlement of the great controversy in which he had been so deeply involved, and to partake of the toleration for which he had so earnestly striven; but, happily for himself, not sufficiently long to experience once more the disappointment of his cherished hopes of a comprehension, which should embrace good and Christian men of various shades of opinion within the limits of one Catholic Church.

Such was Richard Baxter. What is the lesson which his example bequeaths to us? And what influence can it be shewn to have exerted on that section of English Nonconformists with which most of us are traditionally connected?

Baxter's religious convictions and the large-hearted charity into which they ever widened more and more, were the fruit not of speculation but of experience, not of converse with books but of contact with men. Like his illustrious successor in the same field of action, John Wesley, the longer he lived the less he valued mere opinions; the more clearly he saw that love and holiness were the grand essentials of the Christian life. He began indeed his career with controversy, and from controversy, when forced on him, he never shrank; but already in his first work, his "Aphorisms of Justification and the Covenants," the Calvinism is of a mitigated character, and its reasonings are

Digitized by Google

mainly directed against antinomianism. His early devotion to practical divinity, his decided adoption of the doctrine of free-will, and his leaning towards universality of redemption, imbued his theology from the first with a marked ethical tendency, which furnishes the key to the right interpretation of his multifarious writings, and suggests the fundamental unity of thought which pervades them throughout. During his ministry at Kidderminster, he preached a series of sermons to prove that selfishness is the sum and root of all positive evil. The works of which he reflected with most pleasure on being the author were such as had immediately a practical and religious design,—his "Call to the Unconverted," and his "Saint's Everlasting Rest." The last was a spontaneous outpouring of the soul, a transcript of his own spiritual experience, when he was laid aside by sickness from ministerial service, and felt himself hourly in the presence of death. For the practical fruit which it bore, as witnessed to him by the acknowledgment of multitudes, it was one of the most successful of his books. "I found," says he, "that the transcript of the heart hath the greatest force on the hearts of others." To bring forth practical godliness out of a religious heart, was the one aim of his ministry. To this work he felt himself specially consecrated. The watchings and exhortations and prayers of months, he thought abundantly rewarded by the conversion of one human soul to God. A human soul in his sight had a value above all price. Hence the searching depth and subduing power of his ministrations. They were inspired by a profound sense of the grandeur of their object. Though he was richly cultured and had a natural gift of eloquence, he neglected the literary fame which with a more self-seeking devotion to that object he might easily have won. The opportunity of direct and positive usefulness outweighed with him every other consideration. The books and tracts which he was continually putting forth of every description and on all subjects, were for the most part occasional and thrown off at a heat. During the Plague, he placarded the walls of London with directions for the treatment of the sick and warnings to the ungodly; and on other occasions circulated half-sheets for the use of families to whom larger books were unsuitable or inaccessible. He confesses himself that he had written too much and too fast; but the very negligence and looseness of his style, when we recollect what occasioned it, is seasoned with a kind of moral savour, and fills us, as we read, with a deeper reverence for the man. One thus intent on practical goodness, was not likely to trouble himself much about opinions which he could not perceive were essential to a Christian life. His aim was to gather all he could into the fold of his Master, without undue strictness of exclusion. The outward, credible signs of seriousness of mind and honesty of purpose, sufficed with him for

Digitized by Google

admission. If answering a test like this, he would not have directly shut out even Papists or Socinians, nor was he without hope for heathens themselves. When we remember the predominant spirit of his age, we can estimate the depth of charity which could yield a concession like this. "I can never believe," he says, "that a man may not be saved by that religion which doth but bring him to the true love of God and to a heavenly mind and life; nor that God will ever cast a soul into hell that truly loveth him." He regarded love as the first of Christian graces, the choicest fruit of Christian trial and experience. His language on this topic is always singularly beautiful. "That is the way of God," he writes in a letter to a friend, "that is the way of love, and that to be much suspected that quencheth it. What a mellow sweetness doth the way of love communicate to all the duties and conversings of those that are abounding in this grace! It is the manhood and maturity of Christianity. The infancy of the law had less of it than the full age of the gospel; and young Christians usually are like young fruit, austere and unpleasant, whom age and holy experience must mellow by the growth of love, produced by the sunshine of heavenly love."

In this spirit of love his whole ministry was conducted; and on the catholic principle which it dictated, would he have had the Church reformed. In the Association of Worcestershire Ministers which he gathered together during his settlement at Kidderminster, he tells us that the mass were "mere Catholics; men of no faction, nor siding with any party, but owning that which was good in all,"—"laying themselves out for the great end of their ministry, the people's edification."

Turning now to the more intellectual side of his nature, we find here, too, large matter for admiration. He was far in advance of the narrow scripturalism of the Puritan party, and had not a few points of affinity with the latitudinarianism of Cudworth, More and Smith. His scholarship was confessedly defective. In this respect he will not admit of a comparison with his very learned contemporary, Dr. Owen. Of Greek and Hebrew he had only an imperfect knowledge. But his reading within the range of the Latin and English tongues was vast and multifarious. His attention was particularly drawn to the higher and more abstruse questions of morals and metaphysics; and one of his principal works, the "Christian Directory," contained a systematic solution of cases of conscience. He had studied deeply the scholastic divines of the middle ages, and was more familiar with Aquinas, Durandus and Scotus, than with the older writers of the Church, whose works, requiring a more exact philology for their interpretation, he had not an equal power of critically mastering. Two effects resulted from this direction of his studies. On the one hand, it exercised his dialectic faculty to excess, and che-

Digitized by Google

rished an undue fondness for refined and subtle distinctions, which at times broke out in disputatiousness; on the other, it had the inestimable advantage of carrying his thoughts deep into the interior structure of the human soul, and enabled him to seize clearly and firmly the fundamental postulates and immutable conditions of all religious truth. He saw that Christianity in its essence was rather a power acting on the heart and the conscience, than a mere question of outward evidence determinable by the understanding; that its hold on the human mind was in one sense anterior to, and independent of, its record in a book. Again and again he had to remind his bibliolatrous contemporaries, that there was a Christianity before there was a New Testament. He encountered the sceptic on this very ground, maintaining that the true order of proceeding was, "to try the truth of the Christian religion first and the perfect verity of all the Scriptures afterwards." In fact, he argued this point with so much freedom and boldness, that he was charged with a Popish tendency to exalt tradition at the expense of scripture. In the same strain he contended that "he who was ignorant of the law of nature, would be ignorant and erroneous in the holy Scriptures." In one of the most remarkable passages of his "Life and Times," he has distinguished the gradations of certainty that attach to different religious truths; and here, amidst a crowd of rich, suggestive thoughts, occur these memorable words: "I am now much more apprehensive than heretofore of the necessity of well grounding men in their religion, and especially of the witness of the indwelling spirit; for I more sensibly perceive that the spirit is the great witness of Christ and Christianity to the world; and though the folly of fanatics tempted me long to overlook the strength of this testimony of the spirit, while they placed it in a certain internal assertion or enthusiastic inspiration, yet now I see that the Holy Ghost, in another manner, is the witness of Christ and his agent in the world. The spirit in the prophets was his first witness; and the spirit by miracles was the second; and the spirit by renovation, sanctification, illumination and consolation, assimilating the soul to Christ and heaven, is the continued witness to all true believers. If any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is none of his."

With the highest appreciation of real scholarship, Baxter saw clearly that there were some truths the sense of which mere learning could not give, and the most learned often miss. In his "Dying Thoughts," written at the close of life, in daily expectation of death, when the hand of persecution lay heavy upon him, he says, with the evident intensity of conviction which such circumstances were fitted to inspire: "There is a great difference between that light which sheweth us the thing itself, and that artificial skill by which we have right notions, names and

Digitized by Google

definitions. This artificial kind of knowledge is good and useful in its kind; but he that hath much of this, may have little of the former; and unlearned persons that have little of this, may have more of the former, and may have those inward perceptions of the verity of the promises and rewards of God, which they cannot bring forth in artificial reasonings to themselves or others; who are taught of God by the effective sort of teaching, which reacheth the heart or will as well as the understanding, and is a giving of what is taught, and a making us such as we are told we must be."

Baxter's religious opinions, the result of deep early impressions, shaped and qualified by the various experience through which he had passed, are not very easy to define. Probably they were not at all points self-consistent, nor even to his own eye circumscribed by a very distinct outline. They seem to have lain in a sort of vague mean between Calvinism and Arminianism; and this is not at all surprising, when we recollect that his life in its mental experience was a transitional one, ever travelling onward, almost unconsciously, from a narrow Calvinism into a broader Arminianism. His views, however, had great influence on the ensuing generation of Nonconformist divines, and for a long time were considered as forming a system by themselves, called Baxterianism. In more than one respect, they resembled those of the early Quakers, opposed as he was to their outward discipline and to their fanatical separation from national churches. Like them, he held that all men have a *common* grace offered them, sufficient to secure by its faithful use the *special* grace essential to salvation. In this sense, he believed in *election*, while he denied *reprobation*. The essential worth of his system consisted in the stress which it laid on the inward conversion of the soul to God, on the quality of men's affections towards God and towards each other, on the necessity of some deeper change in the heart and will through the effectual working of the divine spirit, than such as merely sufficed by a prudential calculation of consequences to produce an outward decency of moral conduct. His style is now antiquated; his works little read; and the deep questions which he mooted have assumed another form in our modern schools; but there are passages in his writings which still speak with unaltered and irresistible force to the religious consciousness of our nature. The celebrated Arthur Young, a man of large culture and well acquainted with the world, was an habitual student and great admirer of Baxter, and shewed the value that he attached to his religious instructions by publishing a very interesting selection from his practical works.

At the time of the Revolution, when our Protestant Dissenting churches first acquired a legal constitution under the Toleration Act, the Nonconformists generally might be divided into

Digitized by Google

two great classes, the Calvinists and the Baxterians. The former, who acknowledged Dr. Owen as their head, embraced, with a few exceptions, the Independents, who had become very numerous and powerful under the Commonwealth, and still retained among them some ancient families. Their governing aim was the preservation of what they called pure churches, each constituting an ecclesiastical whole within itself, held together by attachment to a rigid doctrinal standard, and less remarkable for an ethical interpretation of Christianity and broad catholic sympathies than for a separating strictness of belief and discipline. The Baxterians comprehended the bulk of the old Presbyterian party, who for half a century, under their illustrious leader, had distinguished themselves by an exaltation of the spirit of Christianity above the doctrinal or disciplinary forms of any particular church. Their animating principle was the instinct, if I may so call it, of catholicity and progressive spiritual development. They left the Church, not from any hostility to it as such, not from any aversion to wide ecclesiastical communion, but because the Church by its actual constitution repressed the natural and healthy expansion of these generous tendencies and noble aspirations. Baxter is the founder of this type of English Nonconformity. Presbyterianism is its historical designation; and I have already shewn, by extracts from his writings, that the term had just as much appropriateness, or, if you choose, just as much inappropriateness, in his days as in our own. Let us not wrangle about words, if we can only seize and keep the thing. The name with all its associations has come down to us. For my part, I rejoice in our religious ancestry; and I accept with reverence the heritage of its traditions and its responsibilities. It was a noble bequest,—so noble, that a cold, dry, materialistic and utilitarian age could neither understand its worth nor fulfil its purpose. Not yet are the obligations which it lays upon us exhausted. Preserving the free spirit of our forefathers without blind and servile adhesion to their forms of thought, we must still press on, in the reverent and loving temper of Baxter himself, under the spreading light of science and with the aids of a deeper and wider learning, towards a more complete realization to our minds, and a more perfect expression in our lives, of the vital religiousness which is hidden in the person and work of Christ, and which will carry us, through union with him, into still higher union with his Father and our own. It was unfortunate for the growth and ripening of Baxter's catholic system, that the seeds of it fell in the first instance on the cold and barren soil of the eighteenth century. All the influences of that ungenial time were hostile to religious fervour and profound spirituality of mind; and Baxterianism wanted the clearly defined doctrinal views and the sharp points of antagonism to co-existing systems, which seem

Digitized by Google

indispensable, in the absence of strong religious life, to the perpetuation and extension of a mere sect. Even the philosophy of Locke, with all its merits, impressed an undue rationalizing tendency on the scientific theology of the age, which subsisted to the close of the century. Baxter combined in his own person the two essential conditions of a true theology, scientific culture of the intellect and deep religiousness of heart. But these elements were divided among his descendants and drawn into different spheres. If we except Berkeley in the Church and Doddridge among the Dissenters, nearly all the theologians of scientific mark in the last century were distinguished by a cold, intellectual type of mind. It pervaded alike the learned ministers of the Nonconformists and the learned divines of the Establishment. If the tendency culminated in the manly and intrepid, but somewhat arid, intellect of Priestley, it was because his position allowed him more freedom, and his spirit was more thoroughly honest and independent. Religious fervour, and perhaps a clearer insight into the spiritual needs of the human soul, were abandoned to the Wesleys, and found an expression in the contagious sympathy which they kindled both within and without the National Church. Far be it from me to undervalue the exertions and sacrifices of the noble-minded confessors of unpopular doctrinal truth, the Priestleys and the Belshams of a former day. They did their work, as they understood it, bravely; they spoke out the truth, as it revealed itself to them, fearlessly. They deserve our reverence and are gone to their reward. But looking at our Nonconformity from a broad historical point of view, I cannot deny that it seems to me to have been beneficially brought back from the narrow doctrinal ground to which less than half a century ago there was some danger of its being exclusively confined, to the broader and nobler basis on which Baxter himself would have placed it, by the influence of Dr. Channing and his school. It is the function of an enlightened Nonconformity not so much to propagate a particular dogma as to assert a general principle. Avowing fearlessly and without reserve whatever may be our deliberate convictions for the time being, let us feel it the special strength and glory of our Nonconformity to be the inheritors of a principle which permits us to avow them, and which would equally permit us to abandon them, if others should seem to our riper judgments and wider views more correspondent to the true meaning and purpose of Christianity. This is a noble responsibility, but it is an arduous one. Renouncing the proper agency of a sect, we are still forbidden by conscience to lose ourselves in the wide communion of the National Church. Our duties and our difficulties alike result from the peculiarity of this exceptional position. We have to preserve our ecclesiastical individuality without forfeiting our catholicity. We cannot maintain ourselves amidst the

Digitized by Google

rivalry of sects without a deep and fervid religious life, and the earnest devotion of our energies to the spiritual redemption of the great mass of human misery and wickedness. We cannot justify our position to the Church, without exercising to the full our hereditary freedom of thought and speech, and keeping up in our ministry the high standard of mental and learned culture which will enable us on fitting occasions to encounter undismayed in the cause of truth and honesty, the accomplished champions of the Established system. This, as I understand it, is our proper work, as Nonconformists of the school of Baxter. Undoubtedly it demands efforts and sacrifices. But where is the object worth living for, that does not demand effort and sacrifice? Let us only think of the intrinsic worth and nobleness of our cause—a cause which allies us in aim and endeavour with the best and wisest of former generations. They have committed it to our keeping. Let us not be unfaithful to the charge; but hand it down, with an unweakened consciousness of solemn and glorious responsibility, to those who are to come after us.

THE LATE FREDERICK LUCAS.*

It is not the least of the uses of biography that, if executed in good faith and with moderate skill, it helps to rebuke our intolerance, to wean us from our antipathies, and to teach us the wisdom of a far-sighted and large-hearted charity. A good biography compels us to look on controverted topics from the *standpoint* of its subject. It enables us in one case to understand how a man, lacking neither intelligence nor goodness, has reached conclusions very different from our own on questions involving individual virtue or the general welfare. We are enabled in another case to separate a man from his errors, and can assign to accidental associations, or defective training, or imperfect logical processes, results which, without this knowledge, we might assign to wilful corruption and malignity. We have seldom met with a work which better illustrates the moral use of biography we have indicated than this by Mr. Riethmüller. To the mass of English Protestants, Frederick Lucas was a name that awakened neither respect nor curiosity. He was known as a Catholic pervert,—a man, in fact, who had boxed the compass of theological opinion,—as one who, educated in the freest Protestantism of England, had used his powers to uphold mediæval Popery,—and, though an Englishman by birth, had become the advocate and

* Frederick Lucas: a Biography. By Christopher James Riethmüller, Author of "Teuton, a Poem." Cr. 8vo. Pp. 129. London—Bell and Daldy. 1862.

Digitized by Google

representative of one of the most intolerant anti-Anglican constituencies of Ireland.

Without concealing any one fact of the singular story he has to tell, Mr. Riethmüller has succeeded not merely in awakening our interest in the character of his friend, but also, we think, in satisfying every impartial reader that the late Mr. Lucas was a man of fine natural gifts and endued with a larger share of moral graces than falls to the lot of most public men. He owes his success not to the elaborateness of his apology for his friend's eccentricities—for the whole is contained in a little volume not much exceeding 100 pages—but to his own warm personal sympathies, his fearless truth-telling, his remarkable tact in untwisting a coil of thoughts and motives which to a common observer would have seemed hopelessly tangled, and the literary skill by which he has succeeded in conveying his own convictions to the minds of his readers. We have spoken of his personal sympathies with his friend; they were simply *personal*, for he shared neither the religious nor the political faith of Mr. Lucas. Himself a Protestant and a member of the Church of England, and also, if we rightly surmise, a liberal in politics, but of that class which seeks rather good government than the supremacy of this party or that minister, he has succeeded in drawing a vigorous and unmistakeable (and at the same time attractive) portrait of one who in religion and politics was his entire opposite.

Frederick Lucas, who proved for several years the ablest lay champion of the Roman Catholic party in this country, was born March 30, 1812, in the city of London. His father was a Quaker corn-merchant. His mother was also a member of the Society of Friends. He was brought up in accordance with the straight and narrow usages and notions of that respectable body. He went to the noted Quaker school at Darlington; but eight years of the painful discipline of that establishment could not put out the fires that were already kindling in his moral and intellectual being. From the first, his abilities began to attract attention and to give promise of after excellence. How we wish his biographer had told us (if he could) something of the discipline of that Quaker gymnasium! We have always felt considerable pity for Quaker boys and girls. How unspeakably oppressive to young persons (unless, indeed, they are born with a difference from the rest of the human race) must the training be necessary to make a proper Quaker! That immoveable and undemonstrative calmness, that wary shrewdness, that habitual repression of every human emotion, which mark the full-fledged Friend, must cost as much painful discipline as the equally strange teachings of the disciples of Loyola. From Darlington school, Frederick Lucas, then in his seventeenth year, was sent to University College, London. If his parents designed him to walk through life in Quaker ways, this was a great practical

Digitized by Google

mistake. Some branches of the orthodox Dissenters have tried the experiment of committing their sons, and the candidates for their ministry amongst them, to this Babel of sects and opinions, and their experience has proved it dangerous to a sound faith and that contractedness of sympathy without which it seems difficult to keep a man in the grooves of some of our religious parties.

It was in the class-rooms of University College that Frederick Lucas and his biographer met. This is the description which the latter gives of the Quaker student in 1828:

"Though extremely shy at this period, as might have been expected from his having hitherto been confined to a narrow circle, there was something singularly engaging in his look and manner. With a remarkably fair complexion, a cheek glowing with health, a broad, open forehead, very light hair and eye-brows, and eyes of the clearest blue, there was such an expression of intelligence and frank good-nature about the whole countenance, as could not fail to inspire a friendly interest in all who saw him. His figure was large beyond his years, very stout, broad-shouldered, and broad-chested, and gave the impression of rude health and vigour. His smile was the sweetest, his laugh the most exhilarating, that I have ever met with; and the shyness mentioned above soon wore off in the company of young men, and was replaced by an easy gaiety of demeanour, that was delightful to all his associates. Long afterwards, however, he remained silent and reserved in the presence of strangers, and seldom addressed a lady without blushing. There was indeed a bashfulness, an almost girlish modesty about him, which strikingly contrasted with the strength and manliness of his character, and with that dauntless courage for which he was at all times distinguished. When he began to speak, he at once commanded attention. Even at that early age, he had acquired a large amount of miscellaneous knowledge, and had learned to express original views in fluent and forcible language. But his conversation was, perhaps, chiefly characterized by a constant flow of rich and genial humour, which held on its course so naturally, and with so little effort, that the listener was carried away imperceptibly by it, and caught the joyous contagion almost before he was aware of it."—Pp. 6—8.

It needed no prophet's skill to foretel that Frederick Lucas would never as a man "cabin crib confine" his soul to the narrowness of Quaker usages and thoughts. The quick intellect to which a university training was giving varied nourishment, the taste and habit of multifarious reading, the keen ambition of distinction in the athletic contests of his college companions, the intellectual and moral stimulus and discipline of the debating society, his love of art, his taste for music,—all these things, no less than the forbidden fruit of the theatre (which he soon tasted), indicated that the time was not far distant when Frederick Lucas would put aside the strait coat and throw off the broad brim of his sect. A portrait of him, debating in the Literary and Philosophical Society of University College, as

Digitized by Google

drawn by his biographer, shews us in the youth the father of the man.

"From the first, Frederick Lucas took a leading part in almost every discussion, and had even then acquired a power of sustained and consecutive reasoning, a readiness in reply, a command of language and illustration, and altogether a weighty and solid style of eloquence, rare at any age, and certainly very remarkable in so young a man. But he had also here the opportunity of displaying certain other peculiarities of mind and character, which remained with him through life, and which serve to explain many portions of his subsequent career.

"For instance, he never took up a subject *by halves*. Whatever was the matter in hand, he followed a proposition to its extreme consequences, and often accepted conclusions that seemed very remote from his first starting-point. It was sometimes impossible to trace the process by which he arrived at an opinion; but, when he had once formed it, he held it with a tenacity, and defended it with a vehemence, which astonished and confounded less ardent natures. For the time, it appeared to take possession of his whole being, until displaced by some other train of thought, which had also originated entirely from within. Thus he adopted in succession many different theories, on each of which he brought to bear, for a season, all the resources of his intellect, and all the energy of his feelings.

"While engaged in upholding the favourite thesis, every argument in its favour gained constantly in strength and clearness, and every opposing consideration was torn to pieces, and trampled under foot. Nor was this the ingenuity of an advocate, careless of truth, and eager for victory. It was rather the intense conviction of a most earnest, and yet most subtle mind, which united the fervour of an enthusiast with the acuteness of a logician. For, beneath the cheerful good-nature, the genial kindness, the practical moderation and fairness in his dealings with his fellows, and the modest estimate of his own worth, lay concealed in his inmost heart the tumultuous and fiery emotions which often belong to genius, but are also akin to fanaticism. These, acting through the imagination, coloured and influenced all his opinions, but never disturbed for a moment his mastery over his intellectual weapons. Pity or indignation might be the real source of his views on any particular subject, but he always knew how to find reasons for them, such as not only satisfied his own mind, but went a long way towards convincing the minds of others. What has been said of Burke, that he formed his opinions like a fanatic, and then defended them like a philosopher, was, I think, eminently true of Lucas. It was so, I believe, in his boyish days, and it supplies the key to much that might otherwise seem strange and inexplicable in his after life."—Pp. 11—13.

The Catholic claims at that time stirred all that was active in intellect and generous in feeling of the youth of England, and Lucas claimed for his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects the rights they sought, not on their ground, but "in the name of the great principles of Protestantism, free thought and free worship." A change was soon to come over the spirit of his dream.

Mr. Reithmüller, in the opening paragraph of his volume, alludes to the dreams of the early supporters of University Col-

Digitized by Google

lege (then styled the London University), who anticipated for it "a brilliant career, that should rival or eclipse the triumphs of the ancient scholastic establishment" (establishments?) "of the land." The history of the mind and of the public career of Frederick Lucas, an alumnus of the new institution, possessing far more than average ability, is not of a kind to enhance our admiration of the education given in University College. It did not fail, we may admit, in communicating to this pupil at least a certain amount of knowledge, but in the more essential quality of training his mind and fitting it to reach safe and wise conclusions it did little. Had Frederick Lucas learnt in the lecture-rooms of University College the true philosophy of history, or a consistent and practical system of mental and moral philosophy, or a thorough code of political economy, many of his after vacillations and errors might have been prevented. He would not have been, what this biography shews him to have been, a navigator steering without compass and without knowledge of the ocean on which he was embarked. We by no means intend to intimate that the subjects which we have named did not form portions of the academic course of instruction professedly given in the University, but practically they were not taught. Had professors with the requisite powers filled these chairs, they would in time have attracted around them a sufficient crowd of pupils. At that time there were no degrees given, and the college instruction was not, what it now too much is, a system of teaching to enable the student to pass successfully certain prescribed examinations for degrees. There was then none of that auxiliary *cramming*, which is most injurious to the literary and moral digestion of the unfortunate pupil, who thereby loses sight of the more important ends of a just and well-balanced education, and supposes that, when he has attained his Bachelor's or Master's degree, his education is completed. The University of Oxford, trammelled as it is by old habits and prejudices, seems to do more in the way of teaching young men to *think* than some of the modern institutions with greater pretensions to freedom and to a better cycle of instruction. But we will venture to hope that the day of reform in University College is not very distant.

On leaving the University, he entered on the study of the law. From law he proceeded to jurisprudence, and gave himself up for a time to the influence of the writings of Jeremy Bentham. Mr. Riethmüller smiles at his temporary adoption of the *utilitarian* philosophy in politics. But had Mr. Lucas in reality comprehended that principle of Bentham's which the great jurist drew from Priestley, of "the greatest happiness of the greatest number," he would have been saved from all those errors, practical as well as theoretical, into which he was seduced by that mediæval sentimentalism, in gratifying which he seemed to fling away every principle and aspiration of his youth.

Digitized by Google

The mind of Frederick Lucas was one of great activity, amounting almost to restlessness, rather than of strength and solidity. He could always argue cleverly, but not always judge wisely. The judgment of to-day did not necessarily affect that of to-morrow. He did not care to make the truth which his mind accepted agree and coalesce with previous truth. With equal intellectual passion he flung himself into successive and not consistent trains of thought, and was the equally enthusiastic disciple of masters wholly opposed in philosophy.

The philosophy of Bentham was presently made to give way to the poetry of Wordsworth, an author whom he read and reread with passionate enthusiasm.

And now the change in his faith, which was an inevitable necessity to an impulsive, earnest, but changeable nature like his, began to operate. The views of the Friends were now manifestly, to his awakened mind and feeling, "narrow and puritanical." The reaction was, in the first instance, to scepticism; but in this his poetical and excitable mind could not rest. "The dreary haze of religious doubt and negation grew intolerable to him, and he sought with a passionate earnestness to harmonize the claims of faith and reason." Two distinguished writers in metaphysics belonging to the Church of England were the authorities under whose influence Lucas escaped from his unbelief, Berkeley and Butler. The *Analogy of Religion* of the latter divine, by shewing him that the difficulties which adhered to revelation were not peculiar to it, but affected equally natural religion, in his case brought him back to the acceptance of revealed religion. In opposition to the enthusiastic admiration of Bishop Butler's philosophy and train of argument common in England at least, there have not been wanting those who have looked upon the argument as of a dangerous kind, and liable to conduct to one of two extremes, either to total disbelief or to the acceptance of a faith irreconcilable with reason and experience. That it had the latter effect in the case of Mr. Lucas is more than probable. His biographer hints at his afterwards straining the line of Butler's argument to the utmost, and applying it unreasonably to forced and fanciful resemblances.

Again a believer, Lucas found himself for a time an unattached Christian.

"If he continued nominally a member of the Society of Friends, he was no doubt influenced by habit and association, as well as by the feeling, that he could follow his own convictions as freely in that body as in any other. Its abstinence from creeds and dogmatic teaching would, of course, be a recommendation to him, and I have often heard him speak approvingly of that silent worship, which, however strange it may appear to others, has a solemn significance for those who have been accustomed to it from childhood."—P. 24.

To an imaginative and active mind, the silent worship would

Digitized by Google

certainly have this recommendation, that it did not bring down the shower of words which were not the symbols of thought, or of which the thought was slight and unreal and not worth regard; but more especially was it advantageous to the uninterrupted pursuit by a worshiper like Lucas of the thoughts that breathe.

In 1835, Mr. Lucas was called to the bar. He designed to devote himself to conveyancing. But literature and theology soon proved to him more attractive than the pursuit of wealth and professional eminence. Macaulay and Carlyle now were admitted into the circle of his favourite authors; but the good sense and practical wisdom of the former had not on his enthusiastic mind equal influence with the wild reverence of power which breaks forth so strangely in most of the writings of the latter. The biographer says that the writings of the author of *Sartor Resartus* left an ineffaceable impression on the mind of Mr. Lucas, and adds,

"It is not too much to say that they contributed *indirectly* to the change of creed of which I am about to treat, for the sympathies they called forth were all in favour of the Middle Ages, and they pointed to a revival of Faith as the panacea for the ills of humanity."—P. 30.

Mr. Riethmüller gives a powerful description of the Puseyite revival of the Church of England which arose at Oxford some thirty years back, and which he regards simply as "a part of that strong recoil from the irreverence and unbelief of the eighteenth century, which had already made itself felt, in some shape or other, in all the nations of Teutonic descent."

The description of Mr. Lucas's final change of religious opinions we must give in the language of his biographer:

"To all this stir about him Lucas was fully awake, for it corresponded with what was going on in his own mind. He too had struggled through doubts and difficulties back to the faith of his childhood, but as yet could find no resting-place in any outward communion, and, dissatisfied with the present, had begun to turn fondly towards the past. The history and traditions of mediæval Christianity had a great charm for his imagination, and he threw himself heart and soul into the study of those subjects. His feelings and his fancy soon acted insensibly on his judgment, and those, who observed him closely, could not fail to perceive, that his opinions were once more undergoing a gradual, but important change."—Pp. 32, 33.

"But now came an interval of painful uncertainty. Every day led him further from Quakerism, and nearer to the historical Christianity of the ages in which he took so deep an interest, but he still retained some of his old Protestant feelings with regard to the Church of Rome. He doubted her claim to infallibility, for he still believed her in many things corrupt. Her antique forms, her solemn services, her venerable traditions, had a great charm for him; he longed for communion with the good and pious men of distant countries and bygone generations, and for those sweet and awful memories which unite the living with the dead in a chain of unbroken association; but he shrank from at once condemn-

Digitized by Google

ing all the convictions of his previous life, and he hesitated to accept an authority, from which there could be no appeal.

"The natural solution of these difficulties seemed to lie in the Church of England, and some of his friends entertained the hope that he would yet find rest within her walls."—P. 45.

In a glowing passage, Mr. Riethmüller pictures the Church of England and its attractions to a reverent yet free and inquiring mind. In his representation, the Church is said to give "more latitude to opinion than any other Church in existence,"—to be "Catholic in feeling, and Protestant in the free spirit of rational inquiry,"—a Church that leaves "many questions unsettled, and many points dubious, so that she may preach the great truths of the gospel in their simplest and broadest sense." The picture is attractive, and we do not question the good faith of the artist. Nay, we are ready to admit that multitudes of the laity, and a few wise and liberal men among the clergy, do what in them lies to make the picture a reality. But with the symbols and articles of the Church of England in our recollection, we are compelled to think that the latitudinarian party in the Church are liberal not by, but in spite of, their Church.

Our biographer thinks that what is to his own mind the recommendation of the Church of England, "her singular moderation and wise spirit of compromise," would prove no recommendation of it to the mind of Lucas. To him, compromise seemed "a cowardly abandonment of truth for the sake of expediency." What he wanted was something on which to rest his faith, definite and absolute. Had he consented to enter the communion of the Church of England, it is the belief of his biographer that he would have attached himself to one of her extreme parties.

But from the Evangelical party he was repelled by their narrow and puritanical spirit, by their depreciation of ecclesiastical history and tradition, by the undue prominence they gave to the minister, and the importance they attached to mere human teaching. (These were certainly strange objections in the mouth of one about to join a Church in which through its sacraments the power of life eternal is given to the priest!) He also felt strong repugnance to the fiery spirit of intolerance and misrepresentation to which the Catholic Church is subjected by the Evangelical party.

The old High-church party failed to excite his confidence. He respected their learning and their personal virtues; but he objected they were scholars rather than divines, that they preferred learning to piety, and were content with a merely formal execution of their office, were indifferent in matters of theology, and generally stagnant in religious ideas.

To the Puseyite party at Oxford, Lucas felt strong attractions; accepting, however, their premises, he blamed them for faltering in the inevitable conclusion. He did not feel that their idea,

Digitized by Google

which he accepted, of the Church could be realized in the Church of England.

Thus did he revolve the characteristics of the Church of England:

"Whatever she had retained of stately forms and ancient usages, whatever of Catholic sentiment she had derived from the past, whatever deference she might pay to the authority of Councils and Fathers—he could not help feeling that she was, in her nature, essentially Protestant, and that, from the moment she had separated from Rome, she had really based her title to respect and allegiance, not on any power inherent in her own constitution, but on a sound, and reasonable, and honest interpretation of Scripture, and a faithful adherence to the broad principles of the Christian faith. But this, Lucas would argue, involved an appeal to the right of private judgment, as distinctly as the unauthorized preaching of any obscure sect, and in no way came up to that grand idea of a Church, gifted with divine graces, and armed with supernatural powers. The true Protestant, who was willing to work out painfully his own salvation, by the light of Scripture, and the guidance of God's Spirit, with such little help as he might get from men wiser or better than himself, but with no thought that he could ever shift the responsibility for a moment from his own shoulders, might be content with a Church that could only afford him advice, assistance, and consolation." Pp. 56, 57.

Mr. Lucas, conducted thus by the Anglican school to the road which led to the Church of Rome, soon went on to the end of his journey; and being convinced of the claims of the Romish Church to his faith and subjection, spurned the counsels of his friends that he should hesitate and re-consider, and openly professed the change. He proceeded to vindicate his adhesion to the Church of Rome in a pamphlet addressed to the Quaker body. Of that production, judging by the extracts adduced, we may say that it contains arguments neither weaker nor stronger than those which have been a hundred times adduced for the abandonment of reason and inquiry, and in deference to a Church that calls itself infallible. It may, however, receive the praise of being more lively and eloquent than most Catholic homilies that have fallen in our way.

Mr. Riethmüller's criticism on the pamphlet is this:

"The line of argument pursued is almost entirely negative, and indeed of considerable force as a reply to specific objections; and such is the general tone of reasoning throughout the treatise. It does not pretend to offer any positive exposition or defence of the Catholic doctrines, but rather attempts to show how they may be reconciled with views and feelings which are already familiar to Protestants, and especially to Quakers. Taken in this sense, it is undoubtedly an impressive and powerful piece of writing."—P. 72.

The religious history of Frederick Lucas shews that the doctrine of the inward light in which he had been trained, is not always the steady bulwark of faith which some who have adopted

Digitized by Google

it love to represent it. His mind panted for a faith resting on the firm supports of an historical basis. As this was not supplied to him by his early instructors, he gave himself up to scepticism. A mind like his could, however, find no resting-place in a system of doubt and negation. He returned of necessity to faith of some kind, and found it in conjunction with a Church which trusts for its credentials neither to inward spiritual breathings, nor to the interpretations of scripture, nor to the calm deductions of reason; but which, claiming absolute infallibility, treats as equally worthless the fancies of the mystic and the arguments of the rational scripturalist. It is, we admit, dangerous to draw any large conclusion from a single example. Did the case of Mr. Lucas stand alone, it might be regarded as anomalous. But his is not the only instance known to literature of a Quaker swinging round to Popery. And we fear the combination of the Quaker doctrine of the "God within" with disbelief of the Christian revelation, is a case still less uncommon.

With the history of Mr. Lucas's conversion, the interest of the biography all but terminates. Mr. Lucas became almost immediately after so united and identified with the history and vicissitudes of the Roman Catholic party in England and Ireland, that the writing of his life would of necessity diffuse itself into a history of his party. To a subject of this kind and of such wide proportions Mr. Riethmüller felt no attraction, and probably had no qualification for such an undertaking. The few incidents that remain to tell of Mr. Lucas were these.

In 1840, he established the *Tablet*, a Roman Catholic journal, and for fifteen years he continued to edit it and to write all its principal articles. During several of its early years, while Lucas resided in London and took counsel with English as well as Irish Catholics, we had the opportunity of seeing it, and well remember its vigorous tone, its often acute logic, its quickness in perceiving and its dexterity in piercing any weak point in the armour of Protestant opponents. It was also characterized by an earnestness which bespoke its editor's unwavering faith in the Church of his adoption. Many of its purely literary articles were of a better order than commonly appear in our religious journals, and sometimes reminded one of the critical labours of the *Examiner* and the *Spectator*.

In 1840, Mr. Lucas married a lady brought up in the Society of Friends, but who in the course of a not short engagement had been brought to consent to share the faith as well as the fortunes of her lover.

Mr. Lucas was not without his troubles in respect to his own party. He spoke out his own opinions on all subjects unflinchingly, and those opinions sometimes crossed and thwarted the policy of other leaders of the Catholic party, especially in England. His constitutional dislike of the *juste milieu*, his resolute-

Digitized by Google

ness in following out the logical conclusion to which his reason led him, sometimes brought on painful collisions. The failure of the capitalists on whom the *Tablet* originally rested, brought him troubles not a few. He was aided in this emergency by funds subscribed by his party, and by the personal influence of Mr. O'Connell. Ultimately, in 1849, he found it necessary to remove his place of publication and his residence to Dublin. Here a thousand annoyances awaited him, growing out of the careless and reckless habits of subordinates in the *Tablet* office.

Mr. Lucas now became the adviser of the Irish party, and mingled in all their councils and fought their battles. The burthen was one that of necessity increased year by year. The more he was known and trusted by his brother Catholics, the greater the labour and responsibility they threw upon him. His public life in Ireland reached its climax in 1852, when he was returned, after a contest, at the head of the poll as one of the representatives for the county of Meath. Entering Parliament without personal friends in that body to counsel and support him, and also with the painful suspicion in the minds of those who knew little about him that he was a mere political adventurer, he succeeded, by the force of his abilities and by his earnestness of purpose, in making for himself a fair position in the House of Commons.

"It is creditable to Englishmen, that their strongest antipathies do not prevent their giving a patient hearing to an adversary, if he has really anything to say, and from the moment that Lucas first rose to address the House, he was listened to without interruption. It was not long, indeed, before the cloud of prejudice against him began to disperse. His very look and manner, suggestive rather of some stalwart Kentish yeoman, than of Irish rapparee or Popish conspirator, told at once on the assembled Commons. The portly figure, the frank, fair, Saxon countenance, the genial smile, the glance of kindly humour, the unaffected and manly bearing, were sure to impress an English audience in his favour; and when it was found that he brought to every subject, of which he treated, considerable knowledge of detail, great skill in arranging his facts, and the power of putting a statement in the clearest light, accompanied by a flow of language and illustration, which rose often to eloquence, while none who saw and heard him could doubt for an instant of his sincerity—the former hostility and suspicion were replaced by something like interest and sympathy. Ministers and leaders of party accosted him in words of compliment, and the House granted him that respectful attention which is the highest praise from political opponents. Personally, he became almost popular; and I believe it is no exaggeration to say, that, before he had been many months in parliament, the only feeling with which he was regarded by those who differed from him most widely, was one of regret that so gifted and amiable a man should be engaged in such a cause."—Pp. 111, 112.

Mr. Lucas was always honest as day, and it was one of his painful duties to oppose and expose some amongst his party who, he had reason to think, were of an opposite character.

Digitized by Google

In 1854, the Irish priesthood were warned by a high ecclesiastical authority to abstain from interference in political affairs. This was personally a heavy blow to the interests of the *Tablet*. Mr. Lucas looked to the priesthood as his most influential friends. He held that the prohibition was an infringement on the rights of an oppressed people. The clergy, he argued, were their natural mouthpiece in making known their grievances. With his characteristic decision, he proceeded to Rome to appeal to the Pope.

The toil of the journey and the slow progress of his suit to the Holy Father, concurred with other causes of a harassing kind to wear his strength and spirits. He returned to London in the spring of 1855 hastily to vote in a party division of the House of Commons. The keeper of the door of the House did not recognize him, so greatly was he altered. He was, in fact, a dying man, broken down by an excess of toil, physical and intellectual. He closed his earthly career Oct. 22, 1855, in the 44th year of his age and in the 17th of his conversion to Catholicism.

With manly wisdom and in the kindliest spirit, Mr. Riethmüller thus apologizes for the task he had set himself:

"It may be asked: 'Why write his life at all? Was it not, in the main, a failure? An attempt to effect impossibilities, and therefore a mere waste of energy and talent?'—I answer, that, in my opinion, when he sought to put back the hand on the dial of time, and to restore, in the midst of our own age, the faith, the maxims, and the views of the twelfth century, it was to attempt an impossibility as great, as for the fabled Danaïdes to fill their sieves with water. And I think also, that, considered as a whole, his Irish policy was a mistake and a failure. But I am yet to learn, that the only things worth recording are the brilliant annals of success. In this world of ours, there may be mistakes and failures which are worth many triumphs, because of the virtues they call forth, and the motives from which they spring. The noble errors of an unselfish enthusiasm have never permanently injured or corrupted mankind. There is much more danger in setting an undue value on prosperity and worldly wisdom, and in the pernicious habit of judging of the merit of actions by the result alone.

"Taken at the lowest, the life of Frederick Lucas is a remarkable chapter in the religious history of our time, and, as such, not without interest for the general reader. It is the story of the recoil of a very powerful mind, from the scepticism and presumption of an age 'blasted with excess of light,' and of its finding repose amid the shadows, that seemed to have passed away for ever. But, when we come to estimate the full character of the man, it has a different and far higher value; for it tells of a lofty heroism, which belonged indeed to the knightly virtues of the Middle Ages, but which must be reproduced in some form in every century that is not wholly debased and rotten. No Paladin ever bore his banner more stainlessly through toil and peril, no Confessor ever trod more fearlessly on the red-hot ploughshares, and no Martyr ever went to his rest with a stronger and a calmer faith. In his high sense of honour and duty, in his dauntless courage, in his entire unselfishness, and complete submission to the will of God, he has left an example for all to follow; and I think of him now as in his proper

Digitized by Google

place, amongst the spirits of just men made perfect, whose errors in action or opinion here below have all been blotted out by that Divine Mercy, which, knowing the secrets of our hearts, and judging by other than human standards, accepts the pure intention, and the faithful endeavour, and supplies whatever is wanting in the weakness and ignorance of our nature."—Pp. 126—128.

In parting with this interesting little volume, we have only to add, that if we had felt a lower interest than we do in its subject, we should have welcomed it as the work of one who has proved himself to possess the not very common qualities, at least in their combination, of unfailing candour, an affectionate disposition, a dispassionately philosophical spirit, and a clear and powerful style. We hope to meet Mr. Riethmüller again in the pleasant walks of literature.

NOTES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

"JEHOVAH hath said it." These words are a form of promise, or oath, with which the speeches of the Almighty often end in the book of Jeremiah and in some of the other prophets. In the book of Leviticus, the speeches end with the equally emphatic words, "I am Jehovah." The meaning of these first-mentioned words is very badly expressed by the "saith Jehovah" of the Authorized Version, which are the quiet words of the historian rather than the forcible assertion of the speaker. As an instance of the way in which they are used, take the last verse of Jeremiah, chap. i.

"And they shall fight against thee, but shall not prevail over thee.
For I am with thee to deliver thee. Jehovah hath said it."

Egypt nicknamed Rahab or the Boaster. At the time of the invasion of Judea by the Assyrians, when the Jews fancied they had reason to expect help from Tirhakah, king of Egypt, Isaiah warned them they would be disappointed, and says in chap. xxx. 7,

"For Egypt shall help in vain and to no purpose;
Therefore have I named it the Boaster, that sitteth still."

This nickname for Egypt is made use of by other Hebrew writers, who afterwards borrowed it from Isaiah. Thus the writer of the latter chapters of Isaiah, which were written at the time of the return from captivity, addresses the Almighty in chap. li. 9:

"Art not thou the same that did cut down the Boaster [or Egypt],
That woundedst the crocodile?"

Digitized by Google

The same correction is to be made in Psalm lxxxvii.:

"I might mention the Boaster [or Egypt] and Babel unto those that understand.
Lo, Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia."

And also in Psalm lxxxix.:

"Thou breakest the Boaster [or Egypt] like one who is slain;
By thy strong arm thou scatteredst thy enemies."

Jeremiah xlvi. 11:

"Go up into Gilead, and get balsam,
O virgin daughter of Egypt.
In vain shalt thou multiply [thine own] medicines;
They are no healing for thee."

In this way the prophet taunts Egypt with its political and social disorders, and reminds us of its celebrity in raising medicinal herbs, as described by Homer in Odyssey, lib. iv. 229.

Jeremiah xlvi. 16:

"And they said, Arise, and let us go back to our own people, and to the land of our birth, from the sword of the Greeks."

So is this passage translated by the LXX., who would teach us to make the same correction in chap. l. 16. The Ionians, or Greeks of Asia Minor, had been employed as mercenaries in the Egyptian armies for at least two generations before the time of Jeremiah. They are particularly mentioned by Herodotus. Their overbearing conduct to the country that employed them is described in verse 21:

"Her hirelings also in the midst of her are like fatted bullocks."

Ezekiel xxxii. 14:

"Then will I keep their waters low."

The prophet thus threatens the Egyptians with a scanty overflow, and consequently a bad harvest. The Authorized Version has, "make their waters deep."

---

1 Kings x. 22:

"Once in three years the fleet of Tarshish came, bringing gold and silver, ivory and apes, and parrots."

The Authorized Version has "peacocks." But peacocks are northern birds, and are not to be found on a voyage down the Red Sea, and parrots are there common. The Hebrew word is *tac*, which is the root of the Greek and Latin word *psit-tac-us*.

---

1 Kings vii. 6—8.

When Solomon had built his own house or palace and the house of the forest of Lebanon, which latter may perhaps have

Digitized by Google

been a wing or part of the former, he then "made the porch of columns fifty cubits in length and thirty cubits in breadth. And the porch was fronting them, and the columns and the roof were fronting them."

Thus the porch was no part of either palace, but an ornamental portico standing by itself and facing the palaces. These buildings were common in the Greek cities. Pausanius describes more than one such at Athens. But our translators seem to have been misled by thinking that the porch of columns was the doorway into one of the two fore-mentioned palaces.

"And he made the porch of the throne, even the porch of judgment wherein he might judge, and he covered it with cedar from floor to roof. And his own house in which he dwelled had a court in the rear, from the house to the porch."

Thus this porch of the throne or judgment-seat was behind the palace, and separated from it by a court. This court we may suppose to have been paved, and to have been the place called the Pavement, to which Jesus was led, in John xix. 13; while the bema or judgment-seat upon which Pilate sat was under this porch of the throne. Jesus and the assembled Jews stood upon the pavement or court between the porch of the throne and the palace. S. S.

UGONOTTORUM STRAGES: THE MASSACRE OF THE HUGUENOTS.

The 24th of August is a day fruitful in associations to the mind of every Englishman,—above all, to every Nonconformist; and, as was natural and proper, the Dissenting pulpit and the Dissenting press have sent forth powerful utterances on the subject of the "Black Bartholomew" of 1662. But there was another feast of St. Bartholomew celebrated in another land ninety years before, full of tremendous interest and productive of great results, fruitful also in weighty lessons,—the memory of which it may be useful to keep alive, not for the purpose of inflaming sectarian bigotry, but of guarding against the impulses of blind zeal in ourselves, and of repressing every tendency towards a persecuting spirit. We would desire to give a condensed and, as far as we can make it so, an impartial outline of the Massacre of the Huguenots in 1572.

To ascertain the origin of the massacre,—if this were a suitable occasion to enter on so extensive an inquiry,—it would be necessary to trace minutely the records of many previous years; but this our limits will not allow. Suffice it, then, to state that in the middle of the 16th century the doctrines of the Reformers

Digitized by Google

had found adherents in France; and these, in many cases, were men of high culture and distinguished rank,—not merely tradesmen and farmers, merchants and members of the learned professions, but high nobles and princes of the blood. But the sovereigns who successively swayed the sceptre of France,—Francis I., Henry II., Francis II. and Charles IX.,—were bigoted adherents to the Catholic faith and devoted to the see of Rome. The first two of these kings had issued rigorous edicts against the new religion, and these were enforced with unrelenting severity. The chiefs of the Huguenot party often remonstrated against these edicts; sometimes they resisted them. On one or two occasions, they endeavoured to seize by force the persons whom they regarded as the instigators of the cruelties to which their partizans were subjected. At last, in 1562, they broke out into open war; and after more than a year of bloodshed, they extorted from the court a pacification—the "Peace of Orleans" as it was called—by which the free exercise of their religion was guaranteed. The nominal king at this time was Charles IX., but he was a mere boy, and the government was really in the hands of his mother, Catharine dei Medici,—a woman of unbounded cunning, duplicity and perfidy; capable of making a jest of all religious observances, yet in her heart a slave to superstition; devoted to the interests of Rome, and therefore disposed in general to entrust the affairs of the kingdom to the princes of the house of Guise, whose hatred of the Protestants was notorious. She sometimes favoured, or appeared to favour, the Protestant chiefs; but it was only because she feared that the credit of the Guises, the princes of Lorraine, was likely to eclipse her own.

The Peace of Orleans was made in 1563. Two years afterwards, a conference was held at Bayonne between Catharine dei Medici, the young king her son, and the Duke of Guise, on the one part, and her daughter, the Queen of Spain, wife of Philip II., attended by the Duke of Alva and the Count of Benevento, on the other; at which, as all historians are agreed, measures were resolved upon for violating the pacification in every point. The terms of this understanding or *treaty*—for it was really a treaty between the two monarchs of France and Spain—were never reduced to writing. Nevertheless it is beyond a doubt that the parties entered into a solemn compact to the effect that each of them should exert himself to put down heresy and extirpate its supporters in his own dominions, and that the two kings should lend each other mutual aid in case of any difficulty arising from their efforts to carry this resolution into effect. Some Catholic writers affirm that the massacre of St. Bartholomew's-day was planned at the interview at Bayonne. This cannot be true with reference to the *details* of that sad event. Many of its details could not, at the distance of seven years, have been foreseen. Still there cannot be a reasonable doubt that the carnage

Digitized by Google

of that dreadful day was but *the execution of a general plan* which had been then and there deliberately adopted.*

The French court was not then as wise as it afterwards became. It adopted measures which had the effect of irritating rather than subduing the Huguenot leaders, and put them on their guard without depriving them of the power of self-defence. The edict which established their worship was so interpreted that it scarcely left them any religious freedom at all. They were assaulted and insulted without redress in places where they were weak, and oppressed under form of law where such outrages could not be attempted with safety. The towns which had favoured their cause were disarmed and dismantled. They were not restored to their estates and dignities, in accordance with the treaty. And they could obtain no justice either in the courts of law or from the royal council, to which they forwarded their complaints. Lastly, armed bands were permitted to break into their places of worship and to massacre the congregations indiscriminately. The massacre of Vassy was the last of these outrages. It was perpetrated by the servants and armed retainers of the Duke of Guise, in his presence and under his very eyes. They rushed into a barn where a Protestant congregation were engaged in worship, shot the minister, fired upon the assembled people, killed sixty of them and wounded not less than two hundred. Not one of the sufferers was armed; many were women and children. There was no pretence that any provocation had been given, nor was any resistance offered. But there was no redress. This outrage, perpetrated by one of the chief ministers of the kingdom, or at least by his servants in his presence, and never avenged, drove the Huguenots into insurrection once more, and was the signal for the *second* civil war.

It was concluded by the "Peace of Chartres" (1568), in which everything was promised that the friends of Protestantism demanded. But its conditions were, like those of the former treaty, broken almost before the ink of the royal signature was dry. "The Huguenots were neither permitted to enjoy peace nor freedom of conscience; they were in greater danger than during the war. In three months' time, more than two thousand of them were slain, at various places, either by their private enemies or by popular commotions. René, Seigneur de Cipierre, son of Claude de Savoie, Compte de Teude, was massacred at Fréjus, with thirty persons of his retinue, by Gaspar de Villeneuve, Marquis of Ars, as he was returning from Nice, whither he had gone to see the Duke of Savoy, his kinsman. The mob slaughtered more than a hundred persons at Amiens, a hundred

* Adriani, *Storia*, &c., lib. xx. pp. 44—49; Davila, *Storia*, &c., Vol. I. pp. 342—345; Mézeray, *Abrégé Chronologique*, Vol. VIII. p. 511. But, above all, see Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, p. 109 (who had before him the correspondence of Philip II. with his sister of this date).

Digitized by Google

and fifty at Auxerre, several at Blois, at Bourges, at Issoudun, at Troyes, and at twenty other places. But nothing seemed more cruel than what the populace did at Ligny, in Barrois, where a Protestant who had refused to hang up festoons before his door on the day of the Fête Dieu, and had committed some act of disrespect, was dragged from his house, in presence of the magistrate, *and burnt in the public square!*"* An attempt was made at the same period by some of the royal troops to seize the Prince de Condé and Admiral Coligny, the chiefs of the Huguenots, by treachery. They escaped the snare with difficulty, and immediately summoned their adherents to arms. Thus commenced the *third* religious war.

The Huguenots were not successful in the field. They were defeated at Jarnac, where the Prince de Condé was wounded, made prisoner and slain in cold blood. They were defeated again at Montcontour. Many of their towns and fortresses were taken, and not a few of their princely châteaux levelled to the ground. Often were their troops, dispirited and broken, on the point of dispersing. But the brave Admiral de Coligny was unconquered still. Nothing could exceed his determination and energy. He rallied his broken legions, inspired them with confidence in him, in their cause and in themselves; recruited their ranks by fresh levies, and conducted them, by a march which to this day excites the wonder and astonishment of military historians, from the battle-fields of Gascony and Languedoc to the walls of Paris. He was about to lay siege to that city, with every prospect of success, when the queen-mother determined once more to make peace. It was concluded at St. Germain's on the 11th day of August, 1570, and contained the usual stipulations and guarantees. But the Huguenots reposed little confidence in the good faith of the queen-mother and the court. As soon as the peace was ratified, the Queen of Navarre, with the Prince of Bearn, her young son, the youthful Prince de Condé, son of him who had been slain at Jarnac, the Admiral Coligny, with La Noue, Montgomeri, La Rochefoucault and other lords of their party, withdrew immediately to Rochelle, without so much as paying their respects to the king or his mother.

But Catharine dei Medici had learned from past experience; and she and her son and their confidants determined to exert their utmost art to overcome the suspicions of those with whom they had made peace with no other purpose than that of destroying them the more effectually. Whatever may be thought of the stipulations made at Bayonne five years previously, there is a consent, almost unanimous, among historians that the pacification of St. Germain's was entered into by the court of France with the deliberate purpose of closing it by a massacre of the

* Mézeray, IX. 8, 9.

Digitized by Google

Protestant chiefs.* For this purpose it was necessary to throw them off their guard. Orders were therefore issued, and were everywhere enforced, that no violation of the treaty should be permitted; that, on the contrary, it should be observed with the most scrupulous exactness; and even that its stipulations should receive a wide interpretation in matters favourable to the Huguenots.† Their wishes were attended to in matters to which the treaty of peace gave them no claim. Whenever their nobles and chiefs appeared at court, as some of them did occasionally, to represent the wishes of their party, they were received with distinguished consideration and treated with the utmost kindness and apparent confidence. In this manner the suspicions of many were allayed or removed. They began to believe that the king, his brothers and his ministers, were as weary as they were themselves of the tumults and bloodshed of the last eight or ten years. A special trap was baited for the Admiral, who, not less wary than he was daring, still felt distrust. Charles professed to him an intention to declare war against Philip II. of Spain, the great antagonist of Protestantism, and offered him the command of an army with which he was to invade the Low Countries, already in insurrection against the government of the Duke of Alva. Coligny was invited to court for the purpose of arranging the details of this enterprize, and was so overcome by the dissimulation of the king, that he no longer felt a doubt of his loyalty and good faith.

And now the plot was nearly ripe: all that remained was to bring the victims together in some place where they should be completely in the power of the court, and deprived of the means alike of resistance and escape. With this view, Catharine and Charles proposed a marriage between the young Prince of Bearn, who soon afterwards became King of Navarre, and ultimately King of France as Henry IV., and the Princess Marguérite, sister to King Charles. As that monarch expressed it, "his fat Marguérite was the trap with which he had caught all his Huguenot rebels."‡ Pope Pius V., not being privy to the designs of the French court, was alarmed at the prospect of the advantage which it would confer on the heretical faction, and the damage it might do to the Catholic interest. He sent a legate to dissuade King Charles IX. from concluding an alliance so objectionable. The king answered the arguments of his Holiness as well as they could be answered without betraying the secret; but conjured the legate to assure the Pope of his filial obedience, and, squeezing his hand, added these pregnant words—"*Oh! if I could but explain myself more fully!*"§ The same reasons

* Capilupi, *Lo Stratagemma*, &c., printed at Rome in Sept., 1572; Davila, *Storia*, &c., II. 249; P. Daniel, *Histoire*, X. 474; Mézeray, IX. 52, &c. &c.

† Davila, *Storia*, &c., II. 252, 253; Thuanus, III. 67.

‡ Petitot, p. xlv. § Mézeray, IX. 67.

Digitized by Google

which made this marriage hateful to the Pope rendered it highly acceptable to the Huguenot chiefs. It was accordingly agreed upon, and fixed to take place at Paris in the summer of the year 1572. The parties being within the prohibited degrees, a dispensation was applied for. "Pius V. refused it as long as he lived; but his successor, Gregory XIII., less scrupulous *or better informed*, granted it without difficulty."* It was about this time, according to Sully, that Charles said to Catharine, "*Well, am I not acting my part beautifully?*" to which she replied, "*Very well, my son; but you must keep it up to the end of the play.*"† He played it so well that the Queen of Navarre, with her son and the young Prince de Condé, the Admiral, with Teligny, his son-in-law, La Rochefoucault, De Resnil, De Piles, De Grammont, Pordaillan, De Rosny, Bouchavannes, and a great many other Protestant nobles and gentlemen, made no difficulty in accepting the royal invitation to grace with their presence the nuptials which they hoped would confirm to France the blessings of tranquillity, and secure to themselves and their posterity the full enjoyment of that religious liberty which the peace of 1570 had guaranteed. They came, attended, as was their wont, by their retainers and officers, of whom many were young persons of family, some of them scions of the noblest houses in France. The occasion being one of rejoicing and festivity, several of the Huguenot lords brought with them their wives, their children and their households. Thus were the heads of the party which was to be crushed assembled in Paris, a walled town, the populace of which was animated by fanatical bigotry against them,—within whose walls was an armed force eager to execute any orders which it might receive for slaughtering them, with or without a pretext,—and the gates of which were in the possession of a party on whose honour or truth experience had shewn that no reliance was to be placed.

The marriage took place on the 18th of August, having been postponed for a few days on account of the death of the aged Queen of Navarre, the mother of the bridegroom. Almost all the Protestant historians, and several Catholics also, decide without hesitation that she was carried off by poison, administered by order of the queen-mother in a pair of perfumed gloves. We rest no weight on this imputation. The death of a lady in very advanced life, who had been suffering for some days under acute fever, and whose history had been one scene of anxieties and distresses, need not force us to have recourse to the theory of poison. Whether a fatal poison could have been introduced into the constitution in the manner suggested, may admit of doubt. On the whole, we look on the suspicion as one which originated rather in the character of the person suspected than

* Mézeray, IX. 68. † Sully, I. 17.

Digitized by Google

in the facts of the case. The suspicion, however, existed, and inspired some of the Huguenot chiefs with doubts as to the intentions of the king. There were other facts which seemed to intimate that they were not safe in Paris. Montluc, Bishop of Valence, a man of probity and talent, lately appointed ambassador of France to the republic of Poland, had, in taking his audience of leave, gathered from some words which fell from Charles that mischief was brewing against the Protestants. He imparted his suspicion to his friend the Count de la Rochefoucault, strongly advising him to quit the capital immediately. The Count, attaching little importance to the advice, remained, and lost his life. Letters were intercepted from the Cardinal de Pellevé, Archbishop of Rheims, addressed to the Cardinal of Lorraine, who was then at Rome, in which plain allusion was made to the existence and the nature of the bloody plot. These letters were laid before Admiral Coligny; but he had been completely won over by the apparent sincerity of Charles IX., and reposed a full reliance on the word of his sovereign. In vain did many of his friends entreat him to take his departure, and to allow them all to retire to their estates or to a place of safety. In vain did the men of Rochelle send to him letter after letter, warning him of the danger of trusting everything to the honour of a king who was known to be violent even to fury, and of an Italian woman who had meditated the destruction of all that was great in the kingdom. He replied that "he would rather be dragged through the muddy streets of Paris than give occasion to a fourth civil war."* Unable to persuade him, his advisers took measures for their own safety. They left the city of Paris and took up their quarters in the suburbs. They said, when questioned on the subject, that "the air of the faubourgs agreed with their health better than that of the town, and that they preferred the country breezes to both."† The Maréchal de Montmorency was still more cautious. Charles IX. sent for him repeatedly to come to town, as he wanted to confer with him upon important business, but he pleaded the effects of seasickness after his recent voyage to England, and would not stir from his château at Chantilly.‡ The Baron de Langoiran, M. de Rohan, the Vidame de Chartres, Du Breuil, De Ségur, Du Toucher, Des Hayes, and the Marquis de Rosny, father of the Duc de Sully, were among those who took up their residence in the faubourgs. The reply of Langoiran to Coligny, when he asked him how he could think of leaving Paris with a set of fools, is well known. "Because," he said, "I think it better to live with the fools than die with the wise men." The news of this emigration convinced the queen-mother and her fellow-conspirators, the king, his brother, the Duke of Anjou, the

* Mézeray, IX. 71. † Sully, I. 26. ‡ Ibid, I. 27.

Digitized by Google

Duke of Guise,* the Count de Retz, the Keeper of the Seals (De Biragues), the Duke of Nevers, and beyond a doubt (though his biographer denies it) Marshal Tavannes, that the mine must be sprung instantly if the explosion was to be effectual. There must, however, have been considerable difference of opinion amongst themselves respecting the immediate measures to be adopted, for their discussions were long and frequent. They excused their nightly vigils (their deliberations were held chiefly at night) by their occupations in connection with the nuptial festivities; they said it was necessary to make each night arrangements for the festivities of the morrow.

At length the first blow was struck, but whether by common consent of the whole conclave is doubtful. Most probably it was the private contrivance of Catharine, Count Tavannes and the Guises, unknown to the rest or without their consent. But whoever was the author of the deed, it was well chosen for a commencement. It was a stroke calculated to secure four distinct objects, all of which were desirable with a view to the success of the undertaking; *first*, it was calculated to deprive the Protestants of any head or central authority around which they might rally for counsel or defence; *secondly*, to give public notice to the fanatical Catholics that they were to hold themselves in readiness for some important stroke; *thirdly*, to afford to the royal faction a plausible excuse for closing the city gates, so as to confine the victims, as it were, in a cage; and, *fourthly*, to provoke the Huguenots to some act of tumult, or even of disrespect, were it only an over-earnest demand for justice, which might serve as an excuse for treating them as insurgents and for giving them over to military execution. For all these purposes no means could appear more suitable than the assassination of Admiral Coligny in the public streets and in broad daylight. Tavannes afterwards boasted that it was he who had suggested this "great stroke,"† but it may have occurred to others as well as to him. Perhaps the queen-mother may have had, as Mézeray thinks she had, a farther object. She may have hoped that the Montmorencys, inflamed with rage at the murder of their kinsman, would rush to arms at once and endeavour to wreak their revenge on the house of Guise, whose bitter enmity against the Admiral would cause them to be suspected of the crime; that the princes of that family would stand on their defence; that war being thus waged in the streets of Paris, the king would have a pretext for interfering to put down both factions; and thus all the objects of her hatred, for she cordially hated the leaders of both parties, would be destroyed at once.‡

* Son of the Duke whose retinue had committed the massacre at Vassy. His father had been assassinated, and he always blamed Coligny as the instigator of the crime.

† Mézeray, IX. 72.

‡ Ibid. IX. 74.

Digitized by Google

The historian does not state his authority for this supposition; but it shadows forth a design not unlikely to have occurred to the mind of a princess brought up at the feet of Macchiavelli.

Be this as it may, the assassination of Coligny was resolved upon. On Friday, the 22nd of August, four days after the wedding, as the Admiral was returning from the Louvre, where he had just had an interview with the king on affairs of state, while he was walking slowly and reading a paper, he was fired upon from a window on the ground floor of a house on the opposite side of the street. Two balls took effect; one broke a finger of his right hand, the other shattered his left arm and brought him to the ground. Wounded as he was, the veteran had presence of mind to point out to his attendants the window whence the shot had come. They broke open the door of the house, which belonged to a retainer of the Duke of Guise, and rushed in to seize the assassin, but he had escaped by a back entrance, and fled on a horse which was furnished by one of that nobleman's servants.*

The Admiral was not killed, nor was the wound which he had received mortal. Thus far the intention of his enemies had failed. But in several respects the failure answered the purpose for which the blow had been designed. In one respect it even served the purpose better than it would have been served by the Admiral's death. He was carried to his hotel, where his friends gathered around him; they were thus collected for the slaughter to which they were destined. But they did not rush to arms as had been expected. It is probable, indeed, that except the swords which all noblemen and gentlemen then wore, rather as a mark of their rank than for warlike purposes, very few of them had brought any arms with them from their castles. The Admiral himself counselled them to preserve order. He looked upon the attack on his person as the result of private malice, and reposed full confidence in the justice of the king.

The king was playing at tennis with the Duke of Guise when the news of this outrage was brought to him. He assumed the appearance of the greatest indignation, and declared his intention to find out and punish the authors and perpetrators of the crime. He gave orders that, to prevent the murderer from escaping, all the gates of Paris should be closed except two, which were kept open for the entry of provisions; and he commanded the Duke of Anjou to bring the whole of the body-guards, reinforced by four hundred additional men, into the city; posting a company at Coligny's door, and another within the house to protect him and his friends from farther violence. He even went to visit Coligny, accompanied by the queen-mother, the Dukes of Anjou and

* Davila, II. 289. Sully says the horse belonged to the king's stables. Both may be true. The assassin was Monrevel, who had already murdered De Mouy.

Digitized by Google

Guise, the Count de Retz and some others. He remained with him nearly an hour, expressing the utmost grief for the injury he had received, and declared his firm determination to punish those who had so foully attempted his life. Perhaps, indeed, he rather overdid the show of emotion; for it appears that Coligny, either then or soon after, expressed something that looked like apprehension of foul play. To quiet him, Charles gave directions that the chiefs of the Huguenots should leave the lodgings which they occupied in different parts of the town and take up their residence in the Admiral's hotel and the adjoining houses, for his protection and their common safety. Every occasion was made a pretext for drawing the net round them more closely. Under pretext of some fear lest the princes of the house of Lorraine should excite the populace to violence, the young King of Navarre and his cousin the Prince de Condé were invited to remove, with their personal friends, to the Louvre, where it was pretended they would be safe from outrage. In the course of a few hours, all these friends and retainers were barbarously murdered in the very presence of the sovereign whose hospitality they had been invited to partake.

On the night of the 22nd of August and the day of the 23rd, there were consultations held among the leaders of both sides. Many of the Protestants, alarmed by the threatening looks and words of the armed men and burghers with whom the streets were filled, counselled immediate flight. The Vidame de Chartres strongly recommended this course. Téligny as warmly opposed it. The physicians sent by the king assured the Admiral and his friends that it would be impossible for him to travel in his present condition, without risk of inflaming his wounds and bringing on fever. The Admiral decided on remaining where he was. But the Vidame returned to the charge; he insisted that Coligny was better, and might very well endure the easy motion of a litter. Information of his perseverance in urging this course was carried to the Louvre by a Protestant nobleman, Bouchavannes,* who probably mentioned it inadvertently or for some praiseworthy purpose. But his indiscretion had all the effect of treason. The secret council dreaded lest the urgency of the Vidame should at last prevail, and their prey thereby escape out of their hands. Orders were instantly given for the butchery which had been so long in preparation. The execution of them was entrusted to Guise, of whose energy in such a cause no doubt could be entertained. Guise was in other respects well qualified for the charge assigned him; he was a great favourite with the common people, who looked upon him as one of the champions of their faith, and would rally round him for its support; and he had a great num-

* Thuanus (III. 64) says it was he; other historians do not name the informant, though they relate the fact.

Digitized by Google

ber of armed men in his employment, whose services would be useful. He was entrusted for the occasion with the command of the military force then in Paris. At ten o'clock at night, he sent for the officers of these troops, and ordered them to have their men ready under arms. He gave instructions to Charron, the "Prevôt des Marchands," and Marcel, who had previously filled that office, to arm the burghers; to collect them first in private houses and afterwards to draw them up in the public squares; to take care that they should have torches in readiness to light up the windows; and that their men should wear, as a badge of distinction, a white band or scarf on the left arm and a cross of the same colour in their hats. When all was ready, they were to commence the massacre at a signal which would be given by the tolling of the great bell of Paris. The Duc de Montpensier, the Duc de Nevers, and many others of the nobility of the court, armed themselves and their retainers, and held themselves in readiness to issue forth and to take part in the work of destruction on hearing the signal. It is said that Queen Catharine, apprehensive lest her son at the last moment should relinquish his bloody purpose, caused the tocsin to be rung an hour sooner than the appointed time.* Be that as it may, the signal when given was promptly obeyed.

The Dukes of Guise, D'Aumale and Angoulême, with other captains and a large body of men, repaired immediately to the hotel where lay the wounded Coligny. They were at once admitted by the guards whom the Duke of Anjou had posted there for that purpose. The Dukes and the officers remained in the court-yard of the hotel; they sent a number of their men up to the chambers where the inmates slept. The Admiral, hearing the noise, asked his servant who was by him what it meant. "My lord," he answered, "God calls us to Himself!" and, rushing out of the room by a second entrance, succeeded in making his escape. The murderers, when they came in, found Coligny on his knees. One of them, named Bême, a servant of the Duke of Guise, rushed at him with drawn sword. "Young man," said the Admiral, "you ought to respect these grey hairs; but do what you will; you can shorten my life but little." Bême ran him through the body, others stabbed him with their poniards, and tossed his corpse out of the window. It was treated with all possible indignity. It was mutilated, thrown upon a dunghill, and some days afterwards dragged to the gallows at Montfaucon, hung up by the only leg which remained attached to the body, and half roasted by fire.† The king, accompanied by his mother and his court, went out to feast his eyes on this spectacle. One of the courtiers, offended by the odour of the corpse, turned his head away. "*Know*," said Charles, "*that nothing smells so sweet*

* Mézeray, IX. 80.

† Ibid., IX. 85, 86.

Digitized by Google

as a dead enemy."* In the same house and at the same time with the Admiral were slain his son-in-law Téligny, the Sieurs De Montaumar and Rourai, with others of his friends and retinue. Among the rest, Guerchy, who fell sword in hand, the only Protestant who did so. Aroused by the tumult, he leaped out of bed, seized his sword, and, having wrapped a cloak round his arm, stood upon his defence till he was overpowered and slain.† During the massacre, seven hundred houses were treated in the same way as the hotel of Admiral Coligny. Of the seven hundred, only one offered resistance.‡

The events of that dismal Sunday offer a sad monotony of guilt and suffering. Houses broken into, inmates murdered, violence done to the feelings of nature and of common decency, every conceivable insult offered to the memory of the slain. There was one kind of outrage, and perhaps but one, of which the assassins were innocent,—outrage upon the feelings of survivors. If there were survivors, it was by accident only. Their aim and their hope was to exterminate all. Such were the orders given them by authority. Marshal Tavannes, with the Dukes of Nevers and Montpensier, paraded the streets on horseback, commanding the people, in the king's name, to slaughter every Huguenot, man, woman and child. "Kill, kill!" they cried; "bloodletting is as wholesome in August as in May!" There was no want of zeal in fulfilling the royal wishes. The streets were everywhere strewn with mangled bodies, and the gutters ran red with human blood. Some of the incidents of that dreadful scene possess a dramatic interest. The Count de la Rochefoucault, the same who had slighted the warning of Bishop Montluc, had been engaged with the king at play till a late hour on the previous night; early in the morning he felt himself seized in his bed by masked men; he thought it was King Charles and his companions who were come to whip him by way of practical joke; he was stabbed to death with many wounds. Caumont la Force was likewise slain in his bed, as he lay sleeping between his two sons. One of them was killed beside his father; the other, a child of nine or ten years old, was wounded, but escaped by counterfeiting death, and afterwards creeping under the dead bodies of his father and his brother. The Marquis de Resnel had a suit pending with a kinsman, Bussy d'Amboise, on account of an estate of his which the latter claimed; d'Amboise decided it in his own favour by seeking out and murdering his opponent. Towards the evening, the ladies of the court went out in a body, picking their steps through the bloody streets, to see the corpses of the slain. That of the Baron du Pont was the object of an

* Papire, Masson and Castelman vouch for this anecdote. The expression is not original.

† Davila, II. 298; Mézeray, IX. 83.

‡ Mézeray, IX. 83.

Digitized by Google

indecent curiosity, on account of a suit in which he was engaged with his wife, a lady of the house of Soubise. They laughed and tittered while making their inspection. Bigotry had overcome modesty as well as humanity, and converted women into fiends.

The Duke de Sully gives a graphic account of his own adventures that morning. He had accompanied the King of Navarre to Paris in the capacity of page; but being only thirteen years old, he was permitted to dwell in separate lodgings, with his tutor and a valet-de-chambre, while he pursued his studies in the Collège de Bourgogne. He had gone to bed early on Saturday night; at three o'clock on Sunday morning he was awakened by the ringing of all the bells in Paris, and the shouts of the rabble in the streets. M. St. Julien, his tutor, and the valet, rushed out to see the cause of the tumult; he never saw or heard of them again, and doubtless they fell among the first victims of the massacre. After a short time, while he was dressing himself, his host, who was a Protestant, entered his room pale and in consternation, and told the boy what was going on. He said that he had gone to mass to save his life and prevent his house from being plundered, and he advised Sully to do the same. Young as he was, he thought it better to seek refuge at his college; he put on his student's gown, and taking under his arm a large volume of Roman Catholic devotion, "*The Hours*," he sallied forth. He was horror-struck at the spectacle which the street presented. Furious fanatics were rushing to and fro, forcing open the houses, and crying, "Kill, kill! massacre the Huguenots!" The blood which he saw spilled before his eyes redoubled his terror. He fell into the midst of a Corps de Garde, and was seized; the book which he carried served him as a passport, and he was let go. Twice again he fell into the same danger, and escaped by the same means. At length he arrived at the college, but the porter refused to let him in; he remained for a considerable time in the street at the mercy of the fanatics who were on the search for victims, when happily it occurred to him to ask for the Principal of the college, a worthy man, named La Haye, who was very fond of him. The porter, for a bribe, consented to bring the Principal; he admitted Sully instantly, and took him to his own room. There he found two priests, who were talking of the Sicilian Vespers; they tried to tear the boy by force out of the hands of La Haye. "The orders," they exclaimed, "are to kill even the infants at the breast." But the worthy Principal would not give him up to their cruelty; he removed him from the chamber, and stowed him away in a private closet, where he kept him for three days under lock and key, supplying him meanwhile with food. At the end of that time, a stop having been put to the promiscuous slaughter, he was brought out from his hiding-place. After eight days he

Digitized by Google

received a letter from his father, who had heard of his safety, advising him to remain still in Paris, since even the Prince whom he served was not free to leave it; and counselling him to avoid an otherwise inevitable destruction, by doing as the Prince himself had done,—that is, by going to mass.*

Other children were not so fortunate. We read of a little one that was seized by a ruffian, who rushed towards the river, carrying it in his arms. The child thought he was in sport; laughed in his face, and began to play with his beard. This might have turned a tiger from its prey; but the ruffian only drew his dagger, stabbed it, and tossed it into the Seine. Many a similar burden did that river float upon its waves on the day of the "bloody St. Bartholomew."

Seven or eight hundred of the Huguenots, believing that the danger which threatened them was a mere outburst of popular fanaticism, took refuge in the prisons. They fled for shelter under the wings of justice. This only lightened the labour of their persecutors. They were kept in confinement till the latter were at leisure from street butchery; they were then brought forth, their brains were knocked out with bludgeons, and their bodies hurled into the Seine.†

It may be asked, how was the king employed while his ministers and courtiers, his troops and generals, assisted by an organized mob under the official chiefs of the city, were thus engaged in slaughtering so many of the best and bravest of his subjects in the immediate neighbourhood of his palace. There are abundant means of answering this question. On Saturday, the 23rd, his Majesty dined at the usual hour, about eleven o'clock. Soon afterwards, a kind of council was held in the royal closet, at which Queen Catharine, the Duke of Anjou, Marshal Tavannes and the other confidants of the plot, were present; and at which the immediate execution of the long-projected massacre was resolved upon. The rest of the day was spent in making preparations; but with these the king, after having given his consent to the execution, appears not to have intermeddled. On that night he sat up late at play, having for the companions of his pleasures some of those who were marked out for slaughter in the morning. He went to bed and slept for two hours. At break of day he rose, and, with his mother and his brother of Anjou, repaired to a room *which looked into the court-yard of the palace* to see the commencement of the execution.‡ This is the statement of the Duke of Anjou, one of the family party thus collected,—a horrid statement, for it necessarily implies the pre-meditated butchery of those who had been invited to partake the shelter of the royal palace.

* Sully, *Mémoires*, &c., I. 29, 30. † Mézeray, IX. 81, 82.

‡ Letter of the Duke of Anjou, *ap.* Petitot, § xliv. 508. This letter was written (or dictated) two years after the massacre.

Digitized by Google

His Majesty, having taken his post, caused the King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé to be summoned to his presence. They came with fear and trembling, for none of their gentlemen or servants were allowed to come with them; they were not allowed to bring their swords; and the royal guards through whom they had to pass threatened them with their weapons and insolent gestures. As soon as they had reached the presence, M. d'O, commander of the king's guard, began to call over, one by one, the names of the Huguenot chiefs who were in the Louvre, and each, as soon as he arrived in the court-yard, was cut down by the soldiers, who were drawn up in two lines with their weapons ready. In this manner were slain the Compte de la Rochefoucault, the Marquis de Resnel, Piles, the brave defender of St. Jean de Luz in the war which ended two years previously, "the brave Pardaillan," as he is styled by contemporary historians, Francourt, Chancellor to the King of Navarre, Lavardin and others to the number of two hundred.* Their naked corpses were afterwards exposed at the gate of the palace.† Charles then turned to the two princes, horror-stricken as they were at the murders of their best friends of which they had been made witnesses, and commanded them in tones of fury and with horrid execrations, his customary style, to abjure Protestantism on the spot. It appears to us that the King of Navarre made little difficulty in doing what was required, though Sully says that *both* the princes manifested their reluctance; the Prince de Condé certainly did, insomuch that the king threatened him with death or imprisonment. "Death," he exclaimed, "the mass or the bastille."‡ The young prince yielded, and declared himself a Catholic. To prevent mistake or relapse, both the princes were compelled to write letters to the Pope, announcing their conversion. In the course of the morning, having discovered a number of the Huguenots flying for their lives, Charles seized a gun and fired upon them with his own hand.§ After some time spent in these engagements and others of a similar kind, his Majesty despatched orders to various governors of towns and provinces to imitate the example of the capital; the orders were in some cases written; in others, to prevent future inconvenience, they were verbal. But that very day letters were sent to the governors of provinces, charging them to assure the people in their districts that the king did not intend and was not going to break the edict of pacification. In one of these he had written that he had "allied himself with the King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé to avenge the death of his cousin the Admiral." But the Guises, apprehensive as they might well be, that the queen-

* Davila, II. 298, 299. † Mézeray, IX. 84.

‡ Mézeray, IX. 92; Davila, IX. 311.

§ Voltaire learned this fact from Marshal Tessé, who had heard it from the lips of the man who loaded the gun for his Majesty.

Digitized by Google

mother would afterwards impute to them this crime in order to destroy them, compelled the king to change his language and to write that "all that had taken place had been done by his order, to prevent the accomplishment of a detestable conspiracy which the Admiral had hatched to destroy him and all the royal family, even the King of Navarre and the Prince de Condé." Towards the evening, complaints having reached him that the rabble had used the licence which they had received for murdering Protestants as a cloak for indiscriminate murder and plunder, having slain and robbed many Catholics, he issued an order, which was published by sound of trumpet, that no one "except the officers of the guards and the functionaries of the city" should take arms or make prisoners, on pain of death. This proclamation was several times repeated. "Henceforth," says Mézeray, "murder and pillage were carried on with more regularity, but not with less cruelty." However, he did not discourage those who boasted of their achievements during the carnage. On Tuesday morning, a butcher waited upon him at the Louvre and told him that he had killed a hundred and fifty the preceding night; and a gold-beater bragged, displaying his arm, that he had despatched four hundred for his single share.

The same day, after having heard a solemn mass to thank God for the glorious victory gained *over heresy*, and given orders that a medal should be struck to commemorate it, Charles went to the Parliament to hold a bed of justice; and addressed to that assembly a set speech, in which he avowed that the massacre had been performed by his express order; that the Protestants were perpetual rebels and conspirators against his person and government; that although he had frequently pardoned their outrages, they had entered into a new conspiracy against his own life, that of his mother, his brothers, and also that of the King of Navarre; that their plot having in a wonderful manner been made known to him, he had adopted this way of preventing their wicked designs from taking effect. He called on the Court to proceed with the same severity against all the followers and adherents of the traitors who were slain.* The Parliament most submissively complied with the King's command. An indictment was drawn up against Admiral Coligny, and, being found guilty, he was sentenced to be gibbeted,—a sentence which was executed by means of an effigy of straw. Briquemaut and Cavagnes, who had managed to escape the massacre, were tried upon a similar indictment, condemned and executed. Charles not merely went to see them executed himself, but compelled the King of Navarre to accompany him.

The fate of Briquemaut and Cavagnes suggests that there were intended victims who escaped the carnage. Charles him-

* Davila, II. 305.

Digitized by Google

self pardoned three or four on the solicitation of his brother-in-law. Several were saved by their friends of the Catholic persuasion, who concealed them in their houses, as was the case with the Duke of Sully. Some bribed the miscreants who were about to murder them, by promises of land or money. Several saved themselves by professing to turn Catholics. After the first day of the carnage, not a few adopted the white scarf and cross, until they were able to escape from Paris. The Duke of Guise afforded a refuge in his mansion to about a hundred gentlemen whom he expected to gain over to his cause.* Biron, Grand Master of the Artillery, who hated such cruelty and treachery, posted some of his guns at the gate of the arsenal, which checked the fury of the assassins and enabled him to save several of his personal friends. Those who had taken up their quarters with the Vidame de Chartres and Montgomery in the faubourgs, hearing the disturbance and not knowing its cause, approached the city to see if they could be of any use; they were fired upon from the walls, and some of them wounded; this preserved them; they mounted instantly, and rode for their lives. They were pursued hotly, but most of them made their way to Normandy, and thence to England.

The massacre lasted for more than a week in Paris; for the first two days it raged furiously; after which it slackened a little. By that time, many of the objects of persecution were either dead or had escaped; yet even on the tenth day after that of St. Bartholomew, scores of victims were slain. How many were murdered in all can never be known with certainty. Mézeray says the slain in Paris amounted to 5000, of whom 700 were "*gentils-hommes*," men of noble blood. Davila and others raise the number to 10,000; some sink it down to 2000. But Thuanus (De Thou), a careful and cautious writer, says 2000 were killed on the day of St. Bartholomew alone. On the whole, the estimate of Mézeray is probably not far from the truth.

The orders which were sent to the provinces on the Sunday evening were in some places evaded; in others, frankly disobeyed; but in too many they were executed with a fiendish fidelity. Mézeray says (p. 90), "For two entire months this horrible tempest swept over the whole of France, more or less bloody, according to the disposition of the people and the governors. It was not so violent in Burgundy and in Britanny, because there were few Huguenots in those regions; nor in Languedoc and Gascony, because they were strong enough there to defend themselves; but it was very cruel at Meaux, at Troyes, at Orleans, at Nevers, at Lyons, at Thoulouse, at Bourdeaux and at Rouen, and destroyed nearly 25,000 men. At Thoulouse, they hung five Counsellors of the Parliament, in their red robes, on one

* Mézeray, IX. 84.

Digitized by Google

elm tree in the court of the palace. Matignon and the Viscount d'Ortez generously refused to imbrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen; the first preserved those of Alençon, the other those of Bayonne; they were the governors of these towns. The terror of the massacres brought back a large number to the Roman Church; but when the danger was over, most of them left it again. These, and those who had in time foreseen the storm, took refuge in different places. Sancerre, Rochelle, Montauban and Sevennes, afforded a shelter to a great many."*

As might be expected, historians vary in their estimate of those who perished in all France during this persecution. Papire Masson says, 12,000; De Thou and Mézeray, 30,000; Davila makes the number amount to 40,000; Sully to 70,000; and Archbishop Pèrefixe to 100,000. Sully had made a collection of documents and returns relating to this calamitous period; these papers, from his position as Prime Minister during the reign of Henry IV., would have been of great authority and value; but they have never been permitted to see the light, and it is probable they have been all destroyed. After all, the exact number is of little consequence. It is evident that wherever the influence of the queen-mother and her faction prevailed, every Huguenot on whom they could lay their hands was killed. Very many, however, escaped; and the massacre of their co-religionists only united them the more closely and confirmed them in their hatred of Catholicism.

In other parts of Europe, the butcheries of the St. Bartholomew excited an outburst of indignation and abhorrence such as no previous event had ever elicited. Nor was this feeling confined to Protestant states alone; it was largely diffused even in Catholic countries. No denunciations of the crime and its authors are more hearty and unreserved than those of Davila, De Thou, Pèrefixe, Mézeray and Father P. Sarpi. Pèrefixe, Archbishop of Paris and tutor to Louis XIV., calls it "an execrable deed, which never had, and God grant that it never may have, a parallel." These things ought to be borne in mind, and may serve to shew the folly of imputing to Catholics generally sympathy with an inhumanity which many of them detested. It is, however, true that not a few approved and applauded the ferocious conduct of Charles and his minions in attempting to extirpate heresy by one bloody blow. King Philip II. of Spain wrote a letter of congratulation to his brother the Most Christian King, and offered him the whole strength of his arms to assist in completing the great undertaking. The reigning Pope, Gregory XIII., caused public thanksgivings to be offered up in all the churches of Rome, and went himself in solemn procession to the church of St. Louis, to testify his gratitude for it in person. He sent a legate to con-

* Mézeray, IX. 90, 91.

Digitized by Google

gratulate the King of France, and to exhort him to go on as he had begun.* He caused a medal to be struck to commemorate the event, as one deserving to be held in everlasting honour. It contains on one side the Pope's effigy, with the inscription, GREGORIUS XIII. PONT. MAX. AN. I.; and on the other, an angel, bearing in one hand a cross, in the other a sword, with which he is slaughtering certain persons, of whom three are lying dead; one, apparently wounded, grasps a broken sword; one is fleeing; and one, a woman, is wringing her hands in distraction. The inscription is, UGONOTTORUM STRAGES: "*The Massacre of the Huguenots.*" The medallist was ashamed to represent the destroying angel as assailing unarmed men; he has therefore depicted the heretics as clothed in armour. His Holiness gave a commission to Vasari, the painter, to represent the carnage of the Feast of St. Bartholomew on the walls of the Vatican. There is in that palace a large room called the Sala Régia, the walls of which are divided into enormous panels, each filled with a picture representing some triumph of the holy see. No less than three of these are filled with paintings relating to the St. Bartholomew. In the first, Admiral Coligny, wounded, is borne into his house by his friends. Beneath the picture, as under all the other pictures in the room, there was formerly an inscription: "GASPARDUS COLIGNIUS, AMIRALIUS, ACCEPTO VULNERE, DOMUM REFERTUR.—GREG. XIII. PONTIF. MAX. 1572." A second picture represents the massacre itself; a medley of armed men, helmeted and mailed, are slaughtering others who are defenceless; in the background the body of the Admiral is seen, tossed out of the window. The inscription under this picture was, "CÆDES COLIGNII ET SOCIORUM EJUS." The third panel represents Charles IX. in council, surrounded by his brothers and the Princes of Lorraine, holding up his naked sword, as if giving order for more murders; beneath was the motto, "REX COLIGNII NECEM PROBAT." These pictures still pollute the walls of the Vatican; but the inscriptions, savouring too strongly of the intolerance and bigotry which distinguished Pope Gregory, have been erased some time since 1828, probably by order of the present Pope.†

It has been stated that on Tuesday, the 26th of August, two days after the massacre had begun, Charles IX. gave orders that a medal should be struck to perpetuate the memory of this achievement. Copies of it are occasionally to be met with, but they are rare, much more rare than those issued by order of Pope Gregory; however, it is figured in Father Daniel's *Histoire de France*, Vol. VIII. p. 786. On one side the king is seen, seated on his throne, trampling on the dead bodies of the slain, with the motto, "VIRTUS IN REBELLES" (*Valour against the Rebels*);

* Note to Sully's *Mémoires*, I. 27.

† See Coquerel's *Religious Art in Italy*, pp. 148, 149 (English translation).

Digitized by Google

on the other are the arms of France, surmounted by the crown, between two pillars, with the legend, "PIETAS EXCITAVIT JUSTITIAM" *(Piety hath aroused Justice)*, with the date, 24th Aug. 1572.

In the sentence pronounced against the Admiral by the Parliament of Paris, his château of Chatillon was ordered to be rased to the ground, and a brazen tablet erected, on which should be engraved a copy of the decree,—so eager was the wretched monarch to hand down to future ages the record of his ferocious perfidy.

There is a lesson to be drawn from all this, but surely no reader can require to have it pointed out.

A CRY FOR HELP FROM ONE OF OUR FAMISHED MANUFACTURING VILLAGES.

SIR,

WILL you allow me through your columns to draw the attention of the charitably disposed to the fearful destitution of the operatives in this township. Our population consists of 16,000 souls; those employed in mills, work-shops and collieries, number 6240, who support by their labour the 9000 odd, consisting of old people, women and children. At the present moment, 10,000 of these poor people are entirely destitute, and in a few days nearly every mill will be closed, and the rest will have to be supported by charity. The shopkeepers supplying food number nearly 200; most of them have exhausted their means of supplying their customers, and three-fourths of them are ruined. The savings of the more provident work-people are exhausted; their cottages, in a very large number of cases, are denuded of furniture, even to the beds; and every article of clothing which could be spared from the person has been sold to purchase food. The Board of Guardians resolutely refuses to minister sufficient aid; and had it not been for the prompt and generous aid of the Lord Mayor,* many of my unfortunate neighbours would

* The services which the Lord Mayor has rendered during his lengthened term of office, in collecting and distributing the alms of the charitable, make his mayoralty equally honourable to himself and the great city of which he is the chief magistrate. The discrimination and wisdom with which the Lord Mayor and the Mansion House Committee have distributed the funds entrusted to them for the relief of the famine in Lancashire and Cheshire are most commendable. Objections have been taken in some quarters to the existence of several channels of relief acting independently. But there is this great advantage in the multiform distribution of help, that while expediency may dictate to a local committee certain general principles in the distribution, the result will be individual cases of extreme hardship. To such cases a second relieving body, like the London Committee, may advance to give help. We earnestly trust that the Lord Mayor and his coadjutors will continue their beneficent labours and retain their independent functions. During a recent visit to the distressed districts, we heard the name of the Lord Mayor mentioned again and again with words of blessing. —ED. of C. B.

Digitized by Google

have been literally starving. The temper and spirit of the sufferers is worthy of all praise; they blame nobody, and bear their misfortunes with noble fortitude. In our house-to-house visitations, we advise all to apply for parish relief; most of them do so; but every now and then we come to a family who feel so intensely the degradation of receiving union relief, that they declare they will shut themselves up in their empty, fireless cottages and die, before this worst disaster shall overtake them. To them we are obliged to extend greater assistance than to their neighbours.

The industrial earnings of this township will probably in ordinary times not fall short of £5000 weekly; and when our mills are closed I cannot see that we can feed them for less than £1500. Half of this sum will perhaps be furnished by the guardians; how we are to raise the rest, God only knows. When raised, it will only purchase the simplest food; fuel and clothing will still be wanting; and we have not yet, whilst spending only £100 weekly, seen our way to divert our funds from food supplies. As the winter approaches, the nakedness of the people will be an additional source of misery and disease. To relieve this, I make the present appeal, in the earnest hope that some good Christian will allow his premises to be made into a depôt for receiving clothing. I would urge that there are but few who cannot contribute some cast-offs, and that our wants extend over the whole range of the wardrobe. A timely donation of clothes would enable many a poor child to resume the accustomed seat at the Sunday-school, which lately the shame of rags has denied. In conclusion, I would urge that we have peculiar claims in Dukinfield, owing to the fact that we have few resident gentry in proportion to the working population. We have no municipal institutions to attract the middle class, and consequently no machinery ready at hand to meet a crisis like the present.

Dukinfield, Sept. 17, 1862. ALFRED ASPLAND.

In giving insertion to this distressing statement, the Editor of the *Christian Reformer* desires to add one or two facts.

The writer of the letter has, from his professional and social position as a surgeon and a magistrate, the best opportunities of knowing the actual condition of his neighbours. In conjunction with Mr. Bass, the able and benevolent representative of Mr. Astley, the Lord of the Manor, and Mr. Edward Hyde, one of the principal manufacturers of the place, and some few others, he has been acting for some time on a committee of relief. The terrible destitution which rages in Dukinfield cannot possibly be met by any *local* resources. There are farmers and shopkeepers in the usual proportion, and there are large numbers of coal-miners. There is a slight sprinkling of professional men. But the bulk of the inhabitants of the township depend entirely on the cotton manufacture. They are now, by the closing of the mills, deprived of their only resource. They are surrounded by towns in much the same position, from the inhabitants of which little help is to be had. In the days of their willing and

Digitized by Google

not ill-rewarded industry, the people of Dukinfield supported their own charitable, educational and religious institutions with a liberal hand. A residence amongst them of one-and-twenty years enables the writer of this note to attest their honesty, intelligence, kindness of heart and public spirit. Such people deserve help in misfortune. To their other good qualities, many of the working people added frugality and providence. A not uncommon mode with well-to-do workmen of providing for age was the building of cottages. But the terrible and unforeseen calamity which has befallen Dukinfield and the other cotton districts makes the collection of rents impossible. The hardly-earned savings of a life of honest industry, invested in freehold cottages, are for a time without value.

The fact alluded to by our correspondent, that the want of decent clothing is now hindering children from going to school, is a sad evidence of the general distress and of its pinching character. In few places in the kingdom is education more valued than in Dukinfield. Civilization has its pride. The children and the young men and women who have hitherto crowded the Sunday-schools, have been always accustomed to decent clothing and something more. They will not face their school companions in rags. The enforced leisure they now have may be turned to good account in uninterrupted school and other instruction,* if the children, for whom there are schools not a few, can be decently clad. Shoes are particularly needed.

Now that we are within a few weeks of winter, the provision of clothing for the destitute operatives is a form of charity of pressing importance. If benevolent persons will supply materials of any kind that can be made into winter clothing, they will confer a double blessing.† Classes will be formed under suitable instruction for teaching

---

* The paragraph that follows is taken from a recent No. of the *Manchester Guardian:*

"The Committee of the Dukinfield Village Library finding that their subscribers have seriously diminished, in consequence of their inability to meet their subscriptions, have determined, until better times, to allow such subscribers to receive books out of the library free. At the annual meeting of this Institution, on Wednesday evening, Mr. Samuel Robinson recommended that free classes should be formed to give the unemployed young men in the village an opportunity during their 'enforced leisure' to improve their education."

† The letter which follows appeared lately in the *Daily News*, with the well-known initials H. M.:

The Sewing Schools.—"The other day a friend of mine went forth with £5 in her pocket, to see how much good sound clothing material she could get for that sum. I have just been looking over her package before it goes to the Blackburn Sewing School, and I find the contents to be as follows: thirteen women's gowns, seemly and serviceable; six frocks for young girls and children; six petticoats, linsey and stuff; four petticoats, woven; five flannel petticoats, very good; one child's pinafore; two boys' blouses, dark blue flannel, very good; ten women's shifts, unbleached calico; seven caps, strong muslin, checked; four bonnets, coburg, drab; a good supply of tapes, linen buttons, and hooks and eyes. It will be asked how such a purchase was achieved; and this is what I have to tell. My friend went to a shop (kept by a goodnatured tradesman, which is an important element in the case) where there was likely to be a remainder stock at the close of each season of the year. She explained her object, and was shewn remnants of flannel and calico, dresses out of fashion, out of season, or soiled (being washable), or faded. Pieces too short for a gown would serve for a frock; odd ends of stuff would make bonnets; the discarded fashions in linseys yield excellent warm petticoats very cheap. There were no cheap shawls in stock, nor

Digitized by Google

the people to make their clothes. Young women will thus be saved from all the temptations and dangers of an idle time; they will earn a small wage, and they will acquire a skill which will benefit them and their families in after and, we trust, better times. We assure our readers that articles of clothing, and materials of every kind fit for clothing, will be turned to the best account if sent to our correspondent. The most convenient plan will be for the charitably disposed to send direct to him their subscriptions and gifts of clothing and materials. His address is, *Alfred Aspland, Esq., Dukinfield, Ashton-under-Lyne.* But to aid in the good work, we add that subscriptions and clothing and materials will be received by *Rev. R. Brook Aspland,* either at 1, *Frampton Park Villas, Well Street, South Hackney,* or at the rooms of the Unitarian Association, 178, *Strand, London.* Where bundles of clothing, &c., are sent, it is desirable that they should in every case be accompanied by a letter containing a list of the articles. We undertake to publish, month by month, free of cost, the names of contributors and their gifts.

SIMPLICITY OF GOSPEL TRUTH.

No man preaches novelties and discoveries; the object of preaching is constantly to remind mankind of what mankind are constantly forgetting; not to supply the defects of human intelligence, but to fortify the feebleness of human resolutions, to recall mankind from the by-paths where they turn, into that broad path of salvation which all know, but few tread. These plain lessons the humblest ministers of the Gospel may teach, if they are honest, and the most powerful Christians will ponder, if they are wise.—*Sydney Smith.*

---

cloaks; but in a town these might probably have been obtainable. So might the list and cloth selvedges from clothiers' and woollen-drapers' shops, from which warm capes may be made, in a way which every needlewoman knows. Now there are goodnatured shopkeepers everywhere; and wherever there is a draper's shop of any consideration, there are remnants and faded and old-fashioned articles of dress. Ladies who have hours to spare can do much to serve their Lancashire sisters by trying, as my friend has done, how much they can get for £5. Fifty ladies, doing this, might go a long way towards clothing the women and children of the suffering districts. And why should there not be fifty and twice fifty ladies doing this thing within a week? I may remind them that there is little time on the spot, and little space and resource of convenience; and that, therefore, everything should be sent in readiness for the needle. The unbleached calico should be washed out; the garments should be cut out, in breadths at least, if not to fit; and each sort should be ticketed, each parcel of gowns, petticoats, &c., being separate, and ticketed with the number and quantity. It will be a great kindness to put in half-worn clothes. As I have said before—no rubbish. But there are few houses in which there are not some articles of dress which can be spared before they are nearly worn out. I will only say further, that every charge of carriage should be paid by the sender, and as little trouble given as possible. It will add a grace to the gift if everything that can be wanted is put into the parcel—linings, tape, buttons, hooks and eyes, thread, and even needles and pins. The very completeness will be a lesson to the girls, and will give pleasure in places where pleasures are very rare at present."

The writer (Miss Harriet Martineau) has sent a large contribution of materials for clothing (such as she recommends in this letter) to the Sewing School at Blackburn.

Digitized by Google

CRITICAL NOTICES.

On the Nature and some of the probable Consequences of Perfect Religious Liberty. A Sermon preached at St. Thomas's-Square Chapel, Hackney, on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1862. By the Rev. William Kirkus, LL.B. Pp. 32. London—Longmans. 1862.

HACKNEY, "Evangelical Hackney," as we have heard it termed by an ultra-orthodox eulogist, is one of the hot-beds of Nonconformist intolerance. Religious bigotry, avowed in the most pharisaic and unblushing manner, is the capital on which some of its parochial candidates and agitators successfully trade. If a preacher will only revile Socinians and Papists, or even the clergy of the Church of England (with a saving clause in behalf of the "Evangelical" party in the Church), he is sure to achieve a certain kind of success. But we are happy to state that the old Nonconformity of the parish is otherwise represented. No place in the latter half of the 17th century more abounded, in proportion to its population, with Nonconformists, or gave a more hospitable reception to the ejected clergy, than Hackney. Its accomplished vicar, William Spurstowe, the personal friend of Richard Baxter, laid the foundations of Protestant Nonconformity in the parish by retiring from the vicarage in 1662. During the darker days of persecution which followed, various of the ejected clergy, with more or less of secrecy, extended these foundations; and when the days of toleration and religious liberty succeeded, the accomplished Dr. William Bates built up on the foundations so well laid a large and influential Nonconformist congregation. To the successors, if not the personal descendants, of that early Nonconformist church, Mr. Kirkus, the author of the remarkable sermon before us, is the present minister. The only other Nonconformist church in Hackney which has any claims to antiquity is that of the Unitarians. The society to which Price, Priestley, Belsham and the late Robert Aspland ministered, was formed early in the last century by a seceding minority from the original Nonconformist congregation in Mare Street. The seceders represented the free theological spirit of the English Presbyterians, and the parent society lapsed to the Independents. But in freedom of thought and liberality of spirit, the present minister of St. Thomas's-Square chapel is surpassed by none. We have on a former occasion drawn attention to an able sermon of his on the Bible. Still more remarkable was the sermon preached by him on St. Bartholomew's-day.

While joining cheerfully with his Nonconformist brethren in the recognition of the virtues of the Puritan clergy, Mr. Kirkus could not conceal from himself that some portion of the admiration expressed by others had respect to their individual opinions rather than to their general principles, to the orthodox severity of their Puritanism rather than to their noble assertion of religious freedom.

A Unitarian minister, when doing homage to his Puritan ancestors, feels that there is no necessity for him to declare his non-agreement with many of their particular opinions. One in the position of Mr. Kirkus is bound by honesty to separate himself from some of the most cherished beliefs of his forerunners. In his Preface he states, as man-

Digitized by Google

fully as clearly, the views with which he approached the recent celebration of St. Bartholomew's-day.

"The controversies of our own day are very different from those of 1662. There is scarcely one of the Puritan divines with whom a dissenter of the present day would agree; we are further than ever from what they would have allowed, and certainly nearer to much for the very sake of which they seceded. Many dissenters would not only prefer *a* Liturgy, but would willingly enough accept, with scarcely a single alteration, the Book of Common Prayer; while they would all agree in rejecting the interference of the State in affairs purely ecclesiastical. * * * I found it quite impossible on St. Bartholomew's Day to pronounce any unqualified eulogy on the *opinions* of the seceding clergy of 1662; I found it equally impossible to doubt that the majority of them were brave and good men, to whom we lie under many obligations. If they could have established their own opinions, and compelled us all to submit to their rules of behaviour, we should have been bound to rebel against them; and we could scarcely have failed to regard them as among the very numerous class of well-meaning pests to mankind. Fortunately, they loved truth better than honour and power, and even life itself; *therefore*, they could serve their own generation and all mankind. The legacy they have left us is not *orthodoxy*, but *liberty*."—Pp. iii, iv.

In the sermon itself, Mr. Kirkus asserts that Nonconformists must not pledge themselves to an indiscriminate admiration of the spiritual heroes of 1662. Among the ejected clergy, he admits, were men who had been when in power persecutors, and some of whom had been guilty of cruelty equal to that from which they were doomed to suffer. Some of them, he concedes, were hypocrites, who had mistakenly thought it was for their interest to affect Puritan austerities, whether of creed, ritual or life. He spares not the memory of the unworthy ones, summing up this part of the case by the sharp but true doctrine that "at any rate cruelty and hypocrisy are as near a road to hell as any other, for Prelatist or for Puritan." But Mr. Kirkus gives us, in words of no little power, the true philosophy which the Bicentenary commemoration should teach.

"The majority, indeed, of the ejected clergy were men of singular honesty and indomitable courage; but while we remember that men of equal honesty and equal courage have suffered for conscience sake, in every section of the Church, and even outside of Christendom altogether, we must suffer them to teach us some better lesson than the validity of their own logic, and the truth of their own opinions. Tested by the courage and honour of those who have believed them, almost all opinions, however conflicting, are equally true. We must suffer holy martyrs to teach us that—whether men know the truth, and believe it, or have the misfortune to have lost their way in the labyrinth of error—it is equally their first duty, neglecting which it would be impossible for them to discharge any other, to utter boldly what they really think, and to refuse at any cost to affirm what they are unable to believe. In a word, it is not orthodoxy, but liberty, that has been bequeathed to us by those who were content to suffer rather than lie."—Pp. 11, 12.

Before entering on his general subject, Mr. Kirkus points out two indirect advantages of the recent observance by Dissenters of St. Bartholomew's-day. It rebukes the folly of those who would separate the gospel and its preaching from the general history of the world. He has evidently no sympathy with those mystics or fanatics who teach a religion which has no bearing on the daily concerns and duties of human life. He says somewhat epigrammatically, "We may very safely postpone

Digitized by Google

the preaching which concerns another world *only*, until the time when we get there."

The other advantage of the celebration is, that by it Nonconformists disavow the iconcoclastic superstitions of their Puritan forefathers in respect to the service done to the Church by holy and pious men, and unite to embody the acknowledgment of that service in a religious celebration.

"The men who would have deemed it a dishonour to Him who is the Head of the Church to call any sacred edifice 'St. John's' or 'St. Paul's,' are covering the country with halls and chapels that will be called Bicentenary; which means, being interpreted, the halls and chapels of the ejected clergy of 1662. The inconsistency doubtless is very great and startling, but, like many other inconsistencies, it is worthy of our utmost respect; it is simply a return to common sense."—P. 9.

The greater portion of Mr. Kirkus's sermon is an application to the times and circumstances of our ruling sects of the great principles of intellectual liberty laid down by Mr. J. S. Mill in his masterly treatise on that subject. In a brief survey of the ecclesiastical history of England, he finds wrongdoing on every side.

"First one side was victorious, then the other; and the victor, whether right or wrong, was always a tyrant and a persecutor. The consequences were, great suffering and much sin. Wholly innocent persons, or persons, shall we say, guilty only of being honest, were imprisoned and put to death, or subjected to the scarcely more tolerable persecution of being branded with an evil reputation, and exposed to the scorn and hatred of all good men. Women and children were often turned out of their quiet homes to beg and starve; and those who wished above all things to be loyal to truth and faithful to God, were exposed to the fiercest temptations; while, on the other hand, every dominant party did its very best unconsciously to fill its chief places of honour and power with hypocrites and time-servers."—P. 14.

The lying and hypocrisy, the persecution and suffering, recorded in the history of the Church, shew that all parties have been governed by a wrong principle in their treatment of others. The preacher is led by the survey of the past to the conclusion that there is no resting-place between two extreme points,—entire submission to some infallible guide or absolute liberty. As he recognizes in his fellow-men no infallible guides, he cannot stop short of the principle that every man must be allowed to think and speak and act as he chooses, so long as he does not thereby interfere with the same liberty in other men. This liberty is of paramount importance in religion, the great fountain of thought and action, the life of human life. To those who object that this liberty is superfluous and mischievous because man has in the Bible an infallible guide, his answer is, that men are not agreed and cannot agree as to the meaning of the Bible. How unflinchingly Mr. Kirkus stands to his argument on this head, let these words shew:

"To many Christians, the mystery of the Holy Trinity is regarded as the foundation of all theology, and even of all human duty; to others, 'the Trinity' is a dogma so utterly irrational as to be incapable of verbal expression, and even absolutely unthinkable. To many, the doctrine of Atonement is essential to salvation, and directly tends to the moral purity and spiritual strength of all who believe it: in the opinion of others, it is a mischievous and demoralising fiction. And inasmuch as religion belongs not to one country only or to one state of society, but to all mankind in every age, we

Digitized by Google

must widen very much our horizon if we would know all the questions that are still, and always have been, open questions."—Pp. 17, 18.

That Mr. Kirkus is no tyro in the philosophy of free thought is sufficiently clear from the passages that follow:

"And by liberty of thought in religion I am very far from meaning the liberty to arrive only at a predetermined conclusion. Logic is as rigid in one department of truth as in another; and though we may draw a straight line from one given point to another, we cannot be certain that it shall pass through any number of other given points. In like manner, a man may determine to arrive at a particular belief, but not by the road of free enquiry and honest examination. He may determine the path *or* the end; it is by no means certain that he can determine *both*. Freedom is the best security for truth; but religious liberty implies the right to think for ourselves, even though we cannot arrive at what our neighbours consider the orthodox conclusions. * * * The liberty of thought in religion implies the right, and might seem to involve the duty, of roaming over the whole field of error and delusion. It is under no circumstances wrong to examine the opinions and arguments of those who differ from us, however extreme those opinions may be; and the stronger the arguments are by which they are defended, the more obviously does it become our duty to examine them. If we are persuaded in our own minds that a Catholic would convert us if we only heard his case fairly stated, we may be sure that our Protestantism is not worth a straw. If we think that a few 'infidel' books would upset our confidence in the Christian religion, we have every reason to suspect that we are Christians only in name. And if it be our right to think and examine freely in everything belonging to our religion, no one can be justified in calling us ill names, insulting us by his pious inuendos, or inflicting upon us any kind of annoyance or inconvenience whatever, for exercising that right. The words 'infidel,' 'sceptic,' 'rationalist,' 'neologian,' and the like, have received from religious bigotry so mischievous a connotation that they have become almost unfit for further use. They imply an infallibility on one side, and an immorality on the other, which are equally and totally imaginary. A man is not an 'infidel' simply because he does not believe what we believe; and at any rate if that were 'infidelity,' his being an infidel would be wrong only if we were infallible, and if he knew that we were."—Pp. 19—21.

Freedom of speech and discussion, Mr. Kirkus, following here in the bold track of Mr. J. S. Mill, shews is the necessary consequence of freedom of thought.

Mr. Kirkus pleads next for liberty of conduct as well as thought and speech.

"If we pass the boundaries of the sect in which we may have been brought up, we shall perceive that there is just as much difference of opinion about godly conduct as there is about the true creed. We may have been taught that it is wrong to smile on Sundays; that there is an incurable wickedness in music; and that we must suspect 'some danger nigh where we possess delight.' Fortunately, however, there are many millions of mankind who have not so much as heard of the existence of these useful rules of life. Singularly enough, the duty of honouring the perfectly good God by being extremely miserable ourselves, and insufferably disagreeable to everybody else, is not to be found among the axioms of morality!"—P. 26.

Our preacher gives a somewhat stern rebuke to the religious world for the way in which they inveigh against the amusements of other men. After quoting the words of a clergyman (Rev. Mr. Woodward), who said he should have hope for a religious man who had committed a flagrant sin—here he should remember the case of David; but in the

Digitized by Google

case of a religious man who had with all sobriety and decorum presented himself at a theatre, he should look upon him as a willing apostate beyond hope. This is Mr. Kirkus's comment:

"The sin of David was adultery and murder, *only that*. It seems, therefore, that to hear M. Fechter play Othello is a much greater sin than to kill your next-door neighbour and commit adultery with his wife. It is very fortunate that 'the world' is far too good to become religious after this fashion. The tyranny of religious bigotry is almost incredible to persons who have not been its victims; and there can be nothing like manly virtue under the dominion of this artificial and overstrained morality. Complete religious liberty includes the right to enjoy all the good gifts of God, 'giving God thanks.'"—Pp. 28, 29.

The consequences of the perfect religious liberty which our preacher advocates would be the communication of a higher tone, intellectually and morally, to social intercourse; every topic would be discussed calmly, forbearingly as to temper, but fearlessly as to results, truth being the only object sought. The diminution of sectarian bitterness might at first increase the number of sects and of those who care not to enrol themselves with any sect. But truth would grow and prevail, and men would cleave to it with confidence, knowing that it had been tried, tested and proved. In the application of his subject, Mr. Kirkus calls upon his hearers to take part with some whose names are everywhere reviled. No one will doubt whom he means by this description:

"There are divines whose names, for honesty and charity, and exceeding beauty of character, have become 'household words' among the lovers of truth and liberty, who by men of a narrower spirit are hated and reviled and persecuted, harassed and annoyed in Universities and Colleges and their own parishes, in literature and in courts of law."—P. 31.

Plainer and bolder speaking than this in the pulpit cannot be. Mr. Kirkus, at least, is not one of those to whom he refers in his concluding words, who pretend to reverence saints they will not imitate, and to denounce the tyrannies they are faithfully copying. In parting with him, we wish him God-speed! May he ever thus speak for liberty, and prove in his own future career, which cannot but be distinguished, that liberty is the sure road to truth and an assured faith, to charity of heart and godliness of life!

Macaulay versus Fox. An Inquiry into the Truthfulness of Lord Macaulay's Portraiture of George Fox. In Two Lectures. By John Stephenson Rowntree, Author of "Quakerism Past and Present." Pp. 120. London—A. W. Bennett.

Attentive readers of Macaulay's History cannot fail to remember his portraiture of George Fox—how he describes him as possessing an intellect too much disordered for liberty and not sufficiently disordered for Bedlam—as one who, judged by his own actions and writings, cannot with reason be placed above Ludowick Muggleton or Joanna Southcote.

To every man possessed of any knowledge of Quaker history and of the priceless services to the cause of humanity which the members of that mystical but amiable society have rendered, the resemblance asserted by the gifted historian between Fox and Muggleton or Southcote, would necessarily strike as unjust, and to such a degree as to give to his portrait of the Quaker founder some of the worst features of caricature. Had

Digitized by Google

George Fox's life, doctrine, writings and preaching, been merely what the historian described, the continued existence of the Society of Friends would have been a difficult problem to account for, and their great and varied excellences would have still more perplexed the thoughtful reader. To meet this difficulty the historian assigned the better influences that moulded the Society of Friends to others than Fox. He supposed that Penn and Barclay, men whom he represents as immeasurably his superiors in everything except the energy of his convictions, took upon themselves the task of polishing his rude doctrines and removing from them much that shocked common sense or offended pure taste. There are many difficulties in this theory. Some of them lie on the very surface. An ignorant fanatic, one only just too good for Bedlam, with the literature of the rudest mechanic or peasant, could not have gained converts of varied culture, or have retained their confidence and love.

Mr. Rowntree, however, has, by a reference to dates in early Quaker history, shewn that Lord Macaulay's theory is improbable. George Fox was born in 1624; William Penn was his junior by twenty years, and Robert Barclay by twenty-four years. Fox began to preach when Penn was an infant, and began those writings which in great part moulded the Quaker creed and discipline when Barclay was only a boy, and many years before the conversion of either Barclay or Penn. That George Fox was deficient in literary skill, that his writings generally needed revision before they were fit for the press, accords both with the probabilities of the case and with known facts. But the circumstance only exalts the mental and moral force of Fox's character. In defending him against Macaulay, it is not necessary to deny the literary services rendered by his two distinguished converts, or to question the fact of their helping the currency of Quaker doctrine.

Mr. Rowntree has conducted his defence of the Quaker founder with good temper and ability. He grants that Fox sometimes argued illogically, that occasionally his writings are very obscure, and that his conduct was sometimes very injudicious; but, after these concessions, argues that he was both a good and a great man. In an article which appeared in the *Christian Reformer* in 1848 (pp. 641—657), the character of George Fox and the distinguishing qualities of his religious system were drawn by one of our ablest writers, and a high rank, morally and intellectually, was assigned to the Quaker founder. Without agreeing with the view given by the writer of that instructive essay of Fox's doctrine of the inward light, we adopt unreservedly his estimate of Fox's moral worth, and with some reserve his view of his intellectual qualities. In saying this, we express our total dissent from Lord Macaulay. We give Mr. Rowntree's summary of the principal part of his second lecture:

"Lord Macaulay says George Fox was crazy; we analysed some of the supposed proofs of madness—the seeing of visions and the casting out of devils, and demonstrated, by numerous examples, that a belief in supernatural interpositions has been far from uncommon, with men eminent for wisdom and for piety. His writings are as unintelligible as corrupt Hebrew, says Lord Macaulay: we succeeded in translating into modern English, the one passage adduced in support of this statement; we also read extracts from the earliest editions of his books, and found them at least intelligible. Yet we freely allowed that, *action* rather than *authorship*, was Fox's forte. His refusal to take off his hat, and his antipathy to bowing, are said to have been dictated by the most absurd reasons. On examination we discovered, that the version

Digitized by Google

of the scene before the Chief Justice, given by Lord Macaulay, was a palpable misrepresentation of facts, the real reasons for these refusals to comply with the ordinary customs of society being very different to what was asserted—in both cases high and holy considerations, leading Fox into a line of conduct, which will be viewed variously by different persons; but one that all must allow proved his integrity of purpose, so severe was the suffering it entailed upon him. • • •

"In the historic portrait galleries of the seventeenth century—in that magnificent assembly where are ranged the likenesses of Cromwell and of Milton, of Hampden and Falkland, of Pascal, Baxter, Bunyan, Leighton, Penn, Russell, Sidney, Locke, and a host besides—let there be likewise an honest portrait of George Fox—paint him, as Cromwell insisted on being painted—with all his scars and with every wrinkle—and you will still have before you the figure of a *great* though a *humble* man—for he fervently said 'it was by the grace of God, he was what he was.'"—Pp. 101—103.

That extravagant panegyrics on Fox have been pronounced by his followers we know. Macaulay had something of the iconoclastic spirit when he saw anthing tending to intellectual or spiritual idol worship. He would in this case have best cured extravagance by drawing an exact portrait, in which the good and noble qualities of Fox were treated justly and generously. The caricature which he has drawn may render his pages more amusing to some, but it will be regarded as a serious blemish to his work by those who resort to history for instruction rather than amusement, and think justice and truth better than epigrammatic skill and the finest writing.

The True Story of the Barons of the South, or the Rationale of the American Conflict. By E. W. Reynolds. London—Whitfield.

THERE is something tempting in this title. The word *Rationale* recalled a hope which has long flown from us—that, namely, of discovering anything reasonable in the fratricidal war now raging between the Federals and the Confederates in North America. At the first we had a slender hope that the former, being earnest in anti-slavery proclivities, would openly and earnestly labour for the destruction of a sin and a shame which they themselves have found a bane and a woe. And we are still of opinion that God, making the wrath and blind passions of men to praise Him, will work out the extinction of slavery as the great, though it may be remote, result of this unjustifiable and unnatural conflict. But in that great issue the North will have as little praise as the South. Meanwhile the contest continues, and our author comes forward to explain its origin: "All our misfortunes arise from a single source, the resistance of the Southern colonies to republican government..... Popular principles and axioms are abhorrent to the inclinations of the Barons of the South." The thought (the utterance of which is due to John Adams) finds support in an "Introduction" by Rev. Samuel J. May, who says, "The Barons of the South have almost from the beginning hated democratic principles and purposes. They have foreseen and forefelt (?) the utter incompatibility of a democratic government with the permanence of their 'peculiar institution'—that worst system of tyranny—and therefore they early determined to rule or to ruin the Republic; to change its character; to make it a ruthless despotism under a better name; or else to break away from it, rend it in twain, tear it in pieces." Doubtless there is truth in this. But has the North been more favour-

Digitized by Google

able to true liberty? Beyond the small but noble circle of the Abolitionists, where in the North are we to look for genuine, earnest and consistent friends of the coloured population of North America? Besides, can any despotism be more ruthless than that which the North exercises at this moment? If the South hates republicanism, the North is in danger of rushing into military despotism, if already it is not suffering from a civil autocracy and bureaucratic dissoluteness, parallels to which are to be found only in modern Constantinople or ancient Rome. Alas! little reason now has the North to reproach the South with a love of tyranny. The great problem of self-government, which the best friends of liberty in England trusted to see worked out successfully on the western shores of the Atlantic, has come to a gigantic and most painful failure. Both North and South have plainly to learn the art of individual self-control ere either can found an empire worthy to be called Christian, or fit to produce the higher fruits of modern civilization. That slavery lies at the bottom of this utter break-down we are well assured; but never could the evil have assumed its present huge and frightful proportions had the North been faithful to its avowed principles. Like Samson, it has coquetted with Delilah till it sinks powerless in her deadly embrace. One proof of this depravity is that Mr. Reynolds declares that it is "God's ultimatum" that the slaves should be let loose on their masters. Slavery is a most hateful thing, and on that very account a servile war is the most hateful and the most terrible of wars. That calamity the South may bring upon itself; but this writer or any other person that calls for such a plague against a people, and would rather hound on the hellish fiends than allow that people to pass into the Canaan of liberty and independence for which it yearns and makes the greatest sacrifices, understands as little the principles of civil freedom as those of the gospel, and ought to hide his face from the eyes of men, lest the shame smitten into it from general indignation be too burning to be endured.

Troublous Times; or, Leaves from the Note-Book of the Rev. Mr. John Hicks, an Ejected Minister, 1670-71. Transcribed by Jane Bowring Cranch, with an Introduction by the Rev. Charles Stanford. London—Jackson, Walford and Hodder. 1862.

We learn with no little surprise, and with feelings not of pleasure, from Mr. Stanford's introductory chapter, that this work is as to its form a fiction. It is then a false pretence that the work was "transcribed" from the note-book of the ejected minister. It must then be judged as a mere tale. By confining herself to the years 1670 and 1671, the authoress stops short of the real interest of her subject. The share which Mr. Hicks took in the Monmouth rebellion, and his tragical fate on the block at Glastonbury, and the way in which his calamity was connected with the fate of Alice L'Isle, one of the most interesting and pitiable victims of Jefferies' brutal thirst for blood,—all these facts might have afforded admirable scope for an historical novel. But Mr. Stanford tells us further that every leading incident of the tale is a well-authenticated fact, and that the authoress had drawn her materials from standard biographies and family traditions. This statement increases our surprise and regret at the course she has followed. As a history her work is valueless, while as a fiction it is clumsy. With the pure gold

Digitized by Google

of historic fact in her hands, she has debased it by stamping it with a false die.

There are some interesting facts well told in Mr. Stanford's introduction. John Hicks's Puritanism had not ejected the old Adam:

"He seems to have suffered even more than his companions from the trials of the times. For this he sometimes had reason to blame himself. It has often been remarked that every strong element in character is in danger of filling more than its due place, and of becoming error by excess. It was thus with him. He was generous, frank, and daring to a fault; apt to feel quickly, speak plainly, and act with headlong haste. On one occasion, when a warrant was out against him from the Kingsbridge justices for preaching without sanction of law, and two messengers, speaking vain-glorious and uncivil things, came to take him in charge, he did, to their great surprise, lift his cane, and after a few words of exhortation touching the right government of the tongue, proceeded to chastise them both full soundly. At their particular request, he then granted them his pardon, and departed, leaving each dignitary to find his way home, as best he might; there to tell, if it so pleased him, that he had that very night been 'robbed, murdered, and likewise put in fears of his life.'"—Pp. ix, x.

His wife was a "Mistress Howe," possibly kinswoman of good Howe, a Devonshire neighbour of John Hicks. When Hicks stood on the scaffold, he said,—

"'The care of my most dear wife and a great many children I cast upon God, who, I pray, will be better than the best of husbands unto her, and the best of fathers unto them.' They were not forsaken. It is understood that his widow found a home in the house of the youngest of his two brothers, Dr. Ralph Hicks, a physician, and that in various ways the education of his children was wisely cared for. We find that, in 1712, William, the second son, was rector of Broughton Giffard, in Wiltshire."—P. xxv.

Of his moderate, but rational and consistent Nonconformity, he gave in his last speech this account:

"I die owning my ministry and nonconformity, for which I have suffered so much, and which doth now obstruct the King's grace and mercy to me: for as I chose it not constrainedly, but clearly from the dictates of my own conscience, judging it to be the cause of God, and to have more of divine truth in it than that which is contrary thereto, so now I see no cause to repent of it, nor to recede from it, not questioning but God will own it at the last day. * * * Though I could not wade through nor conquer the difficulty (of subscription), yet I censure not those that did it; and I believe that after the hottest disputes and most vehement contests between Conformist and Nonconformist, there are of both parties who will be glorified in heaven hereafter. According to the 29th Article of the Church of England, a visible church is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, the sacraments of the Lord duly administered according to God's ordinance, and all things maintained that are requisite and necessary to salvation: so with such a church have I held the most intimate communion, and with such, did I live, would I hold it. But I would not on that account be so incorporated with any church as to exclude me from, and render me incapable of, holding communion with other churches. I was never strongly bound up to any form of ecclesiastical government, but any under which a pure and undefiled religion doth flourish, and which contains and really practises holiness, and advances the kingdom of God in the world, that can I approve of, and would willingly live under, were I to live."—Pp. xx, xxi.

A brother of the ejected minister was George Hicks, Dean of Worcester, whose Churchism was stronger than his natural affection. He was

Digitized by Google

besought to supplicate in behalf of his brother the Royal mercy, but the answer of that hard Churchman was, "I will never speak for a fanatic." But though a bigot, he was sincere, and on the accession of William and Mary declined the oath of allegiance and shared the fate of the non-jurors. He lived till 1715, and was then seventy-three years of age.

The Christianity of Christ the Religion of the Unitarian. By a Layman. Pp. 55. London—Whitfield.

THIS statement of the opinions of Unitarian Christians was drawn up by its intelligent author "for the information of an orthodox inquirer largely imbued with the erroneous notions so commonly entertained respecting them." It is written with simplicity and perspicuousness. The author hits, we think, on the right key-note in describing Unitarianism as *the Christianity of Christ*. He well distinguishes it in his work from the Christianity of Calvin and Athanasius. If Unitarianism is to win the minds and hearts of the people, it must do so by its being shewn that it is in accord with the doctrines of the gospel. It is not as a scheme of abstract or philosophical truth that Unitarianism will pervade the popular mind. It must be proved that it is the religion that Christ taught, and for which his apostles laboured and suffered. In an age when it is said that the laity are ceasing to care for our distinctive opinions, it is satisfactory to receive from the hands of one evidently well acquainted with Unitarianism and its grounds, this lucid and persuasive statement.

The Crucified Man. A Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Mellis, Suffolk, in the Years 1639 *and* 1651, *by Robert Harris, Rector, from* 1636 *to* 1661, *a Nonconformist of* 1662. *A Sermon for St. Bartholomew's-day,* 1862. *From the Author's MS. recently discovered in pulling down the old Rectory House of Mellis.* Edited with a Preface and Notes by the Rev. J. G. Cumming, M.A., F.G.S., Rector of Mellis, &c. Pp. 27. London—Wertheim and Co.

THE publication of this pamphlet is creditable to the Rector of Mellis. It is a curious specimen of the Puritan style of preaching in the 17th century. It bespeaks its author to have been a man of learning and ability, a strong opponent of Popery, and one who looked with a jealous eye at some who ministered in those days at the altar of his own Church. He speaks in the sermon of some "who attend at the altar that they may eat of the sacrifice as Eli's sons did, and fly to the temple that they may take sanctuary in the temple as Joab did, and follow Christ if they may carry the bag as Judas did."

The sermon has its references to the fathers and its Latin quotations, and has the painful multitudinous divisions and subdivisions of that age. This sermon was preached to a little rustic flock. The population of Mellis, now under 500, could never have been large. It impresses us with the earnest character and laborious habits of the clergy of those days.

Of its author nothing whatever was known previously to the appearance of this sermon. He must not be confounded with another Puritan minister of the same name who flourished at Banbury. He was a family man; the baptismal register contains the names of several of his chil-

Digitized by Google

dren. The parish register indicates that he countenanced, if he did not take part in, the removal from the church of the organ-pipes, for which, in 1645, the town received sixteen shillings; that he also allowed certain painted windows to be removed, for which the town received £2. 3*s.*; and that he had a cross removed. These facts tell of his strong Puritan antipathies. Mr. Cumming makes no doubt that he was one of the ejected in 1662. His name is not given, nor is that of Mellis, in Calamy's account. It is a fashion with clergymen and others who resent our recent Bicentenary celebrations, to cavil at the number said to be ejected. It would seem from this pamphlet and other evidence that, in some cases, Calamy omitted to discover and record the names of the ejected. His account was composed many years after the Act of Uniformity came into operation. In small towns and villages where no Nonconformist society cherished and represented the principle of the ejected clergy, their names and history would, after a generation had passed away, be forgotten.

The circumstances which led to the discovery of the MS. from which this sermon has been printed are best told in the editor's words.

"The old Rectory House of Mellis was a frame building, filled in with stud and plaster, apparently of the date of Queen Elizabeth. It does not seem to have been inhabited by the Rectors of the parish for more than a hundred years, but was divided into two labourers' cottages, containing three rooms each, so low that a tall man could hardly stand upright in them. This old building was taken down in the early part of the present year.

"On removing the oak flooring of a chamber at the east end, a few papers were found by the workmen, seemingly concealed between the boards and the main beam. They were taken away, but the circumstance having been accidentally brought to my knowledge, I made inquiry respecting them, the result of which was the recovery of the following sermon and a sheet of paper containing a few texts of scripture with comments. On examining these I perceived at once a strong resemblance to a remarkably small and cramped handwriting which I had previously noted in the parish registers of the former part of the 17th century. A closer examination disclosed the two dates upon the sermon, March 1639, and February 1651. There is good reason also for believing the Sermon to have been preached at an earlier date than 1639, as the word 'et' (and) occurs before 'March 1639' and over it some faint writing, in which, however, I can only distinguish the word 'Mellis.'"—P. 3.

The original MS., now exhibited at the publishers', "is worm-eaten, torn at the edges, and stained with water which was dropped upon it when the floor has been washed."

The editor has ingeniously supplied by conjecture many missing words. He conjectures that on the Restoration the Puritan Rector of Mellis concealed the MS. where it was recently found, and on his ejectment forgot it. It is not always that recovered MSS. are so judiciously handled, or that the public are enabled by the help of a skilful editor to read and understand them.

The Altar at Home, Second Series. Selections and Prayers for Domestic Worship. Pp. 336. Boston—Walker, Wise and Co.

This book of devotions is constructed on a somewhat new plan. It contains a long series of short homilies on practical and devotional subjects, taken partly from the Scriptures and partly from the writings of "a few of the purest and most holy men whose existence has blessed

Digitized by Google

the world." To each homily a prayer for morning use and another for evening are added. The prayers have special reference to the subject handled in the homily. This may sometimes detract from the usefulness of the volume for family worship, in which it is scarcely expedient to be limited on each occasion to some one topic. But, on the other hand, this characteristic will give the volume its own especial use, as fitting it for those who wish to turn the thoughts and devotional feelings of the family into a particular channel. Each homily is introduced by a poetical quotation. The prayers have been contributed by thirty-two well-known Unitarian clergymen of America. The names of Alger, Ames, Briggs, Brooks, Bulfinch, Bush, Clarke, Hedge, Livermore, Morison, Muzzey, Osgood, Peabody, Robbins and Walker, will be a sufficient guarantee that the standard of these devotional compositions is a high one. Some of the prayers are wanting in simplicity, and some stray too much, for our taste, into disquisition. But generally the work is excellently done, and for occasional use may be unhesitatingly recommended to all who wish the offerings of the "altar at home" to be in harmony with exalted religious ideas and with true devotion of the heart.

Church Song, in its Relations to Church Life. By Rev. Henry Allon. Pp. 103. Nesbitt and Co.

THIS, one of the Exeter-Hall Lectures of the present season, is a very well-executed essay on the history and characteristics of church music. The text is illustrated by the score of some choice specimens of church song, which are worth double the cost of the pamphlet. We sincerely thank Mr. Allon for his judicious and elegant plea for the use of the best music in our religious worship. We are glad to have an opportunity of mentioning with honour the name of this respectable Dissenting minister, because on a recent occasion a great but unintentional injustice was done him by many of the newspapers (our own amongst the rest) attributing to him an expression of bigoted feeling of which we believe him to be incapable.

---

1. *How did they get there? Or the Nonconforming Ministers of* 1662. *A Question for those who would celebrate the Bicentenary of St. Bartholomew's-day,* 1662. By the Rev. George Venables, S.C.L., F.R.A.S., Incumbent of Christ Church, Friesland, Yorkshire. Pp. 32. London —Wertheim.
2. *I'll tell you. An Answer to "How did they get there?" A Tractate touching the Ejected of* 1662. By Robert Vaughan, D.D. Pp. 31. London—Jackson, Walford and Hodder.

THESE pamphlets are worth reading. The first is a clerical attack on the Nonconformist Bicentenary position, conducted with some appearance of historical knowledge, and with rather less calling of bad names than in some other clerical pamphlets and lectures on similar subjects. Dr. Vaughan's reply gives us a series of lucid historical statements which all may advantageously read. His conclusion is that the persecuting laws of 1662, and the years immediately following, "were all embodiments of a bigotry wholly without excuse, and of a wanton disposition to oppress. All were called into existence and persisted in from no necessity, but purely for the pleasure of seeing the weak crushed by the strong."

Digitized by Google

INTELLIGENCE.

OBSERVANCE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S-DAY.

The recurrence, after an interval of two hundred years, of the anniversary of the ejection of the TWO THOUSAND clergy, was celebrated by appropriate religious services in almost every town and considerable village in the kingdom. It is a very remarkable circumstance that few traces exist of the day having been particularly observed on the centenary anniversary,—the more so as during a considerable portion of the last century it was the custom of some of the Presbyterian ministers to mark *Black Bartholomew's-day* by a sermon. The second century of Protestant Nonconformity in England has given it a vigour and an outspokenness which did not characterize it a hundred years ago.

The animation of the religious and other observance of the recent St. Bartholomew's-day was somewhat increased by an unexpected infusion of the controversial spirit. Some of the "Evangelical" clergy had chosen to resent the proceedings of their Nonconformist neighbours, and to interpret everything said and done in reference to the celebration as an intended attack on the Church Establishment and themselves. They raised a little army of Church lecturers, and they put out declarations and delivered lectures designed to carry the war into the Dissenting camp. Their proceedings were, however, carried on with more zeal and temper than knowledge or ability, and only served to give a better vantage-ground to the Nonconformist leaders.

Some of the more excitable of the clergy used the noted Festival of their Church which fell on Aug. 24th, as an opportunity of glorifying the Establishment and celebrating the exclusion from it in 1662 of certain troublesome Puritan elements. Such injudicious advocates made themselves thereby responsible for that great ecclesiastical blunder which was perpetrated by Clarendon and his spiritual advisers subsequent to the Restoration, which has been admitted and lamented by many of the best friends of the Church, and the evil consequences of which exist to the present hour, and are probably now actively germinating and producing much internal weakness in the Church. Churchmen unquestionably have a case as against those Dissenters who use this anniversary year simply as a means of attack against the Church. They can state and make good a case in which their clerical forefathers were persecuted and ejected. In some instances the clerical agitators have been enabled to gain an apparent victory over their opponents in this matter, but it has only been when the latter have dealt uncandidly with English history by concealing the intolerance and persecution practised by the Puritan party when in power. Clergymen have as much right to magnify the honest and true men of their Church as Nonconformists have to do honour to the TWO THOUSAND. But in truth there ought to be no party spirit in this matter, and clerical integrity and courage under persecution ought to be respected and honoured alike in friend and foe.

Some of the early Nonconformist celebrations of the year were not free from another fault. There was a disposition on the part of some of the Calvinistic Dissenters to make theological capital out of the occasion, and to draw attention rather to the particular opinions of the ejected clergy than to their general principles and their integrity of purpose. This was a blunder in polemic strategics. The clerical critics were enabled to attack the Nonconformists in their flank, and to deny altogether their right to celebrate the anniversary on this principle. They argued, and correctly enough, that on innumerable questions modern Dissenters are not in agreement with the early English Nonconformists. They differed entirely from those Dissenters who oppose an Establishment on principle. In 1650, the Puritans did everything in their power to make a religious establishment according to their own ideas; and in 1662, and for years after, there were but few of the TWO THOUSAND who did not eagerly desire to be comprehended in the Establishment, from which conscience and a rigid Act of Uniformity ejected them. We have felt it right to notice these occasional blots in the recent celebration; but having done so, we can add that as a whole the celebration has been conducted in a very becoming manner. Probably no occasion in our national history has better served to illustrate the numbers, zeal and union and pecuniary resources of the "orthodox" Dissenters. They have been led with decision and ability, and they have generally followed the leading of the masters of their Israel. The Unitarian body have their own thoughts and ways on such occasions. They are not in the habit of recognising any leaders. Each church walks its own way, and often every individual in a church chalks out his own path. There has therefore been among

Digitized by Google

ns no united effort to glorify the Bicentenary anniversary. But much more has been done and is still doing than generally appears. Some of our older societies have taken the opportunity of effecting some congregational object,—a debt has been paid off, a school-room has been built, or some memorial more or less appropriate has been devised and carried into effect. We have no objection to this. It is the necessary consequence of that right of private judgment which we claim and practise. We blame no man for not agreeing with us as to the best mode of celebrating the anniversary; if we have the right and the disposition to censure anywhere, it is where the propriety of the celebration is admitted, but every suggested mode is censured and no better alternative is devised. One fact connected with the recent celebration is worthy of observation—the very general respect with which it has been treated by the press. The *Quarterly Review*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Athenæum* and a few Church periodicals (with their "forty-parson power" of wit, wisdom and Christian charity), stand out in this matter in bold contrast to the English press. The appropriateness of the celebration has been generally recognised, and the press, both in the metropolis and the provinces, has been forward to give publicity to the discourses of the leaders of Protestant Nonconformity. If in too many quarters there has been an indisposition among the orthodox Dissenters to invite or even accept the co-operation of Unitarians, the English press, with its habitual fairness, has not sympathised with the narrow feeling. Columns upon columns of Unitarian sermons were printed in the country newspapers during the week which followed the 24th of August. On the day before the anniversary, the *Times* newspaper made it the subject of its principal leader, written in a tone of moderation and good sense. We extract a paragraph from the article. There are references in it to the Address of the United (orthodox) Committee, signed by Sir Morton Peto, Mr. Morley and others,—a very commendable document, for which we regret we have not space.

"To-morrow is the Bicentenary of this Exodus, and the Nonconformists of the country are invited to celebrate it with a hearty sympathy for the sufferings of the expelled clergy, a deep admiration for their heroism, and a qualified respect for their opinions and their cause. An advertisement in our columns—very moderate in its tone and most reasonable in its views—has for some time reminded British Dissenters of the approaching anniversary. Centenaries and Bicentenaries have been celebrated on much less occasion. The spectacle of 2000 men resigning their worldly position in the cause of truth is one that should not be forgotten. It has not been forgotten, nor has time dimmed its lustre or obscured its features. As we are forcibly reminded in the paper to which we refer, that great act of resignation has told powerfully on the English character, on the freedom of religion and opinion in this country, on our spirit of inquiry, our independence of judgment, and the determination with which all classes act up to their religious convictions. It is admitted that the 2000 Nonconformists, while resisting, one may say, unto death Prelacy and the Prayer-book, stood out for a form of government and a directory only less offensive to other equally conscientious men. So it is not the doctrine, or the system, or the government, or any particular that is to be commemorated and ennobled to-morrow. It is the broad feature of a great protest against spiritual tyranny, and temporal dictation in matters of conscience. In this all sects can agree; and when the Church of England remembers the St. Bartholomew's-day of 1572, it, too, for once, can join hands with the Dissenter."

We had proposed to describe the different ways in which our Unitarian churches have celebrated this anniversary, but we had no anticipation when making the proposal that the occasion would be so universally marked, or that we should have been so overwhelmed by materials. Were we to carry out our purpose, we must devote half our No. to the subject, and should then find ourselves only reprinting much that has appeared in other journals. We must content ourselves, therefore, with stating that in nearly every Unitarian pulpit in the kingdom, Bicentenary sermons or addresses have been given, and that in many places meetings having the same object in view were held. The spirit evinced was generally that which became the preachers and the occasion. The ejected clergy were honoured, not for their particular opinions, but for their integrity and faithful courage. History was not misrepresented, and in some cases valuable local history, illustrating the rise of Nonconformity, was embodied in the sermon or the address.

We have only, in conclusion, to express to those correspondents who have favoured us with sermons and MS. narratives, as well as that larger number who have supplied us with copies of newspaper reports, our regret that the very affluence of their help has prevented our making use of it. Of those who collect congregational

Digitized by Google

histories, we would direct their attention to two excellent pamphlets published at Newcastle-on-Tyne; one, by Mr. James Clephan, giving a sketch of Nonconformity in that town; the other, by Mr. Samuel Charlesworth, entitled, "Lessons and Reflections suggested by the Bicentenary of Nonconformity." We have in our Critical Notices directed attention to a sermon by Mr. Kirkus; and we would further mention two admirable sermons by Rev. Thos. Binney, one preached on the Farewell Sunday (Aug. 17), the other on St. Bartholomew's-day. In truthfulness and the Christian spirit they are alike commendable.

OBITUARY.

Aug. 10, at Moreton Hampstead, aged 74, Mr. WILLIAM MARDON.

In him the Unitarian congregation have lost a sincere and useful member. He was always deeply interested in everything that concerned its welfare, being attached to the cause both by principle and descent. His was one of the many names connected with the congregation from its earliest records that are or will be lost to it in the course of a few years.

He filled the office of librarian to the congregation nearly forty years, and during the declining years of the late Rev. J. Smethurst occasionally conducted the services, if Mr. Smethurst was unable and no minister could be obtained.

Mr. Mardon was universally respected, and much sympathy was expressed with the only surviving member of his family at his unexpected removal, after only a week of serious illness.

In every relation of life he was most worthy, and though but in the very moderate circumstances of a country tradesman, many have reason to thank him for kindness that has been of great service to them. Always self-denying, he was most thoughtful and considerate to those around him.

He met some heavy trials with calmness, resignation and fortitude. The few talents Providence entrusted to his care were most conscientiously used. He was one, as far as we can judge, who might be called a good and faithful servant, and who, let us hope, has entered into the joy of his Lord.

Aug. 17, at Colyton Cottage, Devon, in her 75th year, CATHERINE, widow of Commander George Eyre POWELL, R.N. Mrs. Powell was for thirty-six years a zealous and consistent supporter of the Unitarian cause in the town.

Aug. 17, at Exeter, HERBERT GORE, youngest son of Mr. and Mrs. DINGLE.

Aug. 27, at Garden Street, Morice Town, Devonport, MARY, eldest daughter of the late Mr. Sylvanus GIBBS, in the 55th year of her age.

Aug. 27, Mr. THOMAS BLUNN, of Catcliffe, near Rotherham, aged 42 years.

Sept. 3, aged 56 years, JULIA CATHERINE, wife of Mr. John ROWLINSON, of Liverpool.

Sept. 9, in the 70th year of his age, BENJAMIN SYDDALL, Esq., silk manufacturer, of Manchester.

Sept. 13, at her residence, West Hill, Wandsworth, SARAH, widow of the late G. R. PORTER, Esq., of the Board of Trade, in her 72nd year.

MARRIAGES.

Sept. 3, at Hyde chapel, Gee Cross, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., father of the bridegroom, Mr. ARTHUR PALMER ASPLAND, of Hyde, Cheshire, to SARAH, elder daughter of Mr. Edward HIBBERT, of Springbank, Godley.

Sept. 17, at Hawkshead church, by Rev. H. Baines, Mr. T. LINDSEY ASPLAND, of Sawrey, to ELLEN, daughter of the late Mr. Thomas COWBURN, of Liverpool.

Sept. 18, at Newington-Green chapel, by Rev. Dr. Cromwell, A. GORING, eldest son of Andrew PRITCHARD, Esq., of St. Paul's Road, Canonbury, to MARIANNE, eldest daughter of William TITFORD, Esq., of Richmond House, Highbury New Park.

Sept. 25, at the Unitarian church, Hackney, by Rev. R. Brook Aspland, M.A., Mr. JOHN NEWTON, of Stalybridge, to FRANCES CAROLINE, eldest daughter of the late John MORTIMER, Esq., of Albion Square, Dalston, London.

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCXV.] NOVEMBER, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

PURITAN LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: A SKETCH OF PHILIP HENRY, IN HIS DOMESTIC, MINISTERIAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL RELATIONS:

BEING ONE OF THE COURSE OF LECTURES RECENTLY DELIVERED IN LONDON.

BY REV. CHARLES WICKSTEED, B.A.,
A LINEAL DESCENDANT OF PHILIP HENRY.

I HAVE thought that amidst the exposition of the general principles involved in, and the general results ensuing from, the great Nonconformist struggle and separation of the 17th century, likely to engage the attention of so many people during the present year, an outline of the actual life of a man living in those times, and the concrete form in which the abstract would thus be brought before the mind, might not be useless or unacceptable as a contribution to the Bicentenary memorials of the year; and I have therefore with all plainness put together what I conceive to be the most characteristic facts and features in the life and fortunes of one in whom, from the circumstance of kindred, I have all my life felt a reverential interest, and who, though not distinguished by the greatness of his talents or the importance of his public position, has left behind him a character that has taken firm hold of and struck deep root in the heart of the English people, as is testified by the continued republications for a hundred and fifty years of his son's Biography of him, by its introduction by Dr. Wordsworth in the earlier editions of his Ecclesiastical Biography, and by the laborious compilation of all attainable memorials of him by the late Sir John Bickerton Williams.

A Welsh boy, John Henry, born in the year 1590, at Britton Ferry, at the mouth of the river Neath, in Glamorganshire, leaving behind him the quiet beauty of Swansea Bay, started, with a groat in his pocket, for London. Here he entered the service of the Earl of Pembroke, who afterwards becoming Lord Chamberlain, made him Keeper of the Royal Pleasure-grounds at Whitehall, where, as his son Philip afterwards wrote, he lived plentifully and in good repute, but laid by nothing. Subsequently he was made Page of the Back-stairs to the King's second son (afterwards James II.), which place obliged him to a

Digitized by Google

personal attendance upon the Duke in his chamber. Need we wonder, then, that we also learn from his son that "he lived and died a courtier and a hearty mourner for his Royal Master, King Charles the First, whom he did not long survive? He continued, during all the war time, in his house at Whitehall, though the profits of his places ceased." When the King was going, in the quietly indignant words of Philip Henry, "to that which they *called* his trial," he took barge for Westminster at Garden-stairs, and, passing by the door, inquired for his old servant, Mr. John Henry, who being ready to pay his due respects to him, the King said, "Art thou *alive* yet?" when Henry courageously praying that God would bless his Majesty and deliver him out of the hands of his enemies, "the guard had like to have been rough upon him."

This was the father of Philip Henry, and this was the mother: "She was a virtuous and pious gentlewoman, altogether dead to the vanities and pleasures of the Court, though she lived in the midst of them. She looked well to the ways of her household, prayed with them daily, catechized her children, and taught them the good knowledge of the Lord betimes." There appearing in her only son Philip early inclinations both to learning and piety, she devoted him in his tender years to the service of God in the work of the ministry. "My head," said she, a little before she died, "my head is in heaven and my heart is in heaven; it is but one step more and I shall be there too."

Philip Henry was the only son of this worthy couple. He was born at Whitehall, by an extraordinary coincidence, which in subsequent years was never absent from his memory, on the 24th of August, 1631, being St. Bartholomew's-day. His susceptors in baptism were Philip, Earl of Pembroke (who gave him his name and was kind to him as long as he lived, as was also his son Philip after him), James, Earl of Carlisle, and the Countess of Salisbury. Prince Charles and the Duke of York being somewhat near of an age to him, he was in his childhood very much an attendant on them in their play, and they were often with him at his father's house, and they were wont to tell him what preferment he should have at Court as soon as he was fit for it. He kept a book to his dying day which the Duke of York gave him, "and I have heard him," adds his son Matthew, "bewail the loss of two curious pictures which he gave him likewise." Archbishop Laud took a particular kindness to him when he was a child, because he would be very officious to attend at the water-gate (which was part of his father's charge in Whitehall) to let the Archbishop through, when he came late from council to cross the water to Lambeth; and when the Archbishop was a prisoner in the Tower, his father took him with him to see him, and he would remember that the Archbishop gave him some new money.

Digitized by Google

"The breaking up and scattering of the Court in 1641, when he was ten years old, as it dashed the expectation of his Court preferments, so it saved him from the danger of Court entanglements; and though it was not a choice of his own, as with Moses, when come to years to quit the Court, yet when he was come to years, he always expressed a great satisfaction in his removal from it, and blessed God, who chose his inheritance so much better for him."

The first Latin school he went to was at St. Martin's church, under the teaching of Mr. Bonner, "who was very loving," he says, "to me, and took pains with me." Afterwards he was removed to Battersea, "where," he says, "I tabled at one Mr. Heyborn's by the water-side, and went to school to one Mr. Wells." But in the year 1643, when he was about twelve years old, he was admitted into Westminster school, in the fourth form, under Mr. Thomas Vincent, then usher, whom he would often speak of as a most able, diligent schoolmaster; and one who grieved so much at the dulness and non-proficiency of any of his scholars, that, falling into a consumption, Philip Henry would say, he even killed himself with false Latin. A while after, he was taken into the upper school, under the celebrated Dr. Busby, for fifty-eight years Master of Westminster school; and in October, 1645, he was admitted King's scholar, and was first of the election, partly by his own merit, and partly by the interest of his godfather, the Earl of Pembroke.

Here at Westminster school he spent some of the happiest years of his life. "Dr. Busby took a particular kindness to him, called him his child, and would sometimes tell him he should be his heir." Dr. Busby is known to posterity, not only for his learning, but (less enviably) for his severity. But his pupil, Philip Henry, would say sometimes, that as in so great a school there was need of a strict discipline, so, for his own part, of the four years he was in the school, he never felt the weight of his hand but once, "and then," said he, "I deserved it." For being monitor of the chamber, and being sent out to seek a truant, he was persuaded to make an excuse for him and say that he could not find him. The next day, the truant coming under examination, and being asked whether he saw the monitor, said "Yes, he did," at which Dr. Busby was much surprised, and turning his eye upon young Henry, said, "*και συ τεκνον*," gave him correction, and appointed him to make a penitential copy of Latin verses, which when he brought he gave him sixpence, and received him into his favour again.

Ireland, the editor of Hogarth's works, being introduced as a descendant of Philip Henry to Dr. Johnson, he said to him in his high style, "Sir, you are descended from a man whose genuine simplicity and unaffected piety would have done honour to any sect of Christians; and as a scholar he must have had

Digitized by Google

uncommon acquirements, when *Busby* boasted of having been his tutor."

I give the following incident for the sake of the illustration it affords both of the customs of Westminster school at the time, and of the mode in which Henry thought and spoke of it. "Among the mercies of God to him in his youth (and he would say, it were well if parents would keep an account of those for their children, till they came to be capable of doing it for themselves, and then to set them upon the doing of it) he has recorded, that it was customary among the studious boys for one or two or more to sit up the former part of the night at study; and when they went to bed, about midnight, to call others, and they others at two or three o'clock as they desired. His request was to be called at twelve; being awaked, he desired his candle might be lighted, which was fastened to the head of the bed. He dropt asleep again; the candle fell and burnt part of the bed; but through God's good providence, seasonable help coming in, the fire was soon quenched and he received no harm. This gave him occasion long after to say, 'It is of the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed.'" While at Westminster, he was employed, with others of the more clever and industrious scholars, to collect, in their reading of Greek authors, some materials for Dr. Busby's Greek Grammar, soon afterwards published.

Being now in his sixteenth year, the time approached for his departure for Oxford. "It was the ancient custom of Westminster school that all the King's scholars who stood candidates for an election to the university, were to receive the Lord's Supper the Easter before, which he did with the rest in St. Margaret's church, in Easter, 1647; and he would often speak of the great pains which Dr. Busby took with his scholars which were to approach to that solemn ordinance for several weeks before, at stated times; with what skill and seriousness of application and manifest concern for their souls, he opened to them the nature of the ordinance and of the work they had to do in it, and instructed them what was to be done in preparation for it; and this he made a business of, appointing them their religious exercises instead of their school exercises."

The effect of this religious care on the part of the stern old scholar on young Henry, he thus himself records: "There had been treaties before between my soul and Jesus Christ, with some weak overtures towards him; but then, then I think it was, that the match was made, the knot was tied; then I set myself in the strength of divine grace about the great work of self-examination, in order to repentance, and then I repented; that is, solemnly and seriously, with some poor meltings of soul. I confessed my sins before God, original and actual, judging and condemning myself for them, and casting away from me all my transgressions, receiving Christ Jesus the Lord as the Lord my

Digitized by Google

Righteousness, and devoting and dedicating my whole self, absolutely and unreservedly, to his fear and service. After which, coming to the ordinance, there, there I received him indeed; and he became mine; I say mine. Bless the Lord, O my soul!"

In allusion to the influence of this serious examination and devotion of himself to Christ and his service in all honesty and fidelity on his after life, he tells us, that the first time he, a grave divine of thirty, waited on Dr. Busby, after he was turned out by the Act of Uniformity, the Doctor said, "And prythee, child, what made thee a Nonconformist?" when Henry replied, "Truly, Sir, you made me one, for you taught me those things which hindered me from conforming." He was induced by this personal experience of his own "to take like pains," he says, "with others, at their first admission to the Lord's table, and have, through grace, seen the comfortable fruits of it, both in mine own children and others."

In addition to all his school-work, he attended, by the special desire of his mother and the permission of the doctor (who did not abate anything of his school exercises on that account, only dispensing with his attendance that hour), the morning lecture at the Abbey, between six and eight o'clock. Every Thursday, he attended, with his mother, Mr. Case's lecture at St. Martin's, On the Sunday of course there were services to be attended, and he always spoke with especial gratitude of those of Mr. Stephen Marshall, at New chapel, a man of whom Baxter used to say, "If all Presbyterians had been like Mr. Stephen Marshall, and all the Independents like Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, and all Episcopalians like Archbishop Usher, the breaches of the Church would soon have been healed." He also attended constantly on the monthly fasts at St. Margaret's, where the best and ablest ministers of England preached before the then House of Commons, and the service of the day was carried on with great strictness and solemnity from eight in the morning till four in the evening.

Besides these, he frequented extraordinary fasts and thanksgivings. He used to sit upon the pulpit-stairs at St. Margaret's, and it was his constant practice, from eleven or twelve years old, to take down, as best he could, all the sermons that he heard, "and many of them to write out fair again." I confess it is not without a sense of respectful and admiring compassion that I hear him say in after life, "If ever any child, such as I then was, between the tenth and fifteenth year of my age, enjoyed line upon line, precept upon precept, I did." But, he adds, "My soul rejoiceth and is glad at the remembrance of it; the word distilled as the dew and dropped as the rain. I loved it, and loved the messengers of it; their very feet were beautiful to me. And, Lord, what a mercy it was that, at a time when the

Digitized by Google

poor countries were laid waste, when the noise of drums and trumpets and the clattering of arms was heard there, and the ways to Sion mourned, that then my lot should be where there was peace and quietness, where the voice of the turtle was heard, and there was great plenty of gospel opportunities! Bless the Lord, oh my soul! as long as I live I will bless the Lord. I will praise my God while I have my being. Had it been only the restraint that it laid upon me, whereby I was kept from the common sins of other children and youths (such as cursing, swearing, sabbath-breaking and the like), I were bound to be very thankful. But that it prevailed through grace effectually to bring me to God, how much am I indebted! and what shall I render?"

These personal experiences made him say of and to young people, "I tell you, you cannot begin to be religious too soon, but you *may* put it off *too long*. The life of the Christian is a life of labour, and its command is, 'Son, go work.'" And to those who laid so much stress on people knowing the exact time of their conversion, which he thought was with many not possible to do, he would argue from the same experiences, "Who can so soon be aware of the daybreak, or of the springing up of the seed sown?" and he would bid them remember the blind man, who, when the Pharisees were so critical in examining him on the mode of the recovery of his sight, said, "That, this and the other, I know not concerning it; but this one thing I know, that whereas I was blind, now I see." The work of grace, he would say, is better known in its effects than in its causes.

On Dec. 15, 1647, in his seventeenth year, he removed to Oxford. He was but a young traveller, and with his usual thankfulness he records how there may be a great mercy in a small matter, "as the care that was taken of me by strangers, when I fainted and was sick in my inn the first night, and my casual meeting with Mr. Annesley, son to the Viscount Valentia (who was chosen from Westminster School at the same time with himself), when my other company, going another way, had left me alone, and utterly at a loss what to do." Arrived at Oxford, he was entered a commoner of Christ Church. His godfather, the Earl of Pembroke, who had promoted his election from Westminster, gave him £10 to buy him a gown, pay his fees and set out with,—a seasonable mercy, he records, in regard of some straits which Providence, by the calamity of the times, had brought his father to. On March 24, 1648, the next year, he was admitted student of Christ Church by Dr. Henry Hammond, who called him his godbrother, Prince Henry having given him his name, and the Earl of Pembroke having been godfather to them both.

The very next month, the visitation of the university by Parliament took place, and the Earl of Pembroke and several other

Digitized by Google

Commissioners came down, and the sole question, Philip Henry says, which the visitors proposed to each person, high and low, in every college that had any place of profit, was this: "Will you submit to the power of the Parliament in this present visitation?" to which all were to give in their answer in writing, and accordingly were either displaced or continued. Some cheerfully complied, others absolutely refused; among whom he would sometimes tell of one that was but of his standing, who gave in this bold answer: "I neither can nor will submit to the power of the Parliament in this present visitation; I say I cannot, I say I will not." Others answered doubtfully, pleading youth and ignorance in such matters.

As for himself, he shewed at this early age exactly that characteristic which I find stamped upon all his conduct through life, and that was a great indisposition to pronounce utterly and positively on the absolute and unqualified rightfulness of one view of public questions, and the absolute and unmitigated erroneousness of the other, and a tendency to look at matters as they bore on the integrity of his own character and the sanctity of his own conscience. Thus in after life it is perfectly clear that he was not at all disposed to pronounce dogmatically on the rival claims of the Congregational, the Presbyterian, or the Episcopalian forms of church government, thinking, I imagine, that each had its recommendations and its dangers, its advantages and its drawbacks, and not unwilling personally to live under any one of them that secured him the opportunity of preaching and practising his religion.

But there was one thing about which he was under no hesitation, and that was, that that to which his word as a man and his faith as a Christian had been deliberately pledged, was for ever binding upon him; and that having once solemnly accepted holy orders from a presbytery, he could never, without a change of conviction, dare to pronounce them false and pretended, and accept re-ordination from the episcopate. So on this occasion the great national question—King or Parliament—did not seem to trouble him as one with which he had much to do, and indeed he thought that the university being a place designed for education and the acquisition of learning, the question of the mode of governing the nation was beside the mark to the young men studying. The matter that really concerned him he felt to be the personal one, whether he could with a safe conscience make this declaration, having so recently on his admission taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and he therefore sent in this answer: "I submit to the power of Parliament in this visitation as far as I may with a safe conscience and without perjury." However, this answer (it is intimated not without the favour of the Earl of Pembroke) was sufficient to keep him in his student's place. But the recollection of this difficulty used to make him

Digitized by Google

in after life signify his dislike of administering oaths to such as were scarce past children, who could hardly be supposed to take them with judgment, as oaths should be taken.

He did not think the displacements and substitutions were always for the best, but many, expecting another change soon, were exasperating in their carriage to the visitors, and the Parliament had plenty of its own friends ready to take their places, so that he did not wonder at, though he regretted, the extent and the severity of the changes. Yet nothing, after all, being required but a bare submission, which might be interpreted but as crying quarter, he afterwards thought that it could not be said that the terms were hard, especially, he significantly added, if compared with those of another nature imposed since.

At Oxford he duly performed the college exercises—disputations every day in term time, themes and verses once a week, and declamations when it came to his turn, in which performances he frequently came off with very great applause. Still he reproached himself in after life with not using with sufficient diligence his opportunities of self-improvement. He thought that he was too young, and would advise his friends not to thrust their children forth too soon from school to the university. "While they are children," he says, "what can be expected but they should mind childish things?" His own school learning, too, was so much in advance of that of most of his fellow-students that it cost him no effort to keep up with them.

He found also two sets of young men there—the Parliamentarians, who were serious but of small ability, and the Royalists, who were better scholars, but generally not the better men. He was much puzzled with which chiefly to consort. The good were rather stupid, and the clever were not very good. At first, he inclined to the more alluring society, but he found as a consequence, "Elanguescere mox cæpit pristinæ pietatis ardor." He began to be "too much in love with recreation, and in after life remembered with bitterness a certain bowling-green out of town, and a metheglin-house which I often went to for my morning draught, and it was such a draught as disfitted me for study after." Seeing the danger he was in, he determined to renew his self-devotion to the Divine service. "Let this paper be my witness," he writes, "that I do deliberately, of choice, and unreservedly, take God in Christ to be mine; and give myself to him, to be his, to love him, to fear him, to serve and obey him; and renouncing all my sins with hearty sorrow and detestation, I do cast myself only upon free grace, through the merits of Christ, for pardon and forgiveness; and do propose, God enabling me, from this day forward, more than ever, to exercise myself into godliness, and to walk in all the ways of religion as much as ever I can."

After spending a year at Oxford, he had leave given him to

Digitized by Google

make a visit to his father at Whitehall, with whom he stayed some time. There he was January 30th, when the King was beheaded, and saw, as he says, "with a very sad heart, that tragical blow given." Two things he used to speak of that he took notice of himself that day. One was that at the instant when the blow was given, there was such a dismal universal groan among the thousands of people that were within sight of it, as it were with one consent, as he never heard before, and desired he might never hear the like again, nor see such a cause for it. The other was that, immediately after the stroke was struck, there was, according to order, one troop marching from Charing Cross towards King Street, and another from King Street towards Charing Cross, purposely to disperse and scatter the people, and to divert the dismal thoughts with which they could not but be filled, by driving them to shift every one for his own safety.

He upon all occasions testified his abhorrence of this (then) unparalleled action, which he always said was a thing that could not be justified; yet he said he could not see how it could be called a national sin; for, as the King urged upon his trial, it was certain that not one man of ten in the kingdom did consent to it. Nor could it be called the sin of the Long Parliament; for far the greatest part of them were at that time, while the thing was in agitation, imprisoned and kept under a force, and scarce twenty-seven of the forty that were left to carry the name of a Parliament did give their vote for it. But it was manifest that it was done by a prevailing party in the army, who, as he used to express it, having beaten their ploughshares into swords, could not so easily beat their swords into ploughshares again.

In 1650, he took his Bachelor of Arts degree, again thanking God for the friends He raised him up to help him. In Dec. 1652, he took his Master of Arts degree; and in January following preached his first sermon at South Hinksey, in Oxfordshire, on John viii. 34,—shewing thus early the tone of practical piety which he preserved as the peculiarity of his preaching all through his maturer and later life,—"Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin." On this occasion he writes in his diary, "The Lord make use of me as an instrument of his glory and his Church's good in this high and holy calling!"

In the latter years of his university career it is evident that the religious tone of the university became more such as to suit his own serious disposition. The university sermons in the afternoon of the Lord's-day, which had previously been preached by the fellows of colleges in their course, and were therefore of very unequal merit and usefulness, were now consigned to the high character and talents of Dr. Owen, the Vice-chancellor, and Dr. Goodwin, President of Magdalen; and the young masters that had been accustomed to preach at that time had a lecture appointed them on Tuesday. Many of the scholars also used to

Digitized by Google

meet together for prayer and Christian conference, to the great confirming of one another's hearts in the fear and love of God, and the preparing of them for the service of the church.

His character and abilities had made him so well known in the university, notwithstanding his extraordinary modesty and humility, that in the following Act, July 1653, he was chosen out of all the Masters of that year to be junior of the Act, that is, to answer the philosophy questions in *Vesperiis*, which he did with very great applause, especially for the very witty and ingenious orations which he made to the university upon that occasion. His questions were — 1. An licitum sit carnibus vesci? (Is it lawful to eat flesh-meat?) which he affirmed. 2. An institutio academiarum sit utilis in republicâ? (Is the institution of colleges useful in a state?) which he affirmed. 3. An ingenium pendeat ab humoribus corporis? (Does the state of one's brain depend upon the humours of the body?) which he affirmed. At the Act in 1654, he was chosen Magister replicans, and answered the philosophy questions with like applause. His questions then were—1. An melius sit sperare quàm frui? (Is it better to hope than to enjoy?) which he denied. 2. An maxima animi delectatio sit a sensibus? (Is the greatest pleasure of the mind derived from the senses?) on which he also took the negative. 3. An utile sit peregrinari? (Is it useful to travel?) which he affirmed. One of his juniors in the university, at that time a stranger to him, mentioned how much he admired these exercises of his and loved him for them, and yet how much more he admired, when he afterwards became acquainted with him in the country, that so curious and polite an orator should become so profitable and powerful a preacher.

And now, not by his own wishes or efforts, but by the providence of God, the separation from his much-loved studies and companionships at the university, and his devotion to the ministry of Jesus Christ, drew nigh. A pious and gifted lady, residing in that part of the little Welsh county of Flint which is separated from the rest, and is in point of language and usages, and everything but geography and law, a part of Shropshire, wrote to Oxford for a young scholar to come to reside as chaplain in the family, to finish the preparation of the young men for the university, and to preach as minister of the parish. This lady was the wife of John Puleston, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, the chief proprietor of the parish and the owner of the tithes. She was a friend of the celebrated Selden, and herself a person of learning and culture as well as of a serious and religious disposition. Yielding to the pressure of this persuasion, the young scholar consented to undertake the duties required of him for six months, on consideration that only one public service a week should be expected from him, as he was only twenty-two, and that assistance should be procured for him for the other

Digitized by Google

parts of the day, and that he should be at liberty to return to the university to continue his studies at the end of this term.

But the usual result of such an arrangement with an earnest young man ensued. He found that life had graver duties than the study of the classics or even the study of the Scriptures; and in knowledge spread, consciences awakened, manners and morals improved, religion respected and sought after, he discovered that the study which had been hitherto (and very properly) a kind of end of life to him, was in fact but the preparation, the foundation, for a nobler and more disinterested calling; and while to the end of his days continuing and enlarging those studies, he was for ever applying them to the service of God, the benefit of man, and the culture of his own nature. "It is a good sign," wrote Lady Puleston to him, "that most are loath to part with you; and you have done more good in this half year than I have discerned these eighteen years."

However, he returned to Oxford in the spring, Lady Puleston soon joining him there with her five sons, the two eldest of whom she placed under his charge in the college; and he continued in his student's place at Christ Church for two or three years, attending the service of it once a year, but disposing of most of the profit of it for the use of poor scholars there. In the October of this year he received a very solemn and affectionate invitation from Judge Puleston and the parishioners of Worthenbury, which, acting on his principle, "to follow Providence and not to force it," he accepted, and in the ensuing winter went down to settle there. There, in that fine old Elizabethan house of the Pulestons, Emral, he continued for some years, at first adding to his other duties that of tutor to the young men, discharging the offices not of a conventional but of an actual and earnest chaplaincy, being the assiduous religious friend and personal instructor of every member of the household, down to the humblest servant, and preaching regularly once, and very soon twice, a Sunday at the parish church.

Worthenbury was at that time a kind of chapelry, dependent on the neighbouring rectory of Bangor-ys-coed, or Bangor Monachorum,* but the tithes belonged to the Emral family, subject to a small fine to Bangor. These tithes the Judge was now willing to settle on the minister of Worthenbury for ever. But to put it in a form that he thought would save his young chaplain time and annoyance, he charged his own estates in Flintshire, Denbighshire and Cheshire, with an amount (£100 a-year) greater than the produce of the tithe, and made it payable to Philip Henry as long as he remained minister of Worthenbury, with power of distress in case of non-payment. This grant he made by deed two years after Philip Henry's first arrival. Two

* This Bangor, in Flintshire, must not be confused with the better known and more important Bangor in Carnarvonshire.

Digitized by Google

years again after this (1657), Philip Henry finding that some of the family who were not inclined *patrizare*, were uneasy at his presence, and he himself being anxious for that quiet and simplicity of life, and that freedom from what he called "snares and temptations," which were difficult to be had in a great house; and Judge Puleston, perceiving his desire, generously built him a very handsome house in Worthenbury, not far from the church, and settled it upon him by lease for sixty years, so long as he continued minister at Worthenbury, and did not accept better preferment, which better preferment when on two occasions offered him he declined. He was then ordained; and two years after again, in 1659, he was formally collated, nominated and presented to the church at Worthenbury by Judge Puleston, and "approved therefor by the Commissioners appointed for the approbation of public preachers, having for peace' sake also desired and received the consent to his appointment of the neighbouring rector of Bangor."

I mention all these particulars on account of their bearing on the public legal position of the Presbyterian clergy, and because Philip Henry shewed in them that accuracy and care which distinguished him as a man of business all his life.

Two years previously, however, to this last formal collation to the living, and nearly four years after his first coming to Emral, being settled in his house and satisfied of his vocation to the ministry and his fitness to the people of his charge, he made final arrangements for his long-deferred ordination, in September, 1657, a service which was conducted with great precision and solemnity. In July previously, he had submitted to examination by the Presbytery. He preached and disputed before them—was examined by them in Greek, Hebrew, Logic, Natural Philosophy, Divinity and Church History. He presented his certificates of character and attainment, and underwent examination as to his spiritual state and fitness for the work. On the Sunday before the ordination, a notice was read in the church at Worthenbury, and afterwards affixed to the church door, "that if any one could produce any just exceptions against the doctrine or life of the said Mr. Henry, or any sufficient reason why he might not be ordained, they should certify the same to the classis or the scribe, and it should be heard and considered."

On the day of the ordination there was a very great assembly gathered together, and, after prayer and sermon by two of the ministers present, young Henry made his profession of faith. He said, "The ground and rule of my faith towards God is the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. I believe they were written by holy men immediately inspired by the Holy Ghost; having found the efficacy of them in some measure upon my own heart, I believe they are further able to make me wise to salvation.

Digitized by Google

"Concerning God, I believe that he is, and that he is the rewarder of those that diligently seek him. The Trinity of Persons in the Unity of the Godhead I receive and own as a truth, I admire and adore as a mystery; though no man hath seen God at any time, yet the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him; and what he hath declared concerning him, that I believe. I believe that God is a Spirit, for the Son hath said, 'God is a Spirit.' I believe that he hath life in himself, and that he hath given the Son to have life in himself. I believe that all things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made. I believe by his providence he preserves, guides and governs all the creatures according to the purpose of his own will and to his glory: for the Father worketh hitherto and the Son also worketh."

He believes that God made man upright, but that he fell by sin, and that we were all in the loins of our first parents, who stood and fell as public persons; and that on that account justly, and without any colour of wrong, we share in the guilt of their disobedience in the consequent corruption of their nature, "so that we came into the world children of wrath and heirs of the curse, one as well as another; enemies of God, hating Him and hated of Him; averse to what is good and prone to all manner of evil; that, though all are born in this condition, there are some that do not die in it."

He believes in Christ as the Mediator between God and man and the Intercessor for men. He believes that the righteousness of Christ alone is the matter of our justification. He believes in the sanctification of man by the Spirit, though that it is not perfected till we come to glory. He believes in the two sacraments of the New Testament as signs and seals of the covenant of grace.

He believes that when the body returns to the dust, the soul returns to God to receive at once from him the sentence: "Come, inherit the kingdom," or, "Depart, accursed, into everlasting fire." But he believes that, besides this, there is a day of general judgment at the end of the world, when our bodies shall by an act of almighty power be raised from the dust, be reunited to our souls, and be for ever in happiness or misery together.

Now those who are accustomed to examine the cautiously-worded and carefully-weighed language of creeds, articles and solemn declarations of faith on the one hand, and loose, popular, inferential and declamatory versions of that language on the other, will recognize at once the carefully moderate tone of the whole of this declaration of faith, except the amazingly strong statement on the inherited guilt, corruption and curse of man, which would surely have satisfied Calvin himself.

Of the harshness of this one statement, I find no traces in his

Digitized by Google

subsequent life and teachings, and am inclined to regard it as the vehement and self-rebuking language of a remarkably conscientious, pure-minded, earnest young man, detesting sin from his heart, and loathing every deviation from the highest Christian holiness of which he had felt himself to have been guilty. But of the moderation of the rest of this profession of faith, his whole life and teachings abound in evidence.

Then followed seven searching questions as to the spirit with which he was entering on his holy calling, and the objects at which he should aim in the fulfilment of it. The answers to these are characterized by that modesty, charity and self-searching humility, which continued to the end to be part of the man. A very sincere rather than a very courageous man, he derived his subsequent fortitude and endurance, not from his temperament, but from his conscience, and at this early age he saw this and knew it as plainly, apparently, as he did forty years after.

"What," says the seventh question to him, "What if troubles, persecutions and discouragements arise, will you hold out to the end notwithstanding?" and his sincere and truthful answer, not going in the warmth of this early age one word beyond the exact fulfilment of his later life, and his actual encounter with those persecutions, here only imagined, was: "Concerning this, I am very jealous over my own heart; and there is cause: I find great want of that zeal and courage for God which I know is required in a minister of the gospel; nevertheless, I persuade myself that 'no temptation shall befall me but such as is common to man; and that God, who is faithful, will not suffer me to be tempted above that which I am able, but that with the temptation he will make a way to escape, that I may be able to bear it.' I promise faithfulness to the death; but I rest not at all on *my* promise to God, but on *his* promise to me: 'When thou goest through the fire and through the water I will be with thee.'"

His answer to the third question is also characteristic of the man, and verified by the man throughout his whole life. He is asked, "Do you mean to be zealous and faithful in the defence of truth and unity, against error and schism?" and after declaring, in reply, his resolution "to watch in all things, to contend earnestly for the faith, and in meekness to instruct those that oppose themselves," he adds, "And for peace and unity, if my heart deceive me not, I shall rather choose to hazard the loss of anything that is most dear to me, than be any way knowingly accessory to the disturbance of these in the churches of Christ."

As in the declaration of faith, so in the answers to these questions, there is one intensity, which is equally startling from the mouth of one who, even at this early age, had in full possession the afterwards so eminently displayed gifts of candour and

Digitized by Google

Christian love, but which, as to the end characteristic both of the man and of the times, I now quote—"What (Qu. 4) is your persuasion of the truth of the Reformed religion?" and his answer is, "My persuasion is, that the Bishop of Rome is that man of sin and son of perdition whom the Lord Jesus will consume with the spirit of his mouth, and whom he will destroy by the brightness of his coming; and the separation which our first Reformers made, I do heartily rejoice in and bless God for; for had we still continued to partake with him in his sins, we should in the end have partaken with him also in his plagues."

When the declaration of faith had thus been duly made and the questions answered, the presbyters present engaged in prayer, laying their hands on his head, with the words, "Whom we do thus in Thy name set apart to the work and office of the ministry." Five more young men were then ordained in the same manner, an exhortation to them all was given by one of the ministers, and instruments in parchment given them, bearing, in the case of Philip Henry, these words:

"Whereas Mr. Philip Henry, of Worthenbury, in the county of Flint, Master of Arts, hath addressed himself unto us, authorized by an ordinance of both Houses of Parliament of the 29th of August, 1648, for the ordination of ministers, desiring to be ordained a Presbyter, for that he is chosen and appointed for the work of the ministry at Worthenbury, in the county of Flint, as by a certificate now remaining with us touching that his election and appointment, appeareth; and he having likewise exhibited a sufficient testimonial of his diligence and proficiency in his studies, and unblameableness of his life and conversation, he hath been examined according to the rules for examination in the said ordinance expressed; and thereupon approved, there being no just exception made, nor put in against his ordination and admission.

"These may therefore testify to all whom it may concern, that upon the 16th day of September, 1657, we have proceeded solemnly to set him apart for the office of a Presbyter and work of the ministry of the Gospel by laying on of our hands with fasting and prayer. By virtue whereof, we do declare him to be a lawful sufficiently authorized minister of Jesus Christ; and having good evidence of his lawful and fair calling, not only to the work of the ministry but to the exercise thereof at the chapel of Worthenbury, in the county of Flint, we do hereby send him thither, and actually admit him to the said charge, to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful pastor there, exhorting the people, in the name of Jesus Christ, willingly to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ, and to maintain and encourage him in the execution of his office, that he may be able to give up such an account to Christ of their obedience to his ministry, as may be to his joy and their everlasting comfort.

"In witness whereof, we the Presbyters of the Fourth Class, in the county of Salop, commonly called Bradford North Class, have hereunto set our hands, this 16th day of September, in the year of our Lord God, 1657.

"Thomas Porter, Moderator for the Time, and four others."

Digitized by Google

This classis in twelve years' time publicly ordained with similar formalities sixty-two other ministers; and I have been more particular in giving a detailed account of the solemnities customary on these occasions, because it was upon the nature, sufficiency and bindingness of their ordination more than upon any other,—more probably with many than all the other questions put together,—that the further question of conforming and non-conforming in 1662 turned as on a hinge. And it was upon the nature of services such as this which we have been now considering at the little village of Prees, in Shropshire, more than upon any other point at issue, that that great and fruitful event in English and in ecclesiastical history, whose Bicentenary we are this year observing, depended.

I need not go much into the minutiæ of his life during the eight years of his ministry at Worthenbury. They are the records of a good man's life and a good minister's. His parishioners consisted chiefly of poor tenants and labouring husbandmen; but the souls of such, he used to say, are as precious as the souls of the rich, and to be looked after accordingly.

He established classes of catechumens, including at first some of the adult who had been neglected; he established monthly lectures in the church; monthly conferences in private houses; visited the sick, aiming as he said by his prayers and exhortations at the good, not only of those that were sick, but also their friends and relations who were about them; he administered the Lord's Supper with peculiar preparation and solemnity. He preached funeral sermons for all that were buried at his church, rich or poor, old or young, or little children; for he looked upon it as an opportunity of doing good. In visiting the sick, he declined the private administration of the Lord's Supper to them, as judging it not consonant to the rule and intention of the ordinance. He very rarely, if ever, baptized in private, but would have children brought to the solemn assembly on the Lord's-day; and I observe that the address on such occasions, as surely in any rational conception of that service it ought to be, was made directly and earnestly to the parents.

He was very unwilling to give offence or pain to any one, yet would plainly and faithfully reprove what he saw amiss in any, and would not suffer sin upon them. He had, in the very natural reaction of the age, the Puritan objection to village feasts and merry-makings, not surely on account of the mirth, but of the misery that attended them; and once, hearing of such a meeting at an ale-house on a Saturday night, he went himself and broke it up and scattered them.

"This having those that were his charge about him, made him all his days bear his testimony to parish order, where it may be had on good terms, as much more eligible and more likely to answer the end than the congregational way of gathering churches

Digitized by Google

from places far distant; and he often wished and prayed for the opening of a door by which to return to that order again, though he would say, "We must do what we can when we cannot do what we would." For this reason he did not like people to come out of other parishes to attend his services, but this he could not prevent; his piety and devotion, his industry and knowledge, his self-denial and humility, and his earnest, persuasive address, winning for him the respect and attachment of all, and the popular designation of Heavenly Henry. He frequently preached at Christ Church before the University of Oxford with great acceptableness, and not only constantly undertook the week-day lectures of his neighbourhood, but was a frequent hearer of those of others, with a special view, as his ample notes shew, to his own personal advancement in godliness.

So great were his labours that his delicate constitution early shewed signs of giving way under them, but he could not be induced to moderate them. He carefully disposed of a tenth part of his income to the poor, especially the teaching of poor children; and those who did not need his gifts, treasured up his sayings, among which were such as these: "Short sins often cost us long sorrows;" "A man cannot wrestle with God and wrangle with his neighbour at the same time;" "Those who are too merry when pleased, are commonly too angry when crossed;" "It is not so much our differences of opinion as the mismanagement of those differences that do us mischief." Though very gentle, courteous and willing to oblige, yet being once pressed to sign a certificate for one with whom he was not sufficiently acquainted, he refused, giving this reason, that "he preferred the peace of his own conscience to the friendship of all the men in the world."

In Sept. 1658, Lady Puleston died. "She was," says he, "the best friend I had on earth; but my Friend in heaven is still where he was." Within a year after, Judge Puleston died, and all his interest in the Emral family was buried in his grave.

He now began to be discontented with the governing powers, and rather sympathized with the "risings;" his prayer for Sir George Booth's Cheshire rising being, "Lord, own them, if they truly own thee." The forces of the Parliament, however, came down under Lambert, and put that rising down. They seemed to favour the Quakers and to offer injury to some of the ministers; he thought, therefore, that they could not prosper; and some of the soldiers coming to hear him on the Sunday, and one of them keeping on his hat during the singing, he publicly rebuked him; and there being many Anabaptists among them, he recorded it as a good providence that the questions in the Catechism concerning baptism came in course to be expounded on that day.

The army becoming now the ruling power in the country, he

Digitized by Google

was, with the Presbyterians generally, a hearty well-wisher to the return of the King in April, 1660, although he and they mingled their fears with their hopes; and, notwithstanding the fair promises of the King, had their doubts both about their own treatment and the cause of religion and morality, so that in after years he called the day of the Restoration, ἡ ἡμερα αυτα ἡ γλυκυτικρα, "that sweet-bitter day."

Just about the time of the King's return, in April, 1660, his marriage, which had been some time under negociation, took place with Katherine, the only daughter and heiress of Daniel Matthews, a gentleman of some small landed property at Broad Oak in the immediate neighbourhood. Land being then, as now, very heavy, and learning very light, many objections were raised against the connection, and among others this, that, although Mr. Henry was a gentleman and a scholar and an excellent preacher, he was quite a stranger, and they did not even know where he came from; the future Catherine Henry observed, "True, but I know where he is going, and I should like to go with him."

But within six months of his marriage, the public troubles on ecclesiastical matters having come on, we find him writing to his wife from London. "I bless God I am safe and well at London. I met many soldiers on their way going homewards upon their disbanding, and I was sometimes afraid, but the Lord preserved me. This morning I came to Chelsea, where I saw my sisters in health, blessed be God, and overjoyed to see me. I have received a letter for Sir Orlando Bridgman, the Lord Keeper, and to-morrow purpose, God willing, to wait upon his Lordship, expecting a charge from him, in the first place, about conformity, wherein yet I shall do as I see cause, in case I should be continued at Worthenbury. The ministers here (i.e. the Presbyterian ministers) are generally unanimous and resolved. Dr. Sheldon was installed Bishop of London to-day. The King is gone into the country for a fortnight, during the trial of his father's judges, to prevent petitions." This letter plunges us at once into the midst of his ecclesiastical relations. The Sheldon here spoken of had been before the interregnum Archbishop of Canterbury, had been faithful during the alteration of his fortunes to the King, was now made Bishop of London, afterwards promoted to his old see of Canterbury, took a distinguished part in the Savoy Conferences, and was severe on all Nonconformists. Lord Keeper Bridgman was son of John, Bishop of Chester, and brother of Henry Bridgman, the sequestered rector of Bangor, to which Worthenbury had formerly belonged as a chapelry or dependency.

The whole tone of the country was now rapidly changing; the smothered feelings of the Royalists and the friends of the Church and Liturgy as formerly established now burst forth; many who

Digitized by Google

had been attached to the dynasty of Cromwell in politics and the Presbyterian party in religion, were now become tired of both, and welcomed back the King, the old ways and the old Church of the nation. Young people had felt very painfully the restraints of Puritanism, and, without perhaps very distinctly knowing the evils and oppressions that had been connected with the former order of things which Puritanism had supplanted, sighed for the return of a more cheerful style of manners, a more graceful, attractive, and perhaps less uncompromising and rigorous religion. To all these—a large proportion of the nation—the differences in forms of government and religious observances in points of faith and modes of worship did not appear of importance. The Royal Family had bitterly suffered, and perhaps it was thought sufficiently atoned for their faults and follies and mistakes; the Church would have learned lessons of prudence and of duty in exile and sequestration; the King had promised the Presbyterians every consideration in return for their helping him back to his country and his throne. All the partizans of the old state of things returned to life. Everywhere cropped up the old sequestered rector, the ill-starred curate, the offended and degraded country gentleman; and the Royalist nobleman and the exiled bishop were ready to put themselves at the head of this army of reaction; and the fickle people, always tiring of what they have tried, and hoping something better from a change, were glad to see the old pageantries and revelries reviving and the conduits flowing with wine. Fourteen years is not a long enough space in national life to allow of a total change in any nation. A whole generation at least must pass away before the old is forgotten and the new secure. The Presbyterians themselves, constituting then the greatest party both in Church and State, consented to, and to a great extent longed for, the change; trusting to the promises of the Court and to their own strength for securing such an amalgamation of interests and powers as would, with the help of the best men of the Episcopalian party, ensure liberty of worship for both sides, and purity of morals and religion for all. But I must abstain, though it is difficult, from all generalizations, and trust to the details of the life itself to bring out the full character of the events of these times and the principles involved in them.

The sequestered rector of Bangor, Dr. Bridgman, was now restored, and Philip Henry of course perceived that, though no steps were yet taken against him, his, a short time since apparently so well-secured, position at Worthenbury was likely to be shaken; but he writes, "Lord, if my work be done here, provide some other for this people that may be more skilful and more successful, and cut out work for me elsewhere. However, I will take nothing ill that God doth with me." Dr. Bridgman seems to have behaved at first with courtesy and forbearance towards him,

Digitized by Google

assuring him (as for his own part he probably intended) that he should never remove him till the law did, but that he must, in the mean time, consider himself as his curate. But with all his mildness, Philip Henry cannot conceal his disgust at the kind of arguments which were principally used to induce him to conform, —arguments so worldly and degrading to a man of his purity and conscientiousness, and so silly and servile to a man of his independence of character and thorough acquaintance with the subject. Being in conversation on the question with the Dean and Chancellor of Chester and others, he says the great argument they used to persuade him to conform was, that else he would lose his preferment; and, "What!" said they, "you are a young man, and are you wiser than the King and Bishops?" On which he simply remarks, "God grant that I may never be left to consult with flesh and blood in such matters." He writes, however, to Dr. Bridgman, "I think I am none of those who are in the extremes; nevertheless, my resolution is, if those things be indispensably imposed which I cannot practise without sinning against my conscience, I shall choose rather to lose all."

So anxious, however, were some people to anticipate that they outran the law, and presented him twice, in Sept. 1660 and spring 1661, at the Flint assizes for not reading the Common Prayer, but the presentment of course fell. The settlement which had been made by Judge Puleston upon him, in lieu of tithe, was now withheld by the family at Emral, who had become very much opposed to him. Many attempts were made in 1661 to interrupt his praying and preaching, and he says, "Methinks sabbaths were never so sweet with me as they are now, at such uncertainties."

On Jan. 31st, 1661, he writes in his diary, "Things are low with me in the world—but threepence left."

The Pulestons made it a condition of the re-adjustment of the tithe to Dr. Bridgman's satisfaction, that he should dismiss Philip Henry from Worthenbury, which accordingly he did, coming over himself on the 24th October, and reading over his discharge before a rabble, "the circumstances whereof, place, manner and witnesses," Philip Henry says, "somewhat grieved me;" and notice was given in the church of Worthenbury of that dismission by one of Mr. Puleston's servants on the following Sunday, Oct. 27th, on which day he accordingly preached his farewell sermon from the text, "Only let your conversation be as becomes the gospel of Christ." "It matters not what becomes of me," he said, "whether I come unto you or else be absent; but let your conversation be as becomes the gospel;" and his parting prayer for them was, that "the Lord, the God of the spirits of all flesh, would set a man over the congregation." Thus he ceased in 1661 to preach to his people there, but he ceased not to love them and to pray for them.

The beauty of the man's character and temper were shewn in

Digitized by Google

the farther facts that he attended the public services of his successor, who was immediately appointed, and once, being allowed the liberty of gesture, he joined in the Lord's Supper. "He advised his successor the best he could in the soul affairs of his people, which," says he, "he seemed to take well. I am sure I meant it so, and the Lord make him faithful." He preached occasionally in the neighbourhood for the intervening nine months, until Bartholomew's-day, 1662, and then, as he could not conform to the Act of Uniformity, he was silenced on that day, which was his birthday; and on its anniversary a year after he says, "This day thirty-two years I was born; this day twelvemonth I died."

I need not describe to you at length the reasons that drove him, and necessarily drove him as an honest man, into Nonconformity. It was not that he had an insuperable objection to episcopacy, to which in a modified form he did not at that time so seriously object as a mode of governing the Church; it was not that he objected to the doctrines prescribed, for they were substantially his own; but he thought the imposition of certain observances and ceremonies against the known preferences and conscientious convictions of a large number of ministers was in itself unjustifiable and even wicked, and he could not, without telling a lie, say that he gave his assent *ex animo* to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer.

But supposing that he could by any possible explanation have got over these difficulties, there was one which remained which nothing could remove. You remember his ordination, its deliberateness and solemnity, the questions, answers, profession of faith, prayers, laying on of hands, public notices, certificates. It was an essential condition of his conforming in the diocese in which he lived that he should subscribe this declaration: "I, Philip Henry, do now utterly renounce and cast away as worthless my pretended letters of ordination formerly obtained from certain presbyters, humbly supplicating that the Rev. Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord George, by divine permission Bishop of Chester, would deign to admit me to the sacred order of deaconship [the lowest order], according to the custom and rites of the English Church."

For the credit of the blood that runs in my veins, for the credit of the character of Englishmen, for the pure name and fame of the ministry of Jesus Christ, for the honour and sanctity of the Christian faith, for the sake of integrity and truth throughout the human race, for the sake of liberty, civil and religious, all over the world,—I thank God, I call on all here to thank God, I call on every Englishman, I call on every Christian, I call on every honest man in the world, to whatever party, church, sect, faith, tribe or nation he may belong, to thank God that there was found heart of oak enough in this nation for Two Thousand

Digitized by Google

men to go forth on the same day, from posts of emolument and honour and usefulness, into penury and obscurity and silence, rather than violate their inner conscience, and declare in the presence of God and man the thing they did not believe! The differences between these two great parties in the nation—political, ecclesiastical, religious—vanish and disappear into nothing compared with the one stupendous difference to the nation between two thousand men going forth as martyrs to their honesty, and two thousand men staying where they were in cowardice, hypocrisy and self-indulgence.

It is quite manifest, from every act and word of Philip Henry's life, that he believed that the essentials of religion might all be preserved under either the Presbyterian or the Episcopalian mode of administration; and although his preferences, both from education and temperament, were for the former, he never would have been instrumental, on the ground of the differences involved in that distinction, in splitting the Nation and the Church, had it not been that, in addition to these differences, certain requirements were made, and it is to be feared purposely made, with which he and the honest men of his party never could concur except at the sacrifice of their personal honour and veracity; and though all through his life he never blamed any one for conforming who could do so with a clear conscience (nay, he himself to a great extent conformed as a private worshiper for years to the services of the Church), and sincerely and equally honoured good and true men of both parties, he yet felt that religion itself would perish if the ministers of truth were to enter upon their office with a deliberate falsehood, and that it would be worthless to agree about the machinery and scaffolding of their building if the temple itself was rotten in its foundation.

English law had not then learnt to understand, and English society does not yet understand, that instead of disrespect and slight and suspicion and avoidance and restraint, the highest reverence is due to, and the highest confidence should be placed in, those men who, pure in their lives and religious in their feelings, standing apart from the current of the world's smiles and honours and emoluments, dare to utter the honest thought that is within them, and that they constitute, to whatever party they belong, the true and everlasting loyalty of the nation and the stability of their times. For this reason I honour as much, where their character was as good and their sincerity as great, those men who a dozen years before, being advocates of royalty, episcopacy and a liturgy, refused to presbyterianize, and left the Solemn League and Covenant to those who believed in it to join it.

But this good man is now by the law of the land silenced and driven into privacy. He quietly gives up the house that had been built for him, and leaves the threescore years during which it was to be his own, if he lived there so long, as the record only

Digitized by Google

of a parchment. He takes his young wife and his first-born son, pitches his tent under the Broad Oak, and cultivates the acres that spread around it. There the smoke of his daily sacrifice ariseth, and he establishes a church in his own house. There he studies in private that word of God which he had taken in public as his guide, and preaches and expounds its lessons with as much laboriousness and care as he had been wont to expend in its more public exposition. There he gathers his children, his servants, his workpeople, and the stranger that was so often within his gates, for domestic worship and instruction, avoiding those hours in which the like duties were discharged in the church of his parish, and even meekly going with his family to attend those services, and to sit with his silent eloquence a listener at the feet of the instructor that was appointed him.

It is difficult to conceive of any one having the heart to wish to molest a man so conducting himself and so circumstanced. He was living on his own land; he was living in absolute privacy; he was living some miles away from the place where he had any public influence; he was living in full obedience to the laws; he had taken the oath of allegiance to the King, and no one could pretend for a moment to suppose that he who had sacrificed so much for his oath's sake would ever think of violating it;—yet when the persecuting enactment called the Five-Mile Act was passed, by which it was forbidden any Nonconformist minister to *come* or to *be* within five miles of any corporation or of any place where he had been a minister, unless he would swear never at any time to attempt any alteration of the government in the Church or State,—an Act which exiled many poor ministers from the only homes they had and drove them up and down the nation,—it was attempted to drive him away from Broad Oak, because it was but four reputed miles from the utmost limits of Worthenbury parish; but he had the distance measured, and according to the statute length of a mile, by the Act of Elizabeth, it was found to be five miles and sixty yards; but so bitter were his enemies, that he had to *go* away and live among his friends for some time.

Again, for the purpose of throwing insult upon himself and disparagement upon his orders, they appointed him a sub-collector for the tax of two millions and a half just granted as an aid to the King. He felt it as a cross, he said; but there was no remedy, so he took it up as a cross, seeing that the duty was properly discharged by the persons he employed for the purpose, and saying, with that quiet humour which underran his Puritan gravity like a blue vein across a strong hand, that he hoped he should deserve the inscription mentioned in Suetonius, καλῳ τελωνησαντι, "To an honest publican." Besides these petty attempts to annoy him, he was taken prisoner, and confined for some days in the prison of the little neighbouring village of

Digitized by Google

Hanmer, on the pretence of his being engaged in some plot against the government; but there being no evidence of any kind against him, the detention ceased.

But when they would let him alone, this was the life he led.

In May, 1668, the bitterness of the Five-Mile Act, falsely and maliciously applied to him, being abated, at least in his neighbourhood, he returned to Broad Oak, where without material interruption he was permitted to remain the rest of his life, for twenty-eight years. Here he applied himself to the management of his property as a steward of God, writing at the beginning of his account-book the words—"Honour the Lord with thy substance and with the first-fruits of all thine increase; so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses shall burst out with new wine." He devoted himself to the employment and instruction of the labourers around him; was an example of exactness and punctuality in all accounts with his tenants, workmen and every one who had any transactions with him; he was a prudent manager of his own concerns, and a most prudent and valuable counsellor to his neighbours, and was frequently an arbitrator and preventer of law-suits among them. He was very forward to lend money to the poor, where he thought they could make good use of it, saying that in many cases there was more charity in lending than in giving. Though it sorely interfered with his beloved studies, he was very useful in the affairs of the neighbourhood; and though it was indeed a narrow sphere of activity for him, yet such as it was, "men gave ear and waited, and kept silence at his counsel;" and at a later period of life, the government wished to put him on the Commission of the Peace, but as this was offered to him of course as a layman, he declined it.

His house was on the road-side, on which he congratulated himself, as it enabled him the oftener to see his friends who were passing, and to be kind to strangers and wanderers. When the latter met him on the road, he would listen to their tale and relieve them, and accompany this, if he thought the tale true, with a blessing—if he thought it false, with a rebuke; but he would frequently tell them, in addition, to go on to the house, lest they might, he thought, faint or be weary by the way. He never would keep poor people, who wanted to see him, waiting, because, he said, their time was their bread. He was noted for an extraordinary neatness about his house and ground, which, he would often say, he could not endure to see like the field of the slothful and the vineyard of the man void of understanding. "And it was strange," says his celebrated son Matthew, "how easily one that had been bred up utterly a stranger to such things, yet, when God so ordered his lot, acquainted himself with and accommodated himself to the affairs of the country, making it the diversion of his vacant hours to oversee his garden and his fields, when he better understood that known epode of Horace,

Digitized by Google

'Beatus ille qui procul negotiis,' than he did when in his youth he made an ingenious translation of it."

The simplicity and piety of the man may be shewn by two extracts from his diary on this class of subjects. "The garden finished in time of an eclipse. Lord, lift up upon me the light of thy countenance, and let nothing cloud it towards my soul." "Hawthorn sets planted to hedge in the orchard. Lord, be thou a wall of fire round about thy church, and let not the wild boar out of the forest devour thy tender plants."

But with all his many outward occupations, his life was still a life of prayer—personal and private prayer, family prayer, praise, and reading and expounding the Scriptures morning and evening; and he would tell people that it would be a great preserver of order and decency in a family, and be like a hem to all their other business to keep it from ravelling. "He was ever careful," says his son, "to have all his family present: though, sometimes living in the country, he had a great household, yet he would have not only his children, and sojourners, if he had any, and domestic servants, but his workmen and day-labourers; and as it was an act of his charity many times to set them to work for him, so to that he added this act of piety to set them to work for God." On the Sundays, according to the Puritan ideal and custom, these services were multiplied and lengthened, and the more public services, whether at church or as afterwards in his own meeting-place, were added to these, so that the voice of prayer and praise and teaching was never dropped for an hour together from morning to night. As long as he attended the service of the Church, the clergyman who came from a neighbouring town dined with him; and afterwards, when he had public services of his own, those who came from a distance joined the family at their short mid-day meal.

Yet no man ever had a more hearty fear and horror of a religion of the lips. Nothing was more earnest and constant than his reminder that the gospel was a religion of *commandments* as well as *promises;* and he always pressed the religion of duty as well as faith, of daily life on earth as well as future hope in heaven. He would tell of a so-called religious lady being startled to a sense of practical religion by overhearing a neighbour, coming in and finding the good woman, far in the day, in her closet, and the house sadly neglected, children not tended, servants not minded, &c., say, "What! is there no fear of God in this house?" He would say, "There are quarter-believers and half-believers; but the whole-believer is he that assents, applies, is affected, and acts according to what he says he believes." Having once explained in a course of sermons all our Lord's sayings in the Sermon on the Mount, he pressed upon his hearers in conclusion the necessity of *doing* as well as *hearing* those sayings, and said, "What ado, some one will object, is here about

Digitized by Google

doing—doing! If I had preached these sermons I know where, I had certainly been called a legal preacher, if not a papist, a jesuit, a preacher of works, and some would have said, We will never hear him again. If to preach on these things be legal preaching, then our Lord himself was a legal preacher, and his sayings have been my texts. Such a preacher as he was, may I, in my poor measure, be! I cannot write after a better copy. I cannot tread in better steps. His sayings must be done as well as heard, that we may answer his end in saying them, which was to promote holiness—that we may approve ourselves his true kindred—that God may be glorified—that our profession may be beautified—and that our building may stand."

"You go home," he once said to a pious lady who had been complaining to him of her husband—"You go home and be a better wife to him, and he will be a better husband to you."

Among other practical violations of a genuine piety, for which he had no tolerance, was the habit of evil-speaking and backbiting: these he would sometimes drive away with an angry countenance. He gave it as a rule, which is exactly the opposite to what people of the world always do, "never to speak of any one's faults to others till we have first spoken of them to the offender himself." This rule he not only laid down, but observed; and once being asked to give an account of some one who had done wrong, he began, but suddenly stopped, saying, "But our rule is to speak evil of no man;" and he could not be induced to renew the subject.

It is not to be supposed that in the midst of his own comparative affluence and comfort, which made him sometimes look round his little paradise and exclaim with wondering gratitude, "What, all this, and heaven besides!" he would be unmindful of his brethren in bonds and affliction; but he has put it on record as a fact worthy of notice, that notwithstanding the grievous straits and difficulties in which they were so often placed,—cruel laws forbidding them to preach, forbidding them to teach, forbidding them to obtain any occupation or to live within five miles of any corporate town, forbidding them to live within five miles of any place where they had ever been settled and known as ministers,—such was the blessing of God in prospering their exertions or raising them up kind friends, that he never heard of one Nonconformist minister being imprisoned for debt, and that in an age when imprisonment for debt was a very common occurrence in every neighbourhood.

But the little liberty that had thus for a few years been enjoyed of praying and preaching privately in his own house or the houses of his friends was now restricted. There being a drought in the country, Philip Henry met a few friends in a private house to pray for the aversion of this sign, as they conceived it, of God's anger. For this and similar sins he was fined,

Digitized by Google

his goods distrained, and himself presented at the Flintshire assizes more than once; but the brutal Judge Jeffreys, who presided, happening to know him as a former friend of his mother's, and as having sometimes, at that mother's request, examined himself as a boy in his studies, suffered, to the surprise of the magistrates, the presentments to fall through.

The new Bishop of St. Asaph, Dr. Lloyd, one of the afterwards celebrated seven, took a different, and it must be acknowledged a somewhat more sensible and Christian way of reducing him to a proper way of thinking. He summoned him, with others, to a public discussion of their differences; and afterwards, being so pleased with his demeanour on that occasion, requested a private interview with him, which ended in the bishop's very candidly avowing that he did not consider him a σχισματικος, but only a παρασυναγωγος. The public discussion was principally upon the validity of Presbyterian orders, and while defending it on scriptural and other grounds, Philip Henry could not resist incidently putting in an argument, in justification of himself and others who had taken Presbyterian and not Episcopal orders, of certainly a greater practical than scientific force, "There was never a bishop" (he said) "to be found when *I* was ordained."

He never sought publicity for its own sake, and being invited to visit the metropolis, where at the time there was more liberty of preaching, he said, "It is true I am here buried alive, but I am quiet in my grave." But the uneasy fears of the government could not leave him quiet even in his grave, for in July, 1685, he and several other gentlemen and ministers from Lancashire were sent under a guard to Chester Castle, and he was kept close prisoner for three weeks. But it was not a harsh confinement, being in fact a kind of triumphant captivity, and made the occasion of visits, kindnesses and attentions all through; and he often spoke of it, not as a subject of complaint, but thanksgiving; and in a sermon to his family the day after his return home, he specially recounted its many mercies; thus, that it was for no cause—it is guilt that makes the prison; that it was his security in a dangerous time; that he had good company in his sufferings, who prayed and read the Scriptures and discoursed together; that he had health there, not sick and in prison; that he was visited and prayed for by his friends; that he was very cheerful and easy in his spirit, many a time asleep and quiet when his adversaries were awake and unquiet; that his enlargement was speedy and unsought for; and that it gave occasion to the magistrates who committed him to give it under their hands that they had nothing in particular to lay to his charge; and, especially, that it was without a snare (i.e. a temptation to make some unworthy compliance for his peace or liberty's sake), which was the thing he feared more than anything else.

This beautiful serenity of mind was accompanied by a most

Digitized by Google

Christian forgiveness of injuries; for, on James II. (his old playfellow), to whom he presented and read an address of thanks as he passed through Whitchurch, desiring not only to relieve Nonconformists from, but to compensate them for, their wrongs and sufferings, he was desired to furnish an account of the loss he had suffered in a former distraint upon his goods,—he replied that he should be glad to see such instruments of trouble legally removed, yet he declined to give any further information concerning the wrong done himself (they had carried away thirty-three cart loads of his goods and produce as a distraint for a fine of £40), having long since from his heart forgiven all the agents, instruments and occasions of it, and having purposed never to say anything more of it.

Still it is pleasant that now from 1687, the glorious Revolution of the next year putting the liberties of the nation on still securer foundation, he lived in liberty and enlargement for the remaining nine years of his life. Nevertheless, the conscientious desire which he felt not to interrupt or interfere with the public services of religion in his parish church, made him continue his attendance at Whitewell chapel for two years more (after 1688), and he preached at his own house only when there was no supply there, and in the evening of those days when there was. Of course neither the rigid Separatist nor the strict Churchman liked such a proceeding; so that he said, one side told him he was the author of all the mischief in the country in drawing people *from* the Church; and the other side told him he was the author of all the mischief in the country by drawing people *to* the Church. "And which of these," asks he, "shall I seek to please? Lord, neither, but Thyself alone, and my own conscience."

In a sermon at Whitewell chapel one Sunday afternoon, where he and his family and many of his congregation were attending, much was said about the Dissenters being schismatics and in a damnable state. When he came immediately after to preach at his own house, he said, "Perhaps some of you may suppose that I should say something in answer to what we have heard, but truly I have something else to do," so he went on to preach to them Jesus Christ and him crucified.

However, his hopes were raised by the principles avowed in 1688, that a renewal of some effort after comprehension would now be successful; for no man ever more unwillingly separated himself from the Church of his country and of his fathers than he did. But the thing was impossible; there was no choice between absolute and unqualified submission in every particular, or separation. Those in possession argued that the oaths, subscriptions and ceremonies being imposed for the especial purpose of keeping these men out, they would never consent to their removal for the purpose of letting them in; and that it

Digitized by Google

was better to have a schism outside the Church than a faction within, not perceiving that there will and must be differences of opinion, and therefore, if we like to call it so, factions, even within the most carefully constructed church, as we find is the case at this very day, notwithstanding all care to the contrary; and that the only result of this refusal of any modification of the terms in conforming is, that now we have three factions in the Church, besides an increased number of schisms without it; and this will continue for ever to be the case, until we learn to call the liberty which is in Jesus Christ by some other names than schism and faction, and until we learn to aim, not at unity in all our forms, in all our phraseology and in all our opinions (which is impossible, and which it is a mere waste of time, peace, temper, and the force which we should all unite to bring against sin and suffering and ignorance, to continue to attempt to effect), and take to aiming at a unity of spirit, with differences of administration, a comprehensive church union and a comprehensive freedom.

Tired of waiting for more liberal things, and agreeing with a brother minister in Lancashire who said that he had been for twenty-seven years trying to please a generation of men who would not be pleased, he would now no longer endeavour it; and the Toleration Act now supplementing the Act of Uniformity, he, like others who agreed with him, established his own church services, turned his barn into a chapel, and became one of the compelled and unwilling founders of English Dissent. Look at the Sunday labours of this man, who never for thirty-six years accepted a farthing's remuneration for his faithful services! At eight o'clock on the Lord's-day he began his morning family worship, reading and expounding the Scriptures, praying and singing. At nine o'clock he began his public service, which lasted till twelve. He then rested about an hour and a half, on sacrament Sundays not so long, and then began the afternoon service of prayer and praise, catechizing and preaching. The evening employments of repeating the substance of the sermons and other offices of instruction and worship closed the day; and certainly we need not wonder that every Sunday night he was wearied with his work—"wearied *with* it," he would say, "but not wearied *of* it."

He was not desirous of publicly baptizing, but was forced as it were into it by the parish minister earnestly cautioning the people (Mr. Henry, his family and many of his friends being present) against going to conventicles, for, said he, "you are baptized into the Church of England." This monopolizing of the great ordinance of baptism was more than he could digest, and he thought it time to bear his testimony against such narrow principles. Accordingly he took the next opportunity that offered itself publicly to baptize a child, and desired the congre-

Digitized by Google

gation to bear witness "that he did not baptize that child into the Church of England, nor into the Church of Scotland, nor into the Church of the Dissenters, nor into the Church at Broad Oak, but into the visible Catholic Church of Jesus Christ."

Of course now that he was an avowed separatist, against whose privileged liberty, however, the law would allow nothing to be done, the small wit and the small malice of his sillier neighbours were busy against him, and particular mirth arose from the decently fitted-up outer building in which he preached having been a barn; but he met this with a humorous goodnature that did not really mean anything so unkind as the words in another's mouth might have conveyed, "Well, it is better to get wheat in a barn than chaff in a church."*

In addition to his services to his own little society and his own neighbourhood, he gave lectures up and down the country, often returning from them fasting, which he said pleased him better than the contrary extreme, when a great entertainment was made for him. The parish church would sometimes, naturally enough, echo on such occasions to the text, "These men that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." On one occasion, having adjourned the lecture to a new place, which he would do sometimes, to bring it nearer to those who could not travel so far, he took this text himself, and said that the charge in one sense was false, but in another was true; for, said he, "Religion does not disturb the peace of families or societies, or cause any disorder and unquietness; and yet when it comes in power to any soul, it does turn the world upside down in that soul."

After his long and patient expectation of a fair and honourable arrangement with the Church, after his long forbearance and conciliation, finding at length that the thing was not to be, and that the Nonconformists must either at once take and usefully employ a ground of their own, or else altogether die out as an element in English society, English politics and English religion, he took his stand with a decision and an earnestness equal to his previous moderation and retiringness. He brought up his own son, the celebrated Matthew Henry, expressly to this separatist ministry; he took young men into his family, and conducted their studies for the same object; he preached early after its opening at his son's new chapel at Chester; he encouraged everywhere his brethren and their flocks to face and to endure the contumely of the world and the trials of their separatist lot.

Peculiarly sensitive himself to those trials,—peculiarly anxious to live in peace and love with all mankind, himself not liking, but, on the contrary, almost loathing schism, separation and

* The clergyman, however, had at last perhaps the best of the joke, as he is said to have retorted that when people wanted chaff, they were more likely to find it in a barn than in a church.

Digitized by Google

antagonism in religion on their own account,—personally desirous to take his natural place in society as a scholar, a divine and a gentleman,—he yet never, in compliance with any one of these feelings or all of them united, would consent to violate the sanctity of his own conscience; and he preferred to suffer persecution with those whom he thought to be the people of God, to consenting without remonstrance to see liberty trampled upon, religion injured, or good men oppressed. And though a large portion of his descendants have now, on the one hand, conformed as laymen to the Church, and a large portion, on the other, followed out his principles into theological results which he could not himself have anticipated or at that time at least approved, I do not know that one man living (and there are now thousands) has gone up before the Holy Spirit and declared that he could give his hearty and entire assent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, Creeds and Articles included; and if there ever should be one, I can only form for him this wish, that he will make that declaration after as serious a deliberation and with as entire a sincerity and honesty as his ancestor declined to make it.

And now the end approaches. In the labours I have described, both at home and abroad, for his family, for his neighbourhood and for the Church of Christ, he spent the latter years of his life. But he used to complain in them of an habitual weariness, contracted, he thought, by his standing to preach, sometimes very uneasily and in inconvenient places, after riding. "Every minister" (in relation to these hardships, he would say) "is not cut out for an itinerant." A few months before his death, he wrote to an anxiously inquiring friend, "I am always habitually weary, and expect no other till I lie down in the grave." On Tuesday morning, June 23rd, 1695, when he was in his 65th year, he rose at six, conducted his family worship between seven and eight, expounding and singing and praying, went up into his bed-room, became painfully ill, and in sixteen hours was dead. "Son," said he, as Matthew Henry, who had been sent for from Chester, sat under his dying father's head—"Son, the Lord bless you, and grant that you may do worthily in your generation, and be more serviceable to the Church of God than I have been." "Make little ado about me," he had said; "a few will serve to bring me to the grave." But a multitude of mourners came from all the neighbouring towns and villages, unsought, not to fill their eyes, as was said, but to empty them, nor was there any other noise there but general lamentation. Many bore witness that day to the good he had done in Israel, and some said he was a man that no one did or could speak evil of, except for his Nonconformity.

He had been peculiarly happy in his family. His children

Digitized by Google

were all suitably and happily settled in life not far from him, devout and religious themselves and affectionately attached to one another. His only grandson, Matthew Henry's only son, took his mother's name of Warburton, sat in Parliament for the city of Chester, and dying without issue, no survivor of his name was left. His admirable and devoted wife survived him at Broad Oak many years.

Though all the churches—Whitchurch, Worthenbury and Whitewell—in which he worshiped have been pulled down and rebuilt,—though the house in which he passed so large a portion of his simple and beautiful life has been removed,—though the barn-chapel has passed away in the progress of improvements,—though the Broad Oak, round which himself and wife and children would sometimes join hands, and encircle in a proud and cheerful embrace the girth that required so many larger and lesser arms to measure it, has long ago been felled to the ground,—yet there in the old Whitchurch graveyard lie his unmarked remains, a tablet in the church itself alone declaring that they are there. There in the little chapel of Whitewell is the marble tablet that speaks, in the exquisite Latinity of Dr. Tylston, his son-in-law and beloved physician, the love, the sorrow and the consolations of his survivors. There in the little farm-house that has succeeded his dwelling do successive tenants still preserve and shew the pulpit cushion from which he preached, and prize it as part of their succession. There in the immediate neighbourhood rise the modest mansions of some of his descendants, who hold and still seem to watch over his memory and his land. There in the Rectory drawing-room of Worthenbury does a Puleston still point out with honourable taste and pride the portion that constituted the good man's study. There you may still see his parish registry, the years of his office being distinguished from those that preceded and those that succeeded by the conscientious carefulness and exactness of the entries and the beauty of his penmanship. And there, too, the villagers still from time to time present their children at the baptismal font to the present Rector to be christened Philip Henry.

Servant of God, well done!
Rest from thy loved employ;
The battle fought, the victory won,
Enter thy Master's joy.

COVETOUSNESS.

South says in one of his sermons that covetousness is the first vice in corrupt natures which moves and the last which dies, and that there are more instances of such as riches have made covetous than of such as covetousness has made rich.

Digitized by Google

ADDRESS AT THE OPENING OF THE SESSION OF MANCHESTER NEW COLLEGE, LONDON, OCTOBER 13, 1862.

BY REV. JAMES MARTINEAU.

THE act of finality which, two hundred years ago, shut up the future for the Church of England, opened it for the exiles whom it flung upon the world. The Nonconformists, discharged from their ecclesiastical allegiance, had to break with the past; and, like colonists landed on an untrodden shore, to trace the lines of their own spiritual commonwealth, to plant its fields with such seed of promise as they had, and build, according to their own ideal, their city of God. Driven from the settled territory of tradition and usage, they were sent forth as explorers of new possibilities beyond the beaten track of experience. The National Church, relinquishing to them all untried forms of religious faith and life, proclaimed for herself, "Here I take my stand and keep the trust committed to me; I guard the eternal truth, for which there is no movement, but only rest." And certainly there is something majestic in the quiet persistency of her witness to divine things, something that seems to represent their own unchangeableness. Day by day in her cathedrals, week by week in her parish churches, her prayer, her penitence, her hope, have poured themselves forth in the same words; meditation has paced the same annual round of lessons from holy writ; all faces have turned to the east at the same signal, and all lips repeated the same symbols of ancient faith;—expressing by a sublime monotony the repose of a patient piety, and testifying to those constancies in religion which are "the same yesterday, to-day and for ever." And it is a venerable office thus to compel the present to hear the voices of the past and meet them with some reverent sympathy; to qualify the dialect of the hour with the grave speech of an elder time; and through each season's deciduous crop of thought and feeling, to shew the permanent stem and the everlasting root of faith. In proportion as the changes of the world are rapid, and its young spirit grows audacious and intense, do we need to be recalled to the ground of all vicissitude, and made to feel the filiation of our humanity. Still this is but half the duty of a church. However immutable the objects of faith, man, the believing subject, changes from age to age: the range of his knowledge, the meaning of his words, the colouring of his thought, are affected by every accession to science and every new character which genius impresses upon literature; and it is impossible that through all this the same representations of divine things should remain congenial to him, and retain at last the adequacy they had at first. And when we remember what the two centuries have been that expire this year; that they include the whole history of the European academies of science,

Digitized by Google

and the lives of Newton, Davy, Cuvier and Humboldt; that among their products were the system of Locke, the scepsis of Hume, the critical philosophy of Kant; that they have enriched the shelves of the divine with the works of Cudworth and Butler, of Lardner and Priestley, of Schleiermacher, Neander and Ewald, to say nothing of Strauss and Baur; that they have kept the minds of men awake with vast political revolutions, fertile in temporary wars, but more fertile in the lasting arts of peace; that besides widening the general commonwealth of knowledge, they have given birth to national literatures singularly rich and free;—we must own it impossible that, with nature, history, life, so much expanded, the scope of religious conception should remain unchanged. The language of the elder theology respecting the creation of the heavens and the earth, the origin and the fall of man, the beginning and the end of death and sin, was indigenous to a lesser world than ours, and has a strange and childish sound in a universe opened by the telescope, on an earth interpreted by the geologist, and in face of what we now see of the great drama of human growth and civilization. Without some provision for discharging from its terms what is perishable and obsolete, and permitting its indestructible truth to live into new forms, no church can permanently meet the conditions of human life, but, while affecting to represent the eternal counsel of God, will slip away from the unresting intellect and affections of men. That the ecclesiastical constitution of this country contains no such provision, and pretends not only to uniformity but to perpetuity of doctrine, is placed beyond doubt by a recent judicial decision, in which this memorable statement occurs—that should the progress of knowledge ever so conclusively disprove some affirmation of the established creed, the ordained minister is none the less bound to teach the exploded falsehood and disregard the discovered truth. This clashing between the obligations of personal veracity and the reverence for divine reality is notoriously no hypothetical contingency. In the free air of English life, the clergy cannot be cut off from the influences which circulate through the mental atmosphere of their time, and determine the modes of secular thought and the tone of current literature; and since the whole dogmatic scheme embodied in the symbols of the Church has lost all hold of men of letters and science, since all natural speech which has any living force is quite empty of it, since European culture everywhere goes on apart from it, without even taking the trouble to contradict it, it must be foreign to the very teachers of it, so far as they share the intellectual life of their age. And the struggles of a few foremost spirits among them to realize in fact a latitude denied to them in word, afford suggestions sad enough of sacred doubts that never become light, of noble longings sullenly suppressed, of minds enfeebled by disastrous compromise. It is a

Digitized by Google

lesson hard to learn, but sure to make itself felt at last, that *a final church foregoes the future.*

It was with an implicit feeling, if not an explicit apprehension of this truth, that the Nonconformists of two centuries ago refused to bind themselves by the conditions proposed for them. They wanted not so much other doctrine as more latitude; not a different uniformity, but a freer variety. Scope for conscience, an open margin for the Spirit of God, a transparent way for fresh light from holy writ, room every way for the soul to turn about and try the paths to God,—this was the meaning of their cry; a meaning which, though hidden from themselves in their day of power, came out more and more clearly with the deeper experiences of natural sorrow and spiritual perplexity. As their complaint against the Church was, not that it was false, but that it was narrow,—so, when they came to provide for the training of successors to their own ministers, their injunction to the learned men entrusted with the task was, not "Teach them *our doctrine*," but "Teach them *to seek God's truth.*" The several Dissenting academies which preceded our own, founded by men smarting under the demand of subscription to articles of faith, were characterized by a high-minded trust in the issues of growing learning and the native force of sacred truth. They refused to take any security for right belief beyond the pure thirst for light in well-ordered, devout and duly-furnished minds; and charged their tutors with no other duty than to open before the intelligence and conscience of the student the media of divine knowledge, whether in scripture or in the universe, and let the persuasive word pass through. "Shew him where the infinite treasure lies; conduct him to the grand points of contact between the divine and human in this world; give him command of the materials and exercise in the habit of thought; accustom his eye to the lines of spiritual light; and if then he follows not in our path, he may be able to lead us to a better;"—such, in effect, was the inscription on the vestibule of these institutions. This simple faith in nature and scripture as the inexhausted depositories, and in disciplined faculty as the apprehensive organ, of the highest truth, appears to me eminently dignified and noble. In its prospective and hopeful character, it is the natural counterpart of the other religion which only accepts and guards the past, and cannot but carry a different spirit into every department of theological culture. It has always influenced, and must always influence, the whole programme of study, the style of scholarship, the tone of piety, in the schools of learning which it animates. This will readily appear if we spread out before us in their mutual relations the main lines of religious research. I take them in the order, not of their relative importance to us, but of their logical bearing among themselves.

Theology is the doctrine of divine things, and for their true

Digitized by Google

apprehension the theologian must station himself at the points where they manifestly touch the human and leave their mark within the range of our life and thought. What and where are these?

I. One sphere there is of *immediate* relation between ourselves and God, where the apprehension of Him is first-hand and direct, viz. the sphere of our own mind. We are not made for the cognizance of finite and transient things alone, but have something in us answering to the whole realm of being in which we stand: on the one hand, to the natural world of phenomena; on the other, to the supernatural Reality behind. The structure of our faculties discloses more than we need for a true picture and an accurate reckoning of the physical theatre around, or even for the provident and comfortable ordering of human life; when our outfit for the visible and passing scene has been measured off, there is still a mysterious fund of residuary thought, belief, affection, which, unless it be a delusion and a counterfeit, is the token of the invisible Perfection that is and was and ever will be. No sooner do we exercise any endowment of natural knowledge or momentary energy, than we are flung into mysterious discoveries that transcend experience; behind perception of the finite, Space uncreated and infinite; behind consciousness of succession, a motionless Eternity; behind perishable phenomena, imperishable Power; behind the impulses of affection and the problems of the will, the authority of a living Righteousness; behind the beauty of the world and the graces of pure souls, a light of meaning from the first Fair and the first Good. Strip off where you will the outer folds of intelligence or feeling, and you will find yourself in the presence of essential ideas all infinite, all converging upon a point in the invisible, all functions of an eternal life and thought. Self-knowledge therefore, in whatsoever direction, discloses in the last resort far more than self; and the sciences of self-knowledge, as their line drops deeper and deeper through the nature of man, feel in the end the unfathomable ground and touch the everlasting Rock. Logic, winding its way through the laws of thinking, rests at length at the roots of thought; Æsthetic, after removing the accidents of taste and defining the rules of just admiration and the principles of true Art, feels still a mystery of expressiveness which speaks and cannot be spoken of; Ethics, by simply unfolding the moral sentiments and examining the assumptions of the moral law, are transported beyond the limits of human nature, and brought face to face with an auguster Holiness. All knowledge of our own mind culminates in the apprehension of God; and I believe it was the sense of this fact that gave so prominent a place, in our old theological academies and literature, to moral, logical and metaphysical pursuits. It was not simply that they afforded a healthy discipline to the understanding; that the analysis of reasoning gave the power of

Digitized by Google

detecting falsities; that the laws of sensation and suggestion explained away the wonder from all our faculties, and exhibited belief and affection in the weaving; that to have insight into classification was to hold the key of science; that to scrutinize the essence of private right and wrong would make good casuists, and to know the theory of the State and its public law would help to form good citizens. True as all this is, the real interest of these studies lay elsewhere; in the vestiges sought within our humanity of a life more than human; in the suspected signs of a Divine witness to our reason, our conscience, our affections. Were it not for the hope of lifting some corner of the sacred veil, the deeper speculative philosophy, however serviceable as an intellectual gymnastic, would want that highest fascination by which in every age it has drawn to it so many capacious, fervid, meditative minds. But this consecrated charm, this divine thirst, is gone the moment you stereotype the forms of faith and shut up the future possibilities of light. Philosophy must have hope, or it will pine away; you cannot take from its voice the undertone of prayer; its foot must be free if it is to move at all. In churches, therefore, that have passed their acts of finality, its inspiration is extinct; it has no advance to make, no territory to win; as the bondslave of the past, it is permitted only to throw up earthworks of defence to stop the conquering founders of new empires. It needs but little acquaintance with literary history to perceive how prevailingly, under the rule of fixed ecclesiastical systems, a purely negative and critical function has been given to philosophy. At the utmost, leave has been granted it to work up, by some way of its own, to a foregone conclusion, and corroborate the Sacraments from Aristotle or the Trinity from Plato. More frequently it has been deemed dangerous to let both the councils of the church and the courts of philosophy sit under the same roof, with the advocates passing from the one to the other; and the jurisdiction of thought in cases of faith has been denied altogether. Psychology has been called in, but only to testify that we have no faculty of divine apprehension; Logic, but only to disparage its own limits; Metaphysics, but only to demonstrate their incompetency; Ethics, but only to erase the religious value of moral distinctions. This is the last humiliation of philosophy,—to force its own implements into its own hand, that it may bleed itself to death and make the church its heir. If this is all it has to do—to prove that it can do nothing—it must soon be tired and ashamed of life and fly from the ignominy of existence. We may well be thankful that our forerunners escaped this attitude of scepticism towards the religion of Thought. They never dreamed that our humanity could be without any organ of religious knowledge,—constituted just as it might be in an atheistic world. They knew that without a prior Natural religion, no subsequent Revealed was possible, since on mere deaf

Digitized by Google

incapacity even heavenly voices are thrown away. And by their habitual example and their abstinence from distrustful restraints upon the future, they encouraged the reverential and hopeful resort to human Reason and Conscience, as not only the seats of finite wisdom, but as audience-halls of God.

II. I have spoken of the theology arising in self-knowledge as an *immediate* apprehension of divine truth, in order to mark it off from religion that comes to us *through the medium* of some object interposed between ourselves and God, whether it be the visible frame of Nature or the persons and events of History. Is it a mysticism or an enthusiasm to refer thus to a faith direct and intuitive, as distinguished from one indirect and logical? All that I mean is this,—that if, with your powers opened and matured, you were in solitude with God,—with no presence of the world or of the crowd of men,—you would not be without cognizance of Him; you would find, in what you had to think and feel, traces of something other and higher than self, and would not be forced into the delusive egotism of supposing you were all in all. To deny this is to say that there are no "foot-prints of the Creator" in the human mind; or that while He leaves his mark on all gradations of creatures, the very being who is most expressly in his image is driven to the lower signs of his reality. This would be a strange result of the similitude, in the common element of spirituality, between his nature and ours,—that Living God and living Man should be ever in presence of each other, yet have no concerns together, no meeting-points of possible recognition, no gleam from the eternal perfectness mingling with the broken lights of human aspiration. If the language of our conscious spirits is all secular, the universe has for us no voices that are divine.

Man, however, would never know what he is, or even *be* what he is, were he suspended in loneliness, however sacred. For the training and evolution of his powers, for the awakening of his latent life, and therefore for his self-knowledge as well as for other knowledge, he needs the scene and society around him. The phenomena of his inner experience, when found, furnish him with a theology; but to find them, he must have also an outer experience, and belong to a world open to his intellect, and a human history that is the multiplying mirror of himself. Set thus in presence of objects related to his faculties and divinely constituted no less, he finds in them *mediate* sources of religion: of *natural* religion, so far as it flows in upon him from the spectacle of the universe: of *historical* religion, so far as it enters by the path of personal sympathy and reverence, and owns the manifestations of God in the spiritual records of humanity.

1. Of these two media of divine knowledge, *Nature*, the great source of Pagan religion, has been characteristically subordinated, not to say neglected, in Christendom. All the leading concep-

Digitized by Google

tions of the Christian faith are moral and personal, not kosmical; they arise out of the *direct* relation of the human spirit to the Divine, and would not be much affected though the world were removed out of the way. In the problems of sin and holiness, of ruin and redemption, of estrangement and reconciliation, sun and stars, equator and ecliptic, have nothing to do: composition of water, and speed of light, and laws of crystallization, are irrelevant accidents; the rocks might have a different succession, and the flora and fauna of every zone might be changed, without touching the result. From this neutral attitude of physical phenomena towards Christian ideas, it might seem to follow, that the theologian had no interest, either way, for or against the researches of men of science; that their whole intellectual field was foreign to him, and therefore equally safe from his interference, whether his system were shut or open. In this case, as there would be no affinity, so there would be no clashing, between religion and science: and on this basis accordingly many a treaty of peace has been concluded between divines who cannot keep their eye off nature, and *savans* who will give anything for a quiet life. In effect, however, the rule supplies but a hollow truce which it is impossible to keep. The divine, entrenched behind the written word of God, may give up all natural Theism, and let the study of nature pass free as a mere secular pursuit: but he soon discovers that, if it cannot establish natural religion, it can contradict what he had reserved as revealed; and is angry at the breach of understanding, by which the instruments of discovery and peaceful art are turned against him as weapons of war. Must we not tell him, it is his own fault? Is he not himself the first offender, in taking more than he could fairly claim into his reserved field? Did he not label a good many scientific propositions with the name "Revealed Religion," and carry them off into his sacred enclosure? and can he be offended if they are re-captured and perhaps destroyed? That the universe was created in six days, the earth as the chief thing, and the starry heavens as its decorated roof; that the human race are descended from one pair, of whose lapse Death and Sin are the perpetual entail; that, in redemption of this entail, a divine person, born of a woman, assumed our humanity, confronted the spirits of evil, and drove them from the minds and bodies they had possessed, and carried off the general curse by his own sacrifice;—these are samples of doctrinal assertion that variously trench on the domain of natural knowledge, and must be amenable to its scrutiny. A church which is committed to them has already thrown down the gauntlet to science, and instinctively looks for an adversary in every calm advance of discovery or sudden rush of genius. The only escape from this humiliating fear is in an unpledged theology, accessible to all variations of phenomenal knowledge, and consecrating nothing

Digitized by Google

as "revealed" but those moral and spiritual truths whose range is beyond the reach of induction, which no telescope can interpret into meteors, no analysis precipitate as dust. But this is not all. Besides the negative relief from fear, a positive trust that greater conceptions must dawn upon us ensues from an open faith: the indifference to science as merely secular, and its discharge from all higher obligations, are recalled: Nature, no longer suspected of being against us, is re-consecrated as the handiwork of God; and a reverent curiosity seeks for true links of thought by which to connect the divine order of the outer world with the divine inner laws of our humanity. Precisely and only in proportion as the intellect has been released from the restraints of a fixed dogmatic system, has the interest in natural religion deepened, and the foresight of science been found compatible with the insight of faith. Care for natural religion is the constant attendant on breadth of Christian faith. It needed some latitude of thought in Newton to stand upon the confines of the new universe he had found, and find its relation to Him whose duration (to use the Philosopher's own solemn words) "reaches from eternity to eternity; whose presence from infinity to infinity; who governs all things, and knows all things that are or can be done:"* in Clarke to construct, in Butler to criticise, the Theistic interpretation of space and time: in Priestley to blend into one whole the discoveries of the chemist and the meditations of the divine. Wherever the relations are deeply pondered between the method of physical and that of religious knowledge, not for the sake of severing them by any impassable chasm, but in the hope of bringing them to unity, depend upon it you are in presence of a liberal school or a liberal age. The noble wonder of the intellect, which still sighs and seeks for a "First Philosophy" able, with the two eyes of faith and science, to make the double picture one, can live only in men and churches that have something to learn. If any sacredness is to invest natural knowledge, if it is to be more than the outfit for a profession, the source of material power, and the occasion of mean competition in the race of ideas, it will owe it to the few whose worship as well as science is touched with hope, and expects from the brightest meridian of knowledge the richest vesper glow of prayer.

2. The great medium, however, of divine contact with our world is not, after all, the physical Kosmos, that speaks God's power and the method of his thought, but the constitution and course of human history, which are the organs of his communicated character and will. Clear traces of himself he has doubtless impressed on the individual soul. But individuality itself is not formed except in society and by long inheritance of time; it

* Principia, the concluding Scholium.

Digitized by Google

is the last product of rich and various culture; and the philosopher or worshiper of to-day is an epitome of all the ages. The lives of other men, their spoken admiration, their acted grief and passion, the stature of their higher nobleness, touch us with more than sympathy, and are the great means of shewing us what we are, and lifting us towards what we are not yet. Biography, history, and language,—that wonderful crystallization of the very flow and spray of thought,—constitute an objective self-knowledge, and, by a thousand affinities, draw out into clearer light whatever our nature holds of authoritative and divine. If men have never and nowhere been left alone by their Heavenly Guide, if his mystery has always mingled with their life, ancient and foreign literature can in no case be quite profane, but in their artless expressions of wonder, love and pity, must appeal to some pieties in us; and even where no religious end is directly in view, a wide and scholarly familiarity with the words and ways of other times, with their special types of character, with the tone of their poetry and the temper of their laws, indirectly generates an atmosphere of humane and considerate sympathy, the proper climate of justice and veneration. It is not, however, till we address ourselves to men's conscious thought about divine things, their efforts to pass behind the veil of the visible world and read the secrets there, that we begin to glean and count the scattered elements of sacred truth on which the higher trusts of humanity have lived. The time is past when faiths and philosophies foreign to our own were studied merely to contrast their darkness with our light, and make the chasm absolute all round our solitary island of exclusive revelation. We begin to see that they were the noble efforts of a reason never wholly baffled, a conscience never quite asleep, and became the depositaries of partial truth, till the stream of "living water" could take up the confluent tributaries and fill the river of life. In this thought we gain, for the first time, the key of interpretation for what is alien to our experience. Antipathy understands nothing; and not till the theologian looks on Christendom as the last stage in the providential evolution and inspiration of humanity, related to all that goes before, will he apprehend either what lies within or what lies beyond his own faith. But once let him seize this point of view, and then the attempt to master systems of thought belonging to another intellectual latitude will afford him the finest discipline of understanding and sympathy; and while imparting a catholic breadth of aspiration for what is distant from him, will leave the keenest sense of the distinctive sanctities that abide with him at home. To a wide knowledge and thoughtful estimate of the past we must look as the only real safeguard against the passing caprices of sceptic or fanatic thought. Churches that have no trust take securities from their clergy, and bind them to the forms of distant centuries; but what they gain in persistency they lose in life. On the other hand, the mere practical man of

Digitized by Google

to-day, nurtured on the current literature and touched with the newest zeal, goes into utter captivity to the humour of the hour; and if he seems to lead others, does so by the levity of his nature, carrying him ahead of them down any stream of tendency that may have the swiftest flow. In the minister of sacred things, who represents before men the constancies of eternal truth and righteousness, this helpless mobility is a humiliating spectacle, secretly despised amid the noisiest applause. We expect from him a spirit lifted above the fitful temperature that alternately strains or relaxes the chords of more dependent minds; and we shall expect in vain, unless we help him to an intellectual eminence above surprise, whence the great movements of humanity can be watched with the quick eye of Pity and of Trust, and the distant voices of its prayer and strife can meet the ear.

It must needs be, however, that the history and literature of paramount interest for us are those which convey to us and embody our own faith. The sacred records of the Hebrew race, and the primitive memorials of the Christian revelation, must ever form the main objects of the theologian's study, the spring of his inspiration, the source of his teaching. Other ignorances of his may be deplorable; but ignorance of these is simply disqualifying. The languages in which they were written, the origin of their constituent books, the history of their text, the comparison of their versions, the interpretation of their contents, have been treated so copiously since the Reformation, as to create a vast apparatus of sacred learning, itself the material of no little subsidiary scholarship; but the topics are worthy of it all. True, the keenness and minuteness of biblical research may have arisen from a too narrow and rigorous conception of the Word of God,—from an acceptance of the Scriptures as throughout a kind of divine legal instrument, which criticism had only to construe and piety to obey. If so, however, it needs a still larger and more searching erudition to undo the effects of this error, and to resolve the false documentary monotony into the variegated lights, divine and human, the distinctive colourings of person, place and time, that make the difference felt between the dead letter of a bequest and the living spirit of a sacred history. In truth, the genuine grounds of theological defence for biblical learning are far stronger than any fiction of which they take the place. If in the Scriptures we had one uniform charter, any part of which might be used in explanation of any other, its meaning would open to the key of a simply grammatical and textual criticism, and the scholarly divine would be a mere competent translator and annotator. But if the interest of the writings consists in this, that while they constitute a purely human literature, they tell the story, and confess the sins, and breathe the devotion, of a people most susceptible of the prophetic inspiration and most conscious of their divine Guide,—that, further, they present to us, as the consummate flower of this growing

Digitized by Google

and refining life, the transcendent personality of Jesus, in whom the power of the Spirit took up humanity entirely and shewed it to be immortal, yet draw this picture with touches various and rude, not in its absolute reality, but in its relative impression upon differing and wondering minds;—then, although the essence of their truth may speak for itself to the sound in reason and the pure in heart, yet rightly to disengage it from its envelopments, without either giving them its authority or throwing them away, is a work far beyond the reach of the mere grammarian and translator,—a work of historical reconstruction, in which there is use for the amplest materials of learning, commanded by force of imagination and cultivated sympathy. The large combinations of modern historical criticism bring with them, no doubt, their speculative temptations; but no one can doubt that they are the fruit of not less erudition and of greater genius than the annotative scholarship of rigid schools and of an earlier time.

It only remains for me, in conclusion, to recite,—as I do with heartfelt satisfaction, — the creditable results to the students under our care, of the last award of class distinctions in University College. In the senior Greek class, the first prize was gained by Mr. Joseph Estlin Carpenter; while Mr. J. Edwin Odgers received the third certificate, Mr. John S. Ainsworth the sixth: and in the junior Greek class, the fourth certificate was awarded to Mr. Philip H. Wicksteed. In the senior Latin, Mr. J. Edwin Odgers obtained the first prize; the fifth certificate was doubly awarded to two equal competitors, both of whom it is a pleasure to mention in such association, Mr. Lindsey M. Aspland and Mr. J. Estlin Carpenter; and similarly the eighth certificate was given twice, in fraternal partnership to Mr. David Ainsworth and Mr. John S. Ainsworth, sons of the President of Manchester New College; the tenth to Mr. R. Acland Armstrong: while in the junior Latin, Mr. P. H. Wicksteed received the fourth certificate. In the lower senior Mathematics, the prize was awarded to Mr. J. Estlin Carpenter; the sixth certificate to Mr. John S. Ainsworth. In the higher junior Mathematics, Mr. Richard A. Armstrong and Mr. P. H. Wicksteed both received a fifth certificate: and in the lower junior, Mr. Alexander M'Giffin received a third certificate. In Professor Masson's English Literature class, an extra certificate was awarded to Mr. Richard A. Armstrong. And in Professor Beesly's Ancient History class, Mr. J. E. Odgers received the prize. If anything is needed to complete our gratification at these instances of recognized diligence and success, we have it on finding that they stand side by side in a list of honours which includes the names of Busk, Venning, Kitson, Schwabe, Darbishire, Greg and Osler. May this association in the generous emulations of the academic class-room be the augury of a future fellowship in all that is manly, honourable and true, on the larger field of civil and ecclesiastic life!

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Exodus i. 8: "And there arose a new king over Lower Egypt, who knew not Joseph."

The word Mitzraim very rarely, indeed never, except perhaps in the later books, includes both Upper and Lower Egypt. The two people had up to the time of Moses been two nations, unlike in much of their religion and in many of their customs, and speaking dialects which were by no means the same. When the whole of Egypt is spoken of, the two countries are both named; thus Jeremiah calls them Mitzraim and Pathros, chap. xliv. 15: "all the people that dwelt in the land of Mitzraim [or Lower Egypt] and in Pathros [or Upper Egypt]."

This correction should, I conceive, be made in every passage in the Old Testament.

Exodus xiv. 7: "And he took six hundred chosen chariots, and all the chariots of Lower Egypt, and three men in each;" or more literally, "a third fighting man in each."

The Egyptian sculptures on the walls of their temples shew us sometimes two and sometimes three men in each of the war-chariots. When there are three, one holds the reins, one holds a shield, and one strikes with a spear. As the king had six hundred chariots, which did not belong to Lower Egypt, we may suppose that he brought them from Upper Egypt, as the two countries were at this time under one monarch.

Genesis xliii. 11: "Carry down to the man a present, a little balsam, and a little sweetmeat, spices and ladanum, nuts and almonds."

The sweetmeat of preserved grapes is even at the present time called by the same name, dibish, as it was when Jacob sent it to Pharaoh. The honey of the Authorized Version would have been no rarity in Egypt.

Genesis xxxvii. 3: "For Israel loved Joseph more than all his children, because he was the son of his old age; and he made him a coat with long sleeves."

Such, according to our best scholars, should be the rendering, in the place of the Authorized "coat of many colours."

Genesis xlix. 10: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until he come to Shiloh; and to him shall the people be obedient."

The town of Shiloh had been the priestly capital before the Israelites had gained possession of Jerusalem. The Authorized Version has, "until Shiloh come," making Shiloh into a person. The preposition "to" is wanting in the Hebrew, and hence the

Digitized by Google

difficulty. But it may be explained by a second passage, in which the Authorized Version equally needs correction. In Ezekiel xxix. 10, Egypt is described as reaching "from Migdol to Syene, even to the borders of Ethiopia." Here, as above, the preposition "to" is wanting in the Hebrew, and hence the Authorized writes, "from the tower of Syene." But in both places the absent preposition may and ought to be supplied. It is a single vowel, postfixed to the name of the place, but here omitted because the names of these two places both end with that very vowel.

Numbers xxxiv. 5: "And the boundary shall turn from Azmon unto the Nile of Egypt, and its termination shall be at the sea."

In opposing this rendering, our critics remark, 1st, that the Hebrew word Nile means a valley, a torrent, a small brook, and not a large river, and therefore it cannot mean the river Nile, which in other places in the Bible is called the Sihor; and, 2ndly, that the boundary of Judea did not reach to the Nile, but only to a small brook or torrent in the desert, dry in hot weather. In answer to these objections, I remark, that the Hebrew knowledge of the river Nile was very much confined to the Pelusiac branch, which was a very shallow, unimportant stream,—that that branch might very naturally have had a name for itself, which would of course be a word denoting a smaller river than either the Sihor or the Euphrates. I further remark that the Jewish power did sometimes reach to the Pelusiac stream. In 1 Sam. xv., Saul conquers the Amalekites, and is master of the intermediate country between Judea and Egypt, up to the very walls of Pelusium or Shur. Hence it was perfectly natural that the Jews should at all times claim to be masters of the desert belonging to the Amalekites, and to have the Pelusiac stream as the boundary of their kingdom. No name could be given to this shallow branch more suitable than the Nile, or *stream*, of Lower Egypt. Hence I would in every place use the Hebrew words, "the Nile of Egypt," when the stream at the boundary of Judea is spoken of, and utterly reject the notion of our geographers that an unknown torrent in the desert was meant by those words.

Exodus xxxiv. 6, 7: "A God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, but abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands; bearing with iniquity and transgression and sin, but by no means wholly forgiving, visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, to the third and to the fourth generation."

The Authorized Version has, "forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin," which makes nonsense of what follows, and does violence to the Hebrew. The only words of any difficulty are in the Hebrew, "when forgiving not forgiving," which the

Digitized by Google

Authorized renders, "that will by no means clear *the guilty*," but which I would render, "by no means wholly forgiving."

Numbers xxiv. 21: "Strong is thy dwelling-place, and thou puttest thy nest in the Rock [Selah or Petra]; nevertheless the Kenite shall be destroyed."

When these lines were written, the rock-city of Petra was held by the Kenites. It is here, and in many other places, only by a double translation that the full meaning of the original can be shewn.

Deut. vi. 4: "Hear, O Israel, Jehovah is our God, Jehovah alone."

The Authorized Version follows the LXX. in saying, "our God is one Lord," meaning an undivided Lord. But it was only in very late days that any such refinements as plurality in unity had entered into the minds of theologians. The words in Deuteronomy were meant to contradict polytheism, but not the later notions of the Ogdoad, or the Trinity.

Numbers xxxiii. 7, 8: "And they removed from Etham, and stopped at the Bay of Hahiroth which is before Baal-zephon, and they encamped before Migdol. And they removed from Hahiroth, and passed through the midst of the sea into the desert."

The town of Hahiroth is the Heroopolis of the Roman Itinerary, and it gave its name to the bay at the western head of the Red Sea. In Leviticus xxv. 18, the same words are correctly translated *dwell in*, which we render *stopped at*. The Hebrew gives no support to the "*turned again to* Pi-hahiroth" of the Authorized Version, which would make the fugitives almost turn back, or at least turn a second time.

S. S.

SIR JOHN BOWRING ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN HOLLAND.

THE position of religious inquiry in Holland is characteristic of the age. Theological discussion of a very decided and sometimes of an intemperate character has succeeded to a long-during indifference. The Groningen school, as it is called, whose opinions are nearly allied to those of English Unitarians, took the lead in a controversy which now agitates most of the Dutch churches. There is a singular habit in the great cities of the Netherlands. On Saturdays a list is circulated of the names and subjects of the sermons of all the preachers who are to occupy the different pulpits on the following day; and as they are not necessarily located in a particular church, the congregations constantly vary, but at the same time their greater or less number represents the greater or less popularity of the minister. At

Digitized by Google

Amsterdam I went to the most crowded of the churches; and but for the circumstance of being in the company of a member of the States' Council, to whom the higher seats or tribunes are reserved, it would have been difficult to make our way through the immense crowd of listeners who occupied every seat, and in fact left no standing-room in the aisles or entries. This preacher (Mr. L.) keeps wholly aloof from the bitter disputations of the day. He is eloquent even to passion, and produced so strong an effect on the audience—he so obviously moved and agitated them—that I almost expected the solemn silence would have been succeeded by an explosive *Bravo!* The sermon was altogether of a practical character. The text was, "Thou shalt not steal." He drew some touching pictures of the first seductions by which youth is led astray. He pleaded for pity, for charity, towards the unfortunate whom want and woe have tempted into crime. He conducted us to the prison and the judgment-seat, to the privations of good, to the presence of evil, to the pains and penalties which the law-breakers bring upon themselves, and all the distress and disorder which accompany a career of guilt. And then he dealt with the more exalted criminals who escape the castigation of the judge and the control of the legislator. He drew a succession of pictures of sinners of omission and commission, and at the end of every life-portrait exclaimed, "And he too is a thief!" The prodigal, the miser, the promise-breaker, the drunkard, the egotist, the idler, the hypocrite, the perjurer, the pharisee, the persecutor—each, every one, "a thief," robbing himself, robbing society, of that which he had no right to steal. He had been invited to several of the principal cities of Holland, and on coming to Amsterdam he declared that he would not involve himself in the vexed questions which disturbed the peace of the church. "I find men," he said, "struggling in doubts and in darkness; the less clearly they see their way, the more they are entangled in mists and mysteries, the more angry they become with one another. Into such obscurity I do not mean to guide you. You must come with me into the bright sunshine and into the fresh air. You must walk about with untrammelled limbs and admire what is beautiful and divine." The preaching was made more interesting by the baptism in the middle of the service of no less than twenty-five children, whose parents were addressed from the pulpit, whence the preacher descended to perform the ceremony by sprinkling each of the infants in turn.

In the morning I had heard a specimen of ordinary orthodox intolerance, in the genuine spirit of the Athanasian Creed. Damnation upon damnation for all unbelievers—"washing in blood," or inevitable everlasting agonies—worthlessness of works —*faith* the only ground of salvation.

I found that Dr. Channing's writings have made a deep impression upon the Hollanders. The translation of them is excellent,

Digitized by Google

and Channing's language is rendered into most emphatic Dutch. Theodore Parker is also well known, much studied and much admired.

The Theistic, or, as it is here called, the School of the New Theology, has now many avowed advocates. The truth of the miracles, alike of the New and the Old Testament, is doubted, impugned and openly denied in some of the Dutch churches. The opposition to free discussion, I am sorry to say, often takes a most uncharitable and unchristian form. The head of orthodoxy was till his death a converted Jew, Da Costa; but now Groen van Prensteren, who was the Secretary of King William the First, stands forth as the acknowledged leader of the High Evangelical party. At some future time I hope to give you an account of the more remarkable books which exhibit the present state of religious opinion in the Low Countries.

The Hague, Oct. 17, 1862.

VISIT TO AMSTERDAM. By LADY BOWRING.

Of Amsterdam, strange pictures haunt my mind;
And ever present to my inward sight,
I view canals o'erhung with houses quaint,
Windmills and lofty buildings interspersed,
And locks and bridges spanning yellow floods,
While busy life hums in the barge and street.
Anon I dream of gardens—beasts and birds
From foreign climes, how varied and how grand!
But human interests hold still deeper sway.
Joyful I learn that kindly hearts here beat,
That friendly hands are stretched to raise, to guide,
The poor and lowly in God's heavenly way;
That babes through flowery paths are led to taste
The pleasures that the tree of knowledge yields.
Twelve hundred happy faces,* what a sight!
The blended voices which harmonious swelled,
Singing in measured cadence stranger words,
Touched deep our sympathies. For kindred souls,
Breathing in unison from various lands,
Oft utter forth a sound that overpowers
The forms of speech which differing nations use,
And mount in prayerful chorus to the skies.
Oh! may the intercourse of coming years
Such generous beings to one spirit mould,
And so their thoughts and hopes and business blend,
That each to each be counsellor and friend!

The Hague, Oct. 14, 1862.

* In one of the schools we visited there were more than that number of children.

Digitized by Google

CORRESPONDENCE.

A CRY FOR HELP FROM DUKINFIELD.

SIR,

I AM happy to inform you that your kind notice of our suffering township in the October No. has produced very satisfactory results. You will see from the appended list that I have received some very generous donations of money and valuable parcels of materials and clothing. Nearly £50 of the money has been expended in clogs and boots, enabling many house-bound young women to attend the sewing classes, and many lads to resume their places in the schools.

I stated in my last that Dukinfield was worse off than the neighbouring districts. Our population, I stated, was 16,000, of whom rather more than 6000 were usually employed in the various works and in coal-mines. To these must be added a great many families out of work residing with us and dependent upon us, but really belonging to neighbouring places. In prosperous times the colliers of Dukinfield number more than 1200; of these, 350 are now on tramp in search of work, and have left their families dependent upon charity. Of these 6000 working in Dukinfield, 610 only are fully employed, 1765 are working short time, and the greater proportion of these will have in a week or two to be added to the sad list of "out of work." When this is accomplished, the loss of industrial earnings will not be less than between £3000 and £4000 weekly. The Guardians are by no means lavish, giving 13¼*d.* weekly to each applicant. Our Relief Committee and private charities furnish about £290.

Compare this with Hyde, our immediate neighbour. It has a population of rather more than 17,000, of whom 1030 are working full time. It has several hundreds less than Dukinfield out of work, and they distribute weekly through their Relief Committee and from private sources more than £600.

With our immediate neighbours Ashton and Stalybridge we compare still more unfavourably in our labour list; but not having the figures at hand, I abstain from enumeration. Our Savings' Bank at the Post-office, Stalybridge, began its financial year 1860 with an increase of deposits of more than £10,000 over the preceding year; it will close this year with a diminished balance of £20,000.

Our poor's-rate, according to our present expenditure, is going on at not less than 10*s.* 6*d.* in the pound, and must of necessity increase. The Manchester Committee distribute their funds on a scheme based on the amount of local subscriptions, and we are only entitled, according to their calculations, to £350 per month. I should, however, state that, at our urgent solicitations, they granted us £500 at their last sitting. Thanks to the Lord Mayor, we have not yet been obliged to turn a deaf ear to destitute applicants; but we shall next week be expending at the rate of £1000 per month, and we cannot at present see the source of supply. The purchase of clothing by the recipients of two shillings or half-a-crown a week (and many have less) is of course out of the question. The winter is approaching, and we shall need all that our friends at a distance can supply to us. You, Sir, from your knowledge of this district, are aware of the high respectability and proud indepen-

Digitized by Google

dence of the overlookers in the factories. You know how liberally they contribute in ordinary times in support of religious and educational institutions; and it would have grieved you to see this week not a few of this class applying for clogs. We are very fortunate in having at the head of our police an officer of a very humane disposition. Knowing nearly everybody, Sergeant Buckley is enabled to send me the names of the most deserving and distressed. The most deserving and most distressed shut themselves up in their comfortless homes and have to be sought out. The indefatigable labours of Sergeant Buckley are peculiarly beneficial to this class, and save us from being victimised by hereditary paupers and the able-bodied vagabondage of the district. I have been enabled, through the kindness of a lady residing at a distance, to send six poor children to a school where they are provided with everything and instructed. I should like to mention this benevolent lady's name, but not having asked her permission I do not feel at liberty to publish it; but I may add that this is not the only mode in which she has afforded very material help to our suffering poor.

Before concluding, I may mention that we buy all our clogs in the village, and are enabled to obtain them at wholesale prices. Mr. Bass has given several hundred pairs of clogs, and distributes about twelve hundred weight of bread weekly. He is the life and soul of our Relief Committee. I regret to have to state that the Board of Guardians have, notwithstanding their implied promise to the contrary, struck off from their relief list the young women employed in sewing classes, and who receive half-a-crown for five days' work. Their Chairman has in vain urged them to conduct their business with an efficient staff. Their object seems to be to repel the poor, and to treat this exceptional calamity as ordinary pauperism, resulting from incapacity or misconduct.

I remain yours gratefully,

Dukinfield, Oct. 24, 1862. ALFRED ASPLAND.

List of Subscriptions and Donations.

R. K. Lumb, Esq., Cheltenham	£10	0	0
Mrs. Lumb	5	0	0
James Worthington, Esq., Manchester	5	0	0
Charles W. Potts, Esq., Chester	5	0	0
Michael Harris, Esq., Hackney	5	0	0
The Misses Yates, the Dingle, Liverpool	10	0	0
Collected by Mary and Eliza Kirby, Penton Place, London	0	3	9
Miss Thornton, Birmingham	1	0	0
William Brodhurst, Esq., the Friary, Newark	5	0	0
Captain Lee Jackson, Madras Army, per Miss Lee, Topsham	2	0	0
A. S. Aspland, Esq., Highbury	5	0	0
Samuel Sharpe, Esq., ditto	5	0	0
Mrs. Wallace, Evesham	1	0	0
The Miss Hampsons, ditto	5	0	0
A Friend, per R. D. Darbishire, Esq., Manchester	10	0	0
Mrs. Yorstoun, Allanton, Dumfries, per Robert Stuart, Esq.	50	0	0
Henry Ridge, Esq., Clapton	5	5	0
Miss Ridge	1	1	0
Mrs. Joseph Wright, Brighton	1	0	0
Mr. Edward Wright, London	1	0	0
William Johnston, Esq., Clapton	1	0	0
Mr. Charles Green, Hackney	1	0	0
Mr. Barrow and Family, ditto	1	0	0
Mr. Dean, Bow	0	8	0
Rev. R. Brook Aspland	5	0	0

Digitized by Google

Jesse Middleton, Esq., Burton Crescent £5 0 0
Miss S. E. Thornton, the Elms, Camp Hill, Birmingham 0 10 0
Rev. J. C. W. Ellis, M.A., Sidney College, Cambridge 1 0 0

Parcels of Clothing and Materials from the undermentioned.

The Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P., Rostherne Hall, Knutsford, a 2nd donation.
Rev. J. H. Ryland, Bradford.
Mrs. Harris, Darnley House, Hackney.
M. B., Dorsetshire.
Miss Lempriere, Brighton.
Mrs. Moseley, Leaton Hall, Stourbridge.
Miss M. Bowen, Stourbridge.
Mrs. James Heywood, Palace Gardens, Kensington.
Mrs. Troup, Essex Lodge, Clapton, a large box and a parcel of new materials and of clothing.
Mr. Beeton, Hackney, a parcel of 41 articles of clothing.
Mrs. Ranne, St. John's Wood, a parcel of clothing and of new materials.
Mr. J. E. Clennell, Hackney, a parcel of clothing.
Mr. Dean, Bow, a parcel of clothing.
Mr. Dalby, Hackney, a parcel of clothing.
Mrs. Aspland, Hackney, a piece of new Welsh flannel.
Miss Ellen Pashley, some new flannel.
The Misses Nisbett, Hackney, a parcel of clothing.
Mr. Barrow, ditto.
Rev. R. B. Aspland, ditto.

Others are kindly promised and will be announced on a future occasion.

Parcels may be transmitted carriage free if sent to R. Maclure, Esq., Hon. Sec. Manchester Relief Committee. He will transmit them to their destination as indicated on a corner of the direction card. Mr. A. Aspland, of Dukinfield, will be glad to furnish printed direction labels if friends will apply to him.

THE DISTRESS IN DUKINFIELD.

Sir,

Will you allow me to say to the readers of the *Christian Reformer* that I shall be most thankful to receive money and clothing for the relief of the suffering poor of Dukinfield. I wish to make this announcement, in addition to the statement on the same subject contained in the last number of your Magazine, because I think that statement, standing alone, may be misunderstood. The poor with whom I am brought into contact consist chiefly of persons connected with my congregation and Sunday-schools, and I am very desirous to have the means of supplying their wants beyond what may be done by the common methods of relief. My congregation have already contributed funds and organized themselves for this purpose; but what has thus been done will only partially meet the existing necessity. The distribution of the money and goods which may be obtained in answer to the former application will be made quite independently of me. The gentleman whose address alone is given in connection with that application is not a member of my congregation, and ministers of religion have been hitherto excluded from the Committee he represents. My address is, *The Rev. John Gordon, Chapel Hill, Dukinfield, Ashton-under-Lyne.*

Dukinfield, Oct. 17, 1862. John Gordon.

Digitized by Google

HACKNEY NONCONFORMITY.

Sir,

Whether or not the mode adopted by the Unitarian body to shew respect for the Two Thousand Ejected Ministers meets with general approbation, may perhaps be a question. The list of subscriptions to the Bicentenary Fund augments but slowly; and we are still a long way off from realizing the £30,000 which one of our friends, through your excellent associate in dispensing religious information, the *Inquirer*, hinted, whether in joke or earnest I don't know, as being possible; nor has the liberal offer of Mr. Colfox, a tried friend of our cause, a worthy scion of a worthy sire, made a few weeks since through that journal, had as yet any response. This question, however, I am not going to discuss. But from the extracts from sermons delivered on this occasion, so far as I have seen them, I am very apprehensive that the principle of Nonconformity is not so carefully or forcibly enforced on our young people as its importance demands. Indeed, while we find professed Unitarians sending their children to Trinitarian colleges and seminaries, we can hardly suppose that the principle of Nonconformity is much regarded, using the term Nonconformist to signify the *sole authority of Christ in his church*. And as a matter of curiosity, even if for no higher object, I should like to be informed—which, Mr. Editor, perhaps I can be by some of your correspondents—whether any book professedly explaining this subject forms part of the religious instruction of our family or other school-rooms, or is much noticed or referred to in our Sunday-schools; for if not, I question whether the pulpit effusions, however much from their composition they may have graced our chapels, will produce any extensive or lasting impression.

This I have long feared; but my thoughts have been more particularly directed to the matter by the review in the last *Reformer* of the sermon delivered lately by Mr. Kirkus, the present minister of the Independent chapel in Mare Street, Hackney; the reviewer commencing his remarks by rather a startling apostrophe to the village of Hackney itself, styling it "Hackney, Evangelical Hackney." Now, Sir, this is my native village; and though through many scenes I've passed

> Since once in *Hackney's* shade
> With peace and plenty hand in hand I stray'd,

I well remember the noble, dauntless spirits, sound, persevering friends of civil and religious liberty, who upwards of seventy years ago resided in that village, and among these were Drs. Price and Priestley, not to notice stars of minor brilliancy with which the pulpit of the Old Gravel-Pit meeting-house was successively graced; nor do I envy the mind of that person who can read Dr. Price's sermon on the Love of Country without being fired with enthusiasm in the cause of freedom.

From your notice in the *Reformer* of Mr. Kirkus's sermon, it seems that the congregation assembling at the Gravel-Pit was an offset from the one in Mare Street, and thus that the chapel at St. Thomas's Square, at this day respectably filled, is the original Nonconforming place of worship erected at Hackney, or at least that it stands near the original site; and I rejoice to think that amidst a great Babel or confusion of tongues both in and out of the national Establishment at the present day, all claiming to be evangelical, these pulpits are so respectably filled as

Digitized by Google

they now are, and that one is apparently, from his just published discourse, a fit successor of the Rev. Samuel Palmer, who seventy years ago was pastor of the Mare-Street chapel, and who remains intimately connected with the question of Nonconformity, for though dead he yet speaketh, and nobly speaketh on this point, as the editor in the year 1774 of Dr. Calamy's Nonconformist Memorial, and as the author of the Dissenting Catechism, which now I scarcely ever hear referred to.

I readily admit that to keep these works, with Towgood's Letters to White, prominently before the public, may unfortunately tend to cause a ripple on the breast of conforming cousins or of episcopal divines, and the feeling apparently prevalent in the present day in our body to avoid this may be very laudable if not carried too far; but it is so, when "Truth is silent because Folly frowns;" and however excellent may be many of the moral and religious tracts circulated by our societies—and I am very far from having any inclination to depreciate these—they seem to me to be in a Christian sense defective, if unaccompanied with the habitual practical recollection that our Lord enjoined on his disciples to call no man master upon earth in reference to religious creeds and observances. The spirit of the first injunction of our great Master was, "Attend to me;" and this was enforced by the celestial direction, "Hear ye him." And involved as were the Two Thousand in religious darkness, they at length obtained light sufficient to enable them to appreciate mental freedom; and the importance of the subject has urged me to trouble you, Mr. Editor, with my crude ideas; and if any apology be needful for occupying space in your useful publication, which properly perhaps belongs to younger and more able correspondents, it is that Hackney, with the recollection of those who more than seventy years ago there fanned the flame of religious liberty, when Birmingham had its politico-religious fires and Priestley was driven to America, gives warmth to my cold blood, and, raising me from a state of perfect senile apathy, renders me inclined to adopt Nelson's words to Collingwood, "I am not dead yet," and thus still able to wish success to your *Reformer*.

Chichester, Oct. 11, 1862. JOHN FULLAGAR.

A LAY LOOK UPON '62.

SIR,

ERE the '62 of this century is closed, perhaps one of its aspects, as viewed by one of the laity, may not be out of season in the way of "Bicentenary" note and comment.

Laymen, in private liberal intercourse on such occasions, often have an ill-defined, half-conscious sense of interest in a valuable something to which they feel bound to lend their attention, give their money, and pay their theological respects. But a Bicentenary is regarded rather as a case for clergy than a case for laity. Is this well? Allusions to particular persons or performances, in any such matter as that to which I beg to advert, would not be inviting and might become invidious. Nor is any censorious imputation intended against either preachers or people amongst Unitarians and Free Christians and other liberals. Referring then in general terms to the ecclesiastical and spiritual uses of the Bicentenary, which have been well and truly heeded in pulpit and

Digitized by Google

in pew, I respectfully suggest that the glorious theme has not been made, I will not say "popular," but *laical* enough. It were surely wholesome that it be felt less clerical and technical, more fitted for "the people to hear gladly," and to rehearse *at home* as an impressive lesson for the hearth and heart even more than for the church and the intellect, touching *what is* CÆSAR'S, *what is* GOD'S. Let there not be even the shadow of a derogation from the official or personal dignity of the reverend brotherhood of which you are so well-known and worthy a member. Yet am I jealous for the rights and claims and duties of that much larger brotherhood named *laymen;* nor can I consent to ignore the other sex, especially in questions of morals and religion.

No stint of honour, now or at any time, to "the glorious Two Thousand." But—may I dare beseech the justice and mercy of clergy?—no monopoly of merit neither! Granting every safeguard to the proper claims and influence of clergy, we are ALL bound by faith and truth, even as servants of the same Lord, to beware of allowing any, how excellent soever of the earth, to be caressed as keepers of Christian consciences. To his own Master let every one, layman or clergyman, stand or fall; and let each sort cordially remind the other that "his own Master" is Jesus the Christ. In this memento is the very germ and life of conscientious Dissent, of reasonable Nonconformity. It is not that Dissent has in itself any merit or propriety; least of all if it be a mere cuckoo-cry when one set of birds has usurped or naturally availed itself of the occupancy of another's nest. The groundwork of all action taken must be discriminated, and by no means must be ascribed to an *order* of men, however good and true, but set forth as the necessary moral tenure of men, women and children competent to "witness a good confession." Regardless of some such steadfast precaution, of this or the like eternal *principle* of evangelical freedom, we are sure to find the liberty in Christ growing weak and small; and then—yea, even in the midst of liberal Protestant Nonconformity—the ever insidious disease of Popery infecting (not perhaps in name and in form, but in effect and in essence) the healthful organization and fine sensibilities of what were and should yet be free members of the spiritual body of Christ.

For every man of the 2000, I presume we may fairly reckon an average of 100 "good men and true," besides worthy women and obedient children, who flocked after the preacher and "sat under" his ministry. Without the conscientious, pious, attached *laity*, where and what would have been the clergyman? The welcome sentiment ("toast" it used to be in days of more drinking usage), "The glorious Two Thousand," I would strenuously reinforce by "one cheer more" for each of the two 0's. Yes, albeit male and female hearers be represented by but two *ciphers*, yet, placed as they should be on the right side, they make the 2000 worth one hundred times as much as the worthy preachers could have been without these superadded 0's.

Now I trust you will pardon a freeborn layman for uttering the perhaps unwelcome opinion that scant respect towards the *laical* element in liberal Protestantism is not among the lowest or darkest reasons why the Bicentenary commemoration has gone off unsatisfactorily. And who can for a moment dare speak, write or look as if '62 was going off as one had hoped?

Among the self-styled "Orthodox," who, whether men of dissent or

Digitized by Google

of assent and consent, subscribe more or less to articled creeds and formularies of faith, a murmur of "Amen" from the laity, or from the laymen in the pews and seats, may serve the purposes of *their* pulpits. Parliaments, convocations, synods, or other juntas clerical, may win from submissive mouths a dependent concurrence in the *dicta* authorized by the cloth, the closet or the cloister. Even among such (let us thank God for this) there are now many well-called *independent* "Independents," both lay and cleric, who decline to say "Amen" to what is prayed or preached in phraseology which to them sounds as "an unknown tongue." But never yet has divinity by deputy sufficed (Heaven grant it never may suffice!) for *heterodox* Nonconformity. Genuine Dissent of this type respectfully but uncompromisingly merges clergy into laity and both into liberty, according to the gospel of God.

Can we well doubt that the moral force and social influence, both religious and political, "out of all proportion to their numbers," which a Quarterly reviewer has recently conceded to the possession of Unitarians, is attributable to that freeborn individuality of mental character which, not slightly respecting the like in others, will not brook even the shadow or the odour of spiritual thraldom? *Their* men, women and clergy are FREE. In a day such as this, when even the *Times*, in the course of an almost jocular article on Archbishops, can aver that a Primate, "so far from being able to establish any Article of Faith, is obliged to accept the interpretation of the Articles as given by a lay Judge," it is but timely and wise that Christians who are bishopless but not faithless beware of any assumption of interpretative official power. The very appearance of such priestcraft or creedcraft is to be religiously avoided, alike by clergy and by laity, amongst all who fondly echo those words of the holy Paul, "After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers." Obviously it comports more than usual with the spirit of the age, in unison thus with the letter and the spirit of the gospel, that a temper and tendency be clerically shewn and laically recognized and cordially reciprocated, which, whatever be the "diversities of gifts," shall lend no countenance to that "Stand by, I am holier than thou," which manner speaks as loudly as matter.

Throughout ecclesiastical history there are weighty as well as numerous proofs that Christian life has been buoyant, biblical interpretation has been sound and clear, churches, congregations, communions, variously stamped with "the name of Christ," have got and kept spiritual force in the ratio of the *laical* energy within them. Come what will to popes, archbishops, priests, deacons, and all other clergy, let not the laity be lacking or losing in active zeal according to knowledge, or, let both church and world rely upon it, as Christianity's lesson, we shall be "ever learning and never coming to a knowledge of the truth." Some of the most stanch, stirring and stalwart *saints*, deserving well the name, in I know not how many churches, have been laymen, and when becoming "divines" have retained deep and large in their faithful hearts, even as did He of Nazareth, love for *lay* humanity. Cornelius the centurion, probably also Apollos the eloquent, with other early devotees to the divine doctrine of the New Testament, were but the prototypes of names out of number that have (as it were) culminated upon a long and high Christian series, in such laymen of light and love as Locke, Milton, and the like in this and other lands and other times.

Digitized by Google

Invariably, as is the freedom of opinion and inquiry, with the sacred sense of equal future accountability, found to prevail in a denomination, so is the line of demarcation between clergy and laity less sharply defined and less palpably definable, till all trace of it is lost in the Leader of all laymen, the Lord Jesus Christ.

Inversely, as is the supineness of the laity and the self-sufficiency of clergy, so is the line drawn black and broad between orders and classes, inquiry dull or dead, freedom forfeited, right and duty neglected, and Christ crucified afresh.

Were I competent to make it, my appeal would be, not unto clergymen to do less than they so well do among heretical Christians, but unto laymen and women to do more in the cause of free study, free thought, free speech, free work. Doubtless one influence which largely draws persons of liberal and genial spirit into the Church established by law is, that it leaves the laity so unmolested in matters of opinion, how strict or lax soever it may be upon the consciences of its own clergy. But heterodox Protestant Dissent is not to rest contented with a negative and inert freedom from control in such matters; it necessitates positive and active personal assertion of conscientious liberty for self and for society; it makes not its profession by proxy; neither does it subscribe to the *dicta* of any divines, be they as heretically heterodox as they may.

Now this manly, natural, wholesome condition of spiritual affairs will continue only just so long as lay Nonconformists bestir themselves to co-operate in head and heart with their clerical brethren—especially so amongst Unitarians.

At such a conjuncture as the present, it cannot be irrelevant to glance at those mutations in student life and collegiate intercourse which, inevitable as they are, yet must unavoidably lessen the youthful attachments of lay and divine. Nor can this influence stop short in youth; it must go on through adult years. May we not fairly question whether such college life as we enjoyed at York was not a most healthful agency for friendships, free from caste and full of common aims in liberal education, which is weak or void amongst us now?

Regretful as we may be for the past, it is thoroughly refreshing to hear that our Alma Mater numbers at present some few who, without entering as divines, like to make theologic lore and free religious culture more their own. This augurs well for layman and for clerk in heterodox churches; and, through them, in others also. From such a "nursery of men for future years" may spring perhaps many a Hopton Haynes, Edgar Taylor, Samuel Sharpe, and other accomplished lay student in the things of divinity.

But it is not simply for the sake of religious disenthralment, it is no less for just appreciation of *political* freedom, that the laity should make the principles of Christian *heresy* well understood. I use the term as expressive of just liberty and something more; not merely licence *to* choose, but free choice conscientiously made. And this, alike an obligation and a prerogative, is quite as much laical as clerical in the sight of God; or rather it but ill bears either epithet in the faith of Christ. As a Christian citizen, a Christian subject, I must make or take my choice, my "heresy," among freely conflicting opinions. Yet, again, as a Protestant Nonconformist I may often find myself dissenting from

Digitized by Google

others (whether Dissenters or Conformists) as to the ground and extent of heretical protest and separation.

And herein are no small nor cold thanks due to Nonconformist clergy, both heterodox and orthodox (though by no means to all alike), for dissipating, by their lucid and effective discourses, certain old fallacies regarding 1662. Perhaps yourself and other divines would be hard to believe how needed was and is the historical reminder that the 2000 were not all heterodox, and not all Nonconformists of the type of 1862; nay, that some were even, in religious principle, Conformists; the objections of their minds and hearts being not against subscription to articles of belief established by civil law, but to those especial articles framed in Charles's Act of Uniformity. Indubitably also there were many of the glorious confessors who based their dissent and non-subscription upon the broad principle of the gospel, that NO human authority should be allowed to dictate in the matters of religious faith and worship incumbent upon disciples of Jesus Christ. And on this ground some would then, as yet more should now, refuse to subscribe assent and consent (though they *felt* these), purely because they would not let Cæsar claim to have rendered unto him the things which are always to be rendered unto GOD only. With every stanchest friend of religious freedom, it was not (and may it never be!) enough that they set not their seal, lent not their name, *to a lie*. No; their sense of right and truth went beyond this; yea, even although they held as God's truth all the creed or creeds to which they were bidden subscribe, yet would they not do so. And why? Because no secular power or state policy in Christendom is authorized or competent to lay burdens upon consciences, or dictate declarations of belief and homage towards Him who is Spirit and is to be worshiped (not only not falsely, but also not by signed words) in spirit as well as in truth. Always add to this, that He is to be so worshiped and believed not more by clergy than by laity, not less by women than by men. Never may the spiritual stock fail, in whose lists are found a Mrs. Barbauld, a Lady Hewley, a Joanna Baillie, a Miss Middleton, a Mrs. Humble, and others not a few, whose labours of love and mental accomplishments must ever win admiring gratitude, if not untiring imitation, from both sexes in all sects; while they stir up energetic emulation in men, both lay and clerical!

Be supreme civil power as it may at Rome and in Russia, yet in England it is constitutionally and essentially *laical*. Nor let our eyes be closed to the religious influences in faith and in practice at all times, and markedly at this time, emanating from England's highest. Like the earliest English Christian king, the present Sovereign would never, we may be sure, wish to command or coerce any conscience into assent, consent or dissent. Thus at least I "cast one longing, lingering look behind" on A.D. '62.

Highbury New Park, Oct. 5, 1862. S. C. FREEMAN.

Digitized by Google

CRITICAL NOTICES.

The Edinburgh Review. No. 236.
The Quarterly Review. No. 224.

We may well admire the variety of topics discussed by the leading English periodicals, and the general excellence, literary and moral, by which they are characterized. However few and uninteresting the books published during the season (and the present season has been, we believe, alike unsatisfactory to the public and unprofitable to the trade), the Reviews continue to give essays on all conceivable subjects, many of them the produce of the wisdom or the wit of the best thinkers of the age. It may be matter of regret that so much power is expended on compositions which not often exceed a life of three months' duration. But the fact of such a continuous literary stream is certainly proof of the copious civilisation of our times. The two most venerable of our Quarterlies, the *Edinburgh* and the *Quarterly*, have in their present issue some common topics. The American struggle forms in each periodical the closing article. Though different in structure, both articles agree in spirit, and reflect the common sentiment of Englishmen upon this unnatural and wicked war.

"War of any kind," says the *Quarterly*, "is only excusable when it is waged with a tolerable likelihood of success. A war for a reconstruction of the Union bore failure upon its face. * * * To compel the Southerners to return as willing citizens and take their part as of old in the political mechanism of the Republic, was an undertaking beyond the power of the highest genius and the mightiest armies. It was impossible for Englishmen to sympathize in a war which could have no end but desolation. And it was impossible for the keenest friend of the Federals not to mark how the war grew in horror as it progressed, and developed more and more the character of a mere war of revenge."—P. 537.

After alluding to the atrocities of Federal power at Athens, New Orleans, &c., the reviewer adds,—

"All these things fell lightly on the ears of the Federals themselves, but they have sunk deep into the hearts of Englishmen. We must have bidden farewell to every feeling both of humanity and honour before we can sympathize with a war of this kind, or with the men who wage it."—P. 537.

The reviewer mildly and cautiously pleads for European intervention to stop the horrors of the brutal war, and to give the Federals "an honourable plea for retreating from a contest from which they will assuredly never be extricated by success." The *Edinburgh* reviewer writes more dispassionately, but agrees in the opinion the restoration of the Union is now only possible under Jefferson Davis, not under Lincoln. He considers the proclamation by Lincoln of September 22 a blunder, aggravating political differences and not improving the prospects of abolition. In meeting the objection that Englishmen must not allow their sympathies in relation to the war to be influenced by their national interests, the reviewer pens these weighty sentences:

"We do not deny the obligations of national morality. We fully admit that every people is responsible for its acts, and for the way in which it exercises its influence over others. A violation of national faith, or a wanton provocation of the greatest of all evils—war—is never committed with impunity.

Digitized by Google

As it is, however, with private, so it is with public, morality; the providence of God has ordained, that the real prosperity of nations, as of individuals, and the good government of the civilised world, should be worked out by the action of each seeking, within certain limits, that which is for his own interest. When a nation oversteps those limits there is a Nemesis waiting patiently to avenge the crime—a Nemesis not the less sure because the retribution is not always undergone by the generation which committed the offence nor understood by those on whom it falls. What is the meaning of the instinct of patriotism and the love of one's own country, except that men, in dealing with other nations, should keep steadily in view the welfare of their own? On no other principle can a state maintain its place in the civilised world, and on no other principle do we assign honours and rewards to our statesmen and our soldiers. On no other principle, certainly, can the prolonged war of the North against the South be for a moment defended."—P. 593.

He comes to the conclusion that while no moral influence hinders the recognition of the Southern States by England, such a recognition would at the present moment "effect very little, and might cause to England evils greater than those which it would remove." He therefore endorses the policy of Lord Palmerston's Government in relation to the war as the best under the embarrassing circumstances of the case.

On one other subject the two Reviews have each their article, the great religious questions which have been opened by the Essays and Reviews' controversy. The *Edinburgh* writes very calmly on "the Supernatural." The reviewer considers that much of the difficulty on this subject has arisen from "obscure thought and confused language." He disapproves of the ordinary definition of miracle as that which is a violation of natural law. He thinks that a larger view of the subject may accept miracle as coming within the pale of providential law. The spirit of the article well appears in one of its closing paragraphs:

"Assuredly, whatever may be the difficulties of Christianity, *this* is not one of them,—that it calls on us to believe in any exception to the universal prevalence and power of Law. Its leading facts and doctrines are directly connected with this belief, and directly suggestive of it. The Divine mission of Christ on earth—does not this imply not only the use of means to an end, but some inscrutable necessity that certain means, and these only, should be employed in resisting and overcoming evil? What else is the import of so many passages of Scripture implying that certain conditions were required to bring the Saviour of Man into a given relation with the race He was sent to save? 'It behoved Him ..... to make the Captain of our Salvation perfect through suffering.' 'It behoved Him in all things to be made like unto His brethren, *that He might be*,' &c.—with the reason added: 'for *in that* He himself hath suffered being tempted, *He is able* to succour them that are tempted.' Whatever *more* there may be in such passages, they all imply the universal reign of law in the moral and spiritual, as well as in the material world: that those laws had to be—behoved to be—obeyed; and that the results to be obtained are brought about by the adaptation of means to an end, or, as it were, by way of natural consequence from the instrumentality employed. This, however, is an idea which systematic theology is very apt to regard with intense suspicion, though, in fact, all theologies involve it, and build upon it. But then they are very apt to give explanations of that instrumentality which have no counterpart in the material or in the moral world. Perhaps it is not too much to say that the manifest decay which so many creeds and confessions are now suffering, arises mainly from the degree in which at least the popular expositions of them dissociate the doctrines of Christianity from the analogy and course of nature. There is no such severance in Scripture—no shyness of illustrating Divine things by reference to the 'natural.' On the contrary,

Digitized by Google

we are perpetually reminded that the laws of the spiritual world are in the highest sense laws of nature, whose obligation, operation, and effect are all in the constitution and course of things."—Pp. 396, 397.

The article in the *Quarterly* is penned in the narrow and alarmist spirit of that against Essays and Reviews which appeared in the *Quarterly* in January, 1861. The reviewer takes to himself the credit of "waking up the slumbering garrison to the coming assault." Is, then, the Church, of which the reviewer makes some boasting statements, only "a slumbering garrison"? But, if we remember aright, a somewhat different history might be written of the genesis of the Essays and Reviews' controversy, and it was rather the pointed sarcasm of the *Westminster Review* than the coarse and dull invective of the *Quarterly* that roused public attention. The reviewer, writing as a sturdy Churchman, affects a jubilant tone on the position of the Church in relation to the heretical men who have disturbed the peace of Israel. He is comforted by the unanimous condemnation of their heresy by the Bench of Bishops, by the 10,000 clergymen who addressed a memorial to the late Archbishop of Canterbury; but especially is he comforted, at least so he professes, by the judgment of the Dean of Arches. He thinks it impossible that Rowland Williams and Mr. Wilson can be allowed to hold their office of teachers in the Church without full retractation. We have the uncomfortable fear that they are disposed to retain their place in the Church, and that they will succeed in doing it without making any such retractation as would satisfy Churchmen of the spirit of the *Quarterly* reviewer.

"We do not affect," says he, "not to rejoice in this decision. There were those who doubted the wisdom of bringing these men to trial; we were never of the number. The mischief—we must repeat it—which their writings could do depended, in our judgment, neither on their ability, for it was little; nor their power, for it was faint; nor their learning, for it was shallow and pretentious; nor on their novelty, for it was stale;—but upon their position. The evil of the case was not that vain men should vent their vanity, but that clergymen of the United Church should be the permitted teachers of scepticism. The censure of authority alone could redress this evil, and by authority they have been censured. The uneasy feeling, widely prevalent and working mighty harm, which arose from the belief that our Church could censure no error, has been set at rest. The concurrent cases of Burder *v.* Heath, which, to his high honour, the Bishop of Winchester carried through the Court of Appeal, regardless, in his zeal for the truth of God, alike of expense and obloquy, and the two Essay cases which have followed in the Court of Arches, have distinctly established the disputed fact that our Church not only possesses a Canon of Truth to defend, but has the means of defending it practically within her power."—Pp. 493, 494.

The reviewer admits that some good Churchmen were startled by some of the principles laid down by the Dean of Arches; but he submits that they were "essentially sound, and such as alone could, in a Church connected with the nation and the State, combine the needful safeguards at once of truth and liberty." These are strange words to use in connection with the Church of England and Dr. Lushington's judgment. To talk of *truth*, when the Judge laid it down as a first principle of his judgment that the Court had nothing to do with the truth or falsehood of the articles impugned, but simply with their agreement with or divergence from the articles and symbols of the Church of England! To talk of *liberty* when speaking of a Church whose theory and practice are

Digitized by Google

to deny to its clergy the right of teaching a doctrine which impugns the established creed, however clearly established by the progress of discovery, and to compel them to continue to utter error exploded by some unmistakeable truth! Such talk reminds one of the liberty of which President Lincoln is now the guardian, and the love of truth which influenced the holy men who forced Galileo to repudiate his great scientific discovery! But, happy as the reviewer is in the present humiliation of his foes in the Court of Arches, he evidently thinks his Church yet needs new and advanced bulwarks against latitudinarian error, and he does not doubt that if the "existing formularies prove to be an insufficient barrier against the fretting scepticism which has sought to rear its head amongst a few of our 20,000 clergy, the honest and faithful indignation which has already so signally condemned these latest attempts of unbelief would, if need be, embody itself in Articles of Religion sufficiently clear to enable our Judges legally to condemn the new devices of the old enemy of the faith." The reviewer also congratulates himself that the Legislature has not deprived the Synods of the Church of England of the right to condemn heresy. There is a touch of candour and right feeling in the admission that "the Church has probably no right, and therefore no requirement, to proceed against the person of the offender." An heretical clergyman may be driven out of home and society, impoverished and starved, but he must not be flogged or thrown into prison! So long as fiery spirits like the Bishop of Exeter (not to mention his brother of Oxford) exist and influence the temper and opinions of many of the clergy, it is well that the Legislature has limited the penal jurisdiction of Church Synods. In his jubilation, the reviewer congratulates Churchmen on "the literary issues of the conflict, in the exposure it has made of the shallow, crude, half-learned ignorance of the masters of the new movement, and in the enduring additions to our standard theology of which it has been the cause." The literary world scarcely looks on the matter in this light. It is, we suppose, matter of general wonder that so little has been written on the great themes treated in Essays and Reviews that is worth present reading, or has a fair chance of having a place in the theological literature of England. That among the 10,000 clergymen who have denounced the heretical volume, not more than three or four have succeeded in producing a reply about which the reading public cares a straw, is a fact that must greatly perplex those simple-minded men and "orthodox" old ladies who believe with our reviewer that Dr. Temple and his coadjutors in Essays and Reviews are sciolists and charlatans whose heresy lacks even the poor recommendation of novelty!

Another article of considerable interest in the *Quarterly* relates to the Taeping rebellion in China. A long passage explanatory of the religion of this people we must reserve for use on another occasion.

The other articles in the *Edinburgh* are, on Solar Chemistry, a new branch of science, which by an original method of analysis has already made some very important discoveries, and promises greatly to extend our knowledge not only of the great central luminary, but of the fixed stars also; on the Herculanean Papyri; on the Mussulmans in Sicily; on the English in the Eastern Seas; on the Legend of St. Swithun; on Edward Irving's Life; on the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus; on Hops; and on Prince Eugene of Savoy. The popular English legend of St. Swithun's, of forty days of torrents of rain, must, it appears, be aban-

Digitized by Google

doned. The disinterment and translation of the Saint was on a fair summer's day; at least there is no record to the contrary. When the translation was effected, the Saint shewed his gratification by lavishing unnumbered blessings on his worshipers.

"They who were healed were counted not by tens or hundreds, but by thousands. The sick and diseased crowded the churchyard, so that it was hard to pass through them to the minster; within a few days not five remained infirm. The walls of the Church were loaded with the tokens of the saint's holiness and power. Crutches and cripples' stools were conclusive evidence of the truth that 'Christ is Almighty God, who his saint demonstrated through such benefits.' The means may appear strange, but they were intended to enforce a lesson which cannot be questioned,—the duty, namely, of earning God's kingdom with good works, 'just as Swithun did who now shineth through wonders.'"—P. 425.

The reviewer of Mrs. Oliphant's Life of Irving, while doing ample justice to his intellect and moral nature, observes, "What a ruin the dark unhealthiness of millenarian superstition has made of this man!"

OBITUARY.

Sept. 21, SARAH, relict of the late Stephen HUMBLE, Esq., of Quarry Cottage, Idle, Yorkshire.

Mrs. Humble had long been resident at Idle, and with the late Mr. Humble for many years attended the services of Chapel-Lane chapel, Bradford, distant about three miles. For although the old Presbyterian chapel, of which the late Joseph Dawson, Esq., of Royds Hall, had once been minister, was still standing at Idle, it had passed into the hands of the Independents during the ministry of his successor, Mr. Vint.

On the death of Mr. Humble in 1849, it seemed probable that Mrs. Humble might change her residence. She was, however, providing some compensations for the event. Some missionary efforts from Leeds and Bradford had already commenced at Stanningley and Pudsey; Mr. Richard Varley, of Stanningley, a member of the Wesleyan body, having embraced Unitarian views, and an active spirit of inquiry having sprung up at Pudsey under the impulse of Joseph Barker's change, and especially fostered by his reprint of Dr. Channing's works. A few working men and others at Idle shared this spirit;* and on its becoming known to Mrs. Humble, just as on her impending removal she was preparing to grant some cottage property for the use of the Temperance Society which she had always aided, she chose rather to devote it to the new religious purpose, which she well knew would otherwise be friendless, while the Temperance interest would not. Accordingly the modest room was opened for Unitarian worship, June 10, 1849, and took its place with Stanningley and Pudsey as a mission station. They were then supplied by an arrangement entered into with the Leeds Domestic Mission, as well as by the voluntary services of a few friends from Bradford and Leeds. In October of the same year, Mrs. Humble removed to Liverpool, but continued to manifest unabated interest in what she had left behind. The next year she subscribed £25 to the West-Riding Mission, then formally set on foot; and in 1851, in consideration of its first missionary, Rev. Edmund Squire, residing at Idle, she subscribed £50. This was not all. By the end of the year she engaged Mr. Squire as sole minister for Idle at her own expense, and for two or three years subscribed £20 a-year to the Mission besides. In 1852, Idle was again included in its operations, during a temporary absence of Mr. Squire. In the spring of 1853, Mrs. Humble herself returned. This was more than all. Mr. Squire had resumed his ministry there, and it was now that she fitted up with everything requisite for a chapel and school, the two large rooms in the building adjacent to her own residence, which accordingly took the place of the cottage property a little further off, hitherto used for the purpose. The new rooms were opened January 1, 1854. On Mr. Squire's final

* That there had formerly been Presbyterian chapels both at Pudsey and Idle, in some measure accounts for the success of the Unitarian movement in both places.

Digitized by Google

departure for America a few months after, the Rev. Alexander M'Combe was engaged by Mrs. Humble as his successor. Towards the beginning of 1857, the idea of a proper chapel was entertained. Other denominations in Idle had then recently built or rebuilt chapels and school-houses; amongst others, the Independents had re-edified the old Presbyterian meeting-house, into possession of which they had long before come. Mrs. Humble acceded to the wishes of the people; and, aided by her excellent friends, the Miss Dawsons, of Royds Hall, who possessed considerable property in the neighbourhood, the design was made known, and met with ready help from a larger circle. Not without some discouragement on the spot, the building was at length completed, and opened June 13th, 1858. It stands on a considerable plot of rising ground,* the gift of the late Miss Dawson; but which, from its close vicinity to one end of the village, cannot be used for interments. It commands, as do most sites in the neighbourhood, a very ample view of Airedale; and on its lower corner, nearest the village, has since arisen a very similar structure, comprising a most becoming school-house and chapel-keeper's residence. Perhaps those who are unacquainted with this part of the country should be told, that every house and cottage and mill, much more chapels and churches, are of stone, with which every hill and field abounds. In this undertaking Mrs. Humble was assisted by one or two of the same friends as before, although it was accomplished very mainly at her own cost. It was finished and opened in the after part of 1861. Its interior has a most bright and cheerful aspect, and, as its predecessor, adjoining Mrs. Humble's residence, had been, is hung round with a beautiful set of coloured scripture and other prints. Its excellent adaptation for a day-school will, it is hoped, some time fulfil the whole of its founder's desire.

The free grants and erection of the outward school and church, considerable as they were, formed but a part, and perhaps not the greatest part, of Mrs. Humble's efforts. We have seen what her subscriptions for their maintenance were. She continued to subscribe handsomely to the West-Riding Mission after her higher subscriptions ceased, notwithstanding that the maintenance of Idle alone, with its separate ministers, from 1851 to the present year, the slight interval of 1852 excepted, was at her sole cost; not only a handsome salary, but her house and table, during the whole of that period, with some little exception, having been theirs also. Moreover, she had completed her good work long before her death by a most considerate and munificent provision for the event—the gift, viz., of her house with all its furniture just as it was in her lifetime, "only that she might live in it till she died;" together with the adjoining premises and pleasant garden, perhaps of all the spots in the vicinity commanding the richest and widest view—the whole sweep of the wooded vale, with the viaducts of the Leeds and Bradford Railway, the new Rawdon College, villas and villages, interspersed. She has provided also for a year's salary subsequently to her death. The deed of gift declares that it is a memorial of her late husband; and though here we approach the limits which a notice like this must observe, yet we cannot but remark that as the efforts which have now claimed a record began in consequence and in memory of his death, so also they conclude. "His loss would otherwise have been twice felt." Such without doubt was Mrs. Humble's self-devoted, self-forgetting thought. Those who knew her best will testify to the truth of this her leading characteristic. It is not our object to say more. Other notices have appeared of her character and worth.* The same self-forgetfulness, almost to the not calling what she had her own, appeared in every relation. It may hence be imagined, as it is now most deeply felt, what she was in her household, to a large circle of attached friends, to the numerous poor and others around her in any need or sorrow. Very many of all these have yet to learn their loss. Yet we may be sure that in the appointed time "it is expedient for us that such friends go away." It is ours to improve alike their presence and departure.

For the last few years Mrs. Humble had experienced symptoms of a painful affection of the chest, and latterly had suffered severe attacks, most apprehensively reminding her friends of Dr. Arnold's last illness. On the evening of Tuesday, Sept. 9th, she was seised with one of these, after having perhaps been better than usual, and, with even more than her ordinary self-devotion, having the same day made a distant call. From this attack she never rallied, notwithstanding the most assiduous attentions of relatives and friends; but, after much suffering for nearly a fortnight, died peacefully on Sunday evening, Sept. 21st. She was interred on the following Thursday in the family vault at Calverley, in the parish of which Idle

* The building has been registered as Highfield chapel.

* *Inquirer*, Sept. 27; *Unitarian Herald*, Oct. 4.

Digitized by Google

is a township. The beautifully situated churchyard looks down on another part of the rich vale which she and her husband daily looked upon, and to so many of the inhabitants of which, their sequestered but active lives had been a daily blessing. On the following Sunday, sermons were preached in the chapel she had founded; the one in the morning by Rev. J. H. Ryland, from 2 Cor. i. 12, "For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to you-ward;" that in the afternoon by Rev. A. M'Combe, from Luke viii. 52, "She is not dead, but sleepeth;" at the conclusion of which he paid a most just and affecting tribute to Mrs. Humble's memory.

Sept. 26, MARGARET, the wife of Robt. Taylor HEAPE, of Roach Bank, Rochdale, aged 45 years. She was the daughter of the late Edmund Grundy, of Park Hills, Bury, and inherited no small share of the strength of character and firmness of principle which were conspicuous in her father. Like every true woman, she found her best sphere of activity, while health continued, at home, as a wife and mother; and by her sons just entering manhood the loss of her affectionate influence must be most severely felt: but they cherish her memory so fondly that to them, though dead, she yet speaketh. To dwell at any length on what she was would be inconsistent with her simplicity of character and with her own expressed desire. But it is important to place on record the support and comfort which she found, amid much suffering, in the faith we profess, to which she was sincerely attached from personal conviction, and which she valued more and more the longer she experienced its influence.

During the last three years of her life, Mrs. Heape was visited by chronic disease, which produced extreme emaciation and weakness, with at times much nervous prostration. It would not have been surprising if her mental powers had entirely given way under such a severe and protracted visitation. But hers was one of those cases which beautifully illustrate the supremacy of the mind over the body and its innate consciousness of immortality. As her physical nature grew weaker, her spiritual nature came out in bolder relief, and asserted itself in more emphatic expression. As the outer perished, the inner was renewed from day to day. The beautiful teachings of her Unitarian faith received by her implicitly supported her in this trying season, and she looked on God as her Father and heaven as her home with humble and grateful confidence, frequently expressing to her husband and family the comfort she derived from her religion and the perfect trust she had in God's mercy. She was not given to much speaking, and when she did speak one might be sure that it was sincerely meant and a real utterance. Thus would she dwell on any seasonable word uttered by a friend, and repeat it to her family and speak of the comfort it gave her. The idea presented might be a common one, but her faith gave it a value greater perhaps than it had for the utterer. Thus the ideas of impressions on the passive and waiting mind from heavenly sources, of the impenetrability of the soul by physical suffering and death, of the retreat inwards from outward sources of annoyance, and of bending herself to carry out God's merciful providence in her approaching change, dwelt in her mind, and this faith nourished her spiritual being. As the end drew near, she grew even more gentle and patient, though she had ever been both, and her affectionate nature seemed to have freer expression. She would often greet a friend with a smile, and by a little pleasantry throw a grace over her troubles. She looked so calmly indeed on her approaching departure as to be able to give directions about her funeral, which she wished to be of the simplest character. On the morning previous to her departure, when the coming event had already cast its shadow before, she fully endorsed the following lines, repeated in her presence:

> Ah, no! my soul would meekly wend
> her gentle way
> To the cool shades of peace and God's
> sweet rest;

and afterwards repeated them as far as she could.

The last scene was worthy of what had gone before. Ten minutes before she left this sphere, she asked her medical attendant, who had just before entered her room, "Doctor, am I going?" "Yes, Mrs. Heape, you are," was the answer, for she was worthy to hear the truth, and worthily did she respond, "Thank God!" in the last words she uttered here. Meekly she closed her eyes, never more consciously to open them in this phase of life.

Quietly she passed away as one who had fallen asleep. Glory be to God who giveth strength and grace and blessing! and may we all have like faith and openness of heart to receive his mercy in our extremity!

Digitized by Google

THE

CHRISTIAN REFORMER.

No. CCXVI.] DECEMBER, 1862. [Vol. XVIII.

CHRISTIANITY FROM ST. PAUL'S POINT OF VIEW.*

The appearance of a second, and we are glad to say cheaper, edition of the valuable work on Paul's Life and Epistles by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, seems to reproach us for not having yet noticed the first. It is still, in its altered form, essentially a theological student's book as at first, though its illustrations of the physical features of the countries traversed by the apostle, of their architecture, art, coinage, history, government, &c., are, of course, equally interesting to all intelligent readers of the Scriptures even in "the vulgar tongue." The smaller book named below, which is designed to popularize to the level of the upper classes in a Sunday-school the marvellous history of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, is avowedly founded upon those of Conybeare and Howson, Milman, Neander, Jowett, Stanley, and others named in the Preface.

It is a highly interesting study in Christian evidences and belief to take our stand upon the history of Paul, and investigate the gospel, as it were, with him and from his point of view. Not that this is either the *philosophical* point of view or the *natural* order of Christian study or instruction for us; as it would be simply absurd to begin where Paul began and read backwards, when we have it in our power to begin at the beginning of the gospel history and read forwards through the ministry of Christ to the conversion and labours of Paul. But having already learned our Christianity from the Gospels and then read the history and letters of the apostles as contained in the New Testament, and having found Paul, alike in preaching and letter-writing, the most prominent agent in the propagation of the gospel to the world at large, it is a natural and interesting exercise of thought for us to realize as far as possible *his* order of Christian conviction and knowledge. Not that we expect to find "Paul's gospel" (as some seem to fancy) different from that of any other apostle; though his preaching and writing are marked with specialties of thought which strongly impress his

* Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By the Rev. W. J. Conybeare, M.A., and the Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D. New Edition. 2 vols. square crown 8vo.

Scenes from the Life of St. Paul. By John Robertson. Published by the Sunday-School Association. Whitfield. 1862.

Digitized by Google

individuality upon all he does. The gospel is and must be one and the same, by whatever apostle preached, because it is a history. We would attempt to realize how Paul, who came into that history when already transacted through its first and most essential stages, became fully possessed of its previous details, as he shews himself to have been; and thus more fully realize the specialty of his part in the further transaction of the Christian history, tracing, as the Christian world does and must, our own reception of the gospel more directly to his labours (as pre-eminently the "Apostle of the Gentiles") than to those of any of the personal followers of our Lord.

It is on occasion of the martyrdom of Stephen, about six years probably after the death of the Saviour, that Saul (afterwards called Paul) is first connected with the Christian story. It is as an abettor, if not actual promoter, of that martyrdom; for he "keeps the raiment of them that slay him." He is "a young man,"—perhaps a few years younger than the Christian era. The history then goes on to speak of him as "consenting to Stephen's death," as "making havoc of the church, entering into every house, hailing men and women and committing them to prison." He is evidently a man of some station and authority, and a member of the Sanhedrim, for (as he says) he gave his *vote* against the accused Christians; he is a Pharisee by sect, and bigoted and zealous, like most of that sect. Not content with hunting down the Christian Jews at Jerusalem, he "persecutes them to foreign cities;" and, more particularly, asks and obtains a commission from the high-priest to seek out all such apostates from the law at Damascus.

But before he reaches Damascus, he gives up his purpose. He believes he has seen and heard Jesus Christ miraculously manifesting himself to him on the way, exclaiming, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" and warning him "not to kick against the pricks." From this date his conversion takes place.

But this conversion, if in one sense instantaneous (that is, as regards its miraculous occasion), was by no means complete at once. If, from the rapid and sketchy history in the Book of Acts, we imagine Paul at once becoming a zealous apostle, we wrong him and miss the facts of his conversion, as much as we violate the conscious faculties of our own minds. Well might we wonder how he could so soon, even at the bidding of miracle, turn from Saul the persecutor to Paul the apostle. Instantaneous conversions are not usually, in our own experience, the most solid and vital. We should wonder whether the outwardly miraculous could make such a difference. We should feel that the *natural* or *native man* equally required time and opportunity to reconstruct his shattered beliefs, whether they had been shattered by ordinary or by extraordinary agency.

A flood of light is poured upon these difficulties by the inci-

Digitized by Google

dental mention, in his Epistle to the Galatians, of a fact unmentioned in the book of Acts, namely, that Paul spent *three years in Arabia* between the time of his conversion near Damascus and his first visit to Jerusalem as a Christian convert. These three years of retirement (even if taken to mean little more than one full year) are the apostle's effectual vindication against the flippant assertion that his enthusiasm for Christianity may have had no diviner cause than his previous zeal for Judaism. The mere enthusiast would not have wasted a single year in Arabia. He would have rushed at once into his fancied apostleship. But not so Paul. His mind has certain logical necessities that must be satisfied. His Christian beliefs do not all at once supply the place of his Jewish ones. He has to build up the fallen fabric of his convictions on Jesus Christ as its new foundation. Three years' retirement are a regimen to be recommended for perplexed minds aspiring to be teachers.

And here we naturally ask ourselves how, in all probability, Paul became acquainted with the facts of Christ's life and the subjects of his teaching in detail. Nor is the probable answer difficult. We know from his own account of himself, that his religious education had been completed at Jerusalem under Gamaliel, "a Pharisee and teacher of the law, had in reputation among all the people;" whose advice was afterwards given in favour of forbearance when Peter and John were apprehended and brought before the Sanhedrim. The period of Saul's residence at Jerusalem as Gamaliel's pupil is naturally taken to have been from about the twelfth or thirteenth year of his age upwards into young manhood; during which period John the Baptist, Jesus Christ and his future apostles, were all, of course, still undistinguished by the religious hopes or antipathies of their countrymen, who were, however, expecting the Messiah's kingdom. How Saul spent the next ten or fifteen years of his life—including the time of our Lord's ministry—till we find him at Stephen's martyrdom, we have no record. If we assume that he resided at Tarsus, we cannot doubt that so zealous a Jew often visited Jerusalem at its sacred festivals; and certainly when we meet with him in the book of the Acts, it is as a resident at Jerusalem, and apparently no stranger or new-comer, but a member of the Sanhedrim (as already noted), and high in the confidence of the chief priests and the council. That he had been resident at Jerusalem during our Saviour's mission is perhaps scarcely probable, in the absence of all allusions in his writings to such a fact; but that, even if living at Tarsus all the while, he was not cognizant of the excitement which it was causing in Galilee and Jerusalem, can hardly be imagined of so zealous and prejudiced a Jew, who was himself expecting a Messiah, "the hope of Israel," though not from Nazareth. How can we doubt that he knew all that was going on, and

Digitized by Google

viewed it all with the deep interest of an earnest though prejudiced opponent? When he stands by at Stephen's death, and when he actively persecutes in his own person, he evidently thinks he knows all about the Galilean's life and heresy. From an enemy's point of view he does. If he never visited Jerusalem while the events were going on, he has heard little else spoken of since he came to live there. Most likely he was one of those belonging to the *synagogue of the Cilicians* (Acts vi. 9) who "disputed with Stephen," and "were not able to resist the wisdom and the spirit with which he spake." The persecutor had no doubt in his own mind that he knew all about the pretensions of him whom Stephen declared to be the Christ; that he knew the history of his life and how ignominiously he had been put to death. The persecutor knew enough about the facts to tell him that they did not correspond to his own theory of a Messiah. The pupil of Gamaliel (not knowing perhaps with what candour his old master had observed the progress of events) was quite confident that he could himself refute the pretensions founded upon them. He knew all about the matter from an enemy's point of view. "This thing had not been done in a corner."

There are several passages in St. Paul's Epistles which have been very needlessly regarded as implying that he claimed to have received a special miraculous knowledge of the principles of the gospel, apart from the known facts of his Master's life and instructions. The most remarkable of these are in the Epistle to the Galatians. He begins it with describing himself as "an apostle not from men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ and God the Father who raised him from the dead." And he further says: "I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not of man's devising. For I myself received it not from man, nor was it taught me by man's teaching, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ." And then he recalls the leading facts of his conversion and subsequent life; how "when it pleased God to reveal his Son in me, that I might proclaim his glad tidings among the Gentiles, I did not immediately take counsel with flesh and blood, nor yet did I go up to Jerusalem to those who were apostles before me, but I departed into Arabia, and from thence returned to Damascus."* Thus (he adds) it was not till three years after his conversion that he went to Jerusalem and spent fifteen days with Peter, seeing James the Lord's brother also, but no other apostle; and not till fourteen years from his conversion did he visit Jerusalem again; on which last occasion, after some discussion on the disputed obligation of the Jewish law, it had been agreed by James, Peter and John to preach to the Jews, and that Paul and Barnabas "should go to the heathen."

* This retreat to Arabia must have been included in the "many days" so vaguely mentioned in Acts ix. 23.

Digitized by Google

Now, to what purpose is all this detail? Surely not in order to shew that he knew nothing about the historical facts of Christ's life and ministry; nor to imply that he knew them by inspiration without the help of human testimony; but to shew that his mission itself was of direct divine authority, and not derived even from that of the earlier apostles.

The Galatian converts, chiefly Gentiles, were already beset with Judaizing teachers, who stoutly insisted upon the necessity of their submitting to the law, and (no doubt) by way of invalidating the authority of Paul, who had taught them the contrary, insinuated that the latter was not of equal authority to the apostles at Jerusalem, who (they were pleased to say) taught and acted differently; the fact all the time being that the Jewish Christians were not required even by Paul to give up their ceremonies, nor the Gentile Christians even by Peter to adopt them. Paul, in reply to these obscure but busy agitators, declares his own mission to be co-ordinate with that of the other apostles, and maintains the freedom of the Gentiles against those nameless zealots who would have imposed Judaism upon them as the gate of entrance into the gospel.

That Paul learnt any of the facts of our Lord's life and ministry by supernatural communication, is never stated by him or his historian Luke; nor is it necessary or natural to think he did. But as a believer he saw them henceforth in a new light, and doubtless inquired more fully. He had access to the same means of information, first oral and then written, which Luke, his companion for a while, afterwards used in the compilation of his very trustworthy Gospel. His allusions to the life of our Saviour in his speeches and in his Epistles, are couched indeed in very general terms, from which we can infer little as to his fulness of information; but one or two allusions are more specific and suggestive of critical inference. In his first letter to the Corinthians he gives an account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, which corresponds almost verbally with St. Luke's, suggesting the natural inference that he was (at least at a subsequent time) acquainted with the same records, oral and documentary, which were at the basis of Luke's Gospel. On one occasion (Acts xx. 35) it is curious to notice that he quotes as "the words of the Lord Jesus" certain words which are not actually preserved by any one of the evangelists, though they have recorded many similar precepts: "Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, *It is more blessed to give than to receive.*" Surely the natural inference is, that Paul was well acquainted with all that common store of oral tradition and fragmentary record in which the facts of Christ's life and the substance of his teaching, and often its very words, were handed down for some years after Paul's conversion, when they gradually assumed their present written shape. Paul has, at any rate,

Digitized by Google

preserved to us this one beautiful and evidently genuine saying of our Saviour's by quoting it at Miletus, where Luke, who had not put it in his Gospel among the known sayings of Christ, inserts it as so remembered by Paul. It is fair to infer that Paul had very thoroughly possessed himself of the gospel of Christ's words and works.

It is therefore as needless as it is irrational to regard "the visions and revelations" of which Paul was the subject, and which encouraged and guided his apostolical course, as having been the sources of his knowledge of the past life of Christ. Blind orthodoxy makes this assumption in sheer ignorance and indifference to consequences; and philosophical mysticism adopts it, not without a shrewd perception that it strikes at the root of an historical Christianity.

Paul being thus furnished with the historical facts of the Christian revelation as transacted before his conversion, but to a great extent within his contemporaneous knowledge, and having sought the retirement of Arabia for the reconstruction of his religious faith and for earnest meditation on his ensuing duties, let us look yet further back into his history, to see what were his special qualifications and incitements to the special work which he was destined to fulfil as the Apostle to the Gentiles. Let it be observed, however, that though this was Paul's work *pre-eminently*, it was *not exclusively* his. Christ himself had preached or presented his own gospel to the Samaritans, to the Syrophœnician woman and to the Roman centurion. And, about the time of Paul's conversion, Peter was made an instrument of enlarging the narrow idea of the Jewish Church by the admission of Cornelius and other Gentiles. It is true enough that the Jewish Christians were loth to admit the idea of Gentile conversion without submission to Jewish ordinances. It is true that Paul once reproved Peter at Antioch for what he thought a dissembling spirit on this subject. It is true that Paul ministered chiefly among Gentile populations, and Peter and the rest chiefly among the Jews. But it is equally true that Paul every where taught *first* in the Jewish synagogue (if there was one), and afterwards among the Gentiles; that strongly as he protested against imposing the Jewish law upon Gentile converts, he observed the law in his own person, and even circumcised Timothy as being of half Jewish birth; while he refused to let Titus, who was a pure Gentile, submit to the ceremony. It is therefore hardly accordant with New Testament facts to represent Paul's mission or his views of Christianity as alien to those of Peter and others. It bespeaks more ingenuity than wisdom to elaborate a supposed Pauline Christianity and set it in opposition and contrast to a supposed Petrine or Johannian gospel. There were diversities of gifts, but the same spirit; and differences of administration, but the same Lord.

Digitized by Google

Yet Paul was *pre-eminently* the Apostle of the Gentiles; and his early life and education, we must now observe, had been such as fitted him especially to appreciate that new and strange conjuncture which brought the Gentiles within the pale of God's covenant, or rather, which enlarged that pale so as to embrace them. In brief, he was born and lived his early life in contact with the Greek and Roman civilization, and though strictly Jewish in his education, yet he was not ignorant of the world's wider culture, nor unable to appreciate its value. And so, when the Jewish specialty was widened into Christian cosmopolitanism, the Gentile or simply human elements of his mind prevailing over the Jewish were ready to lay hold of the work of *apostleship to the Gentiles* with a heartiness which we miss even in Peter when commissioned to baptize Cornelius. Peter vindicates himself to the Jewish church; Paul defies Jewish objections.

He was a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia;—"no mean city," as he says with the pride of a native. It was not only a place of active trade, on the coast line of European and Asiatic traffic, but was so distinguished for Greek learning and philosophy, that Strabo (with some partiality perhaps) had lately put it in favourable comparison with Athens and Alexandria. With all the characteristics of a Greek city, it was now the capital of a Roman province, Cilicia having been made such by Pompey. Jews were there, as in other Greek cities, using the Greek language in common life, and even adopting the Greek version of the Scriptures, though keeping themselves to themselves in their religious observances and general habits. Paul, no doubt, spoke Greek as his native language, and learnt Hebrew as the sacred language of his nation. He quotes from a Greek poet in his speech at Athens, and from another in his letter to Titus. His quotations from the Old Testament, it is observed, are from the Septuagint translation, which was in use among the Hellenistic or Grecian Jews—as those who lived among Greek populations were called.

Paul was a Roman citizen by birth. "I was free-born," he had occasion to say to the Roman commander who was about to bind him for scourging. As this citizenship did not belong to the inhabitants of Tarsus as such, it must have been derived by Paul from his parentage. How his father had obtained it, is matter of conjecture; possibly, as many Jews did, in reward for military or civil service. Probably his father was a tent-maker; at least Paul had been brought up to that trade, in accordance with those fine Jewish maxims: "He that has a trade is like a well-fenced vineyard," and "He that teaches not his son a trade teaches him to be a thief." He resumed it whenever necessary for his own support during his apostleship.

"There is little doubt," say the authors of the valuable book before us, "that, though the native of a city filled with a Greek

Digitized by Google

population and incorporated with the Roman empire, yet Saul was born and spent his earlier days in the shelter of a home which was Hebrew not in name only but in spirit. The Roman power did not press upon his infancy; the Greek ideas did not haunt his childhood; but he grew up an Israelitish boy, nurtured in those histories of the chosen people which he was destined so often to repeat in the synagogues, with the new and wonderful commentary supplied by the life and resurrection of a crucified Messiah." The Jewish education so religiously begun at home, was carried on, as already mentioned, in Jerusalem under Gamaliel; and the element of Greek culture was held in strict subordination to the law of Moses, so long as that law was felt to have authority over him. But when he became a Christian, that Greek culture (and that Roman citizenship too) enabled him more thoroughly, and with more of delighted enthusiasm than was possible to any Jew of Palestine, to grasp the thought of an equal gospel for all God's children, and to sympathize with the Gentile in his deliverance from idol degradation and entrance into the true liberty of the children of God, without submission to any new law of outward ceremony.

We naturally conclude that during the sojourn in Arabia, these Gentile associations and suggestions of thought would rise into a prominence unknown before. To arrange and reconcile his personal convictions was the first thing; and when that was done, it was necessary to see clearly his future line of duty. For the former purpose he had to review the known facts of the gospel history and the promises to his nation, in the light of his new belief that the Messiah had died and was risen and glorified. For the latter, the declaration of Ananias that he "should bear the name of Christ before the Gentiles, as well as the children of Israel," would probably furnish the first guiding clue; and we can imagine how, in a mind so gifted by nature as his evidently was, and so well cultured in the general heritage of letters and philosophy, when once this large and liberal thought had been realized, all that was narrow, limited and local in his Jewish beliefs and feelings would rapidly give way (yet without discrediting to him the divine truths of Judaism itself); and the liberalizing influence of a world-wide knowledge and culture, and the resistless appeal of a world-wide religious hunger and thirst, which he felt that the gospel could satisfy, would henceforth possess his mind and inspire his efforts.

The prominence of the Gentile, or simply human, element in Paul's mind is marked by his long residence at Antioch as the chief scene of his early labours, and his return to it, as to head quarters, from each of his "missionary journeys." This city "was almost an oriental Rome, in which all the forms of the civilized life of the empire found some representative." Here "the disciples were first called Christians;" called so not by

Digitized by Google

themselves (for they called themselves *disciples* and *brethren*), nor by the Jews (for these did not admit that Jesus was the Christ), but by the heathen world around them. That the name was meant as a term of reproach is the opinion of our commentators; but the term itself is simply descriptive, like *Pompeian*, *Marian*, *Herodian*, and many other names which designated a party or school from its acknowledged leader. By making Antioch the centre of his operations henceforth, Paul, as the most prominent representative of the new religion to the Gentiles, made it cease to seem a matter of merely Jewish interest. Jewish zeal indeed tracked him thither, and endeavoured to persuade the Gentile brethren even at Antioch that their salvation depended upon conformity to the rites of Moses. And so the controversy began, which from that time forward Paul had to wage repeatedly on behalf of Gentile liberty, against the Judaizing party in the early church. He did not dissuade any Jewish Christian from obeying the law; he even complied with its forms himself; but when the attempt was made to impose its obligation upon Gentile converts, he "gave no place by submission, not for an hour." Had it not been for Paul's powerful, zealous and large-minded administration of the gospel, the Jewish element amid which it took its rise would, as far as we can judge, have stifled it almost at its birth. The Christian church would have seemed to be no more than a new sect of Judaism, with Jerusalem as its metropolis; and the Gentile world would have slighted and despised it still. So peculiarly was Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles.

There is another aspect of Christianity as seen from St. Paul's point of view, which to his own mind was full of liveliest interest, and which illustrates to us the expansiveness of his mind. Jesus Christ was to him not only risen from the dead and living for ever, but had personally revealed himself to his apostle not once only on the road to Damascus, but repeatedly in "visions and revelations of the Lord," in which "he was caught up to the third heaven and heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter." St. Paul therefore realized a kind of connection as existing between the risen Saviour and his church, which *we* cannot, in the nature of things, realize now. Looking back upon the history, we see signs of miraculous intervention in some at least of the spiritual gifts of the early church, to which we find no equivalent among ourselves. That these would not be permanent in the church, St. Paul himself seems, in his fine chapter on Charity (1 Cor. xiii.), to have been fully aware: prophesyings, tongues and knowledge will cease; but faith, hope and charity will be permanent. Yet the apostle's impression of the special influences then existing was so vivid, that he seems sometimes to speak as if they were the normal condition of the church. More precisely, perhaps, he regarded

Digitized by Google

them as designed to last till the second coming of the Lord; and this second coming (in his earlier Epistles at least) he seems to have looked for in that outward manner in which the expectant Christians at the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the age looked for it, and failed to recognize it when it really came.

Nor was Paul peculiar in this belief, unless in the way of defect. The expectation of a "world's end" was general, at the time when the Jewish age alone was to end in fact. The Apocalypse (not written by any apostle surely, not by St. John most assuredly) illustrates the wild religious and secular expectations held by the Jewish Christians shortly before the overthrow of Judea by the Romans. That the writings of Paul are so slightly tinged, in comparison, by these prevalent thoughts,—such traces as he has of them being strongest in his earliest writings and gradually vanishing from the later ones,—is one among the many signs of his Gentile breadth of view.

In his hands, in short, the gospel is presented in its true proportions as a religion for the world. He saw it at first through the veil of Jewish prejudice and enmity. This being removed by miraculous intervention, he read the life of Christ anew, and understood the universality of the gospel. The Gentile elements of his mind and experience now asserted themselves, and reduced the Jewish into due proportion. It was his office henceforth to assert the predominance of the human over the Judaic. The latter indeed fills his writings; but it is as the narrowness and ceremonialism against which he has so often to contend, in behalf of a theology as wide as the creation, and a devotion as spiritual as the Divine presence. Even the Christian-Jewish expectation of the world's end gradually vanishes from the large belief of the Apostle of the Gentiles.

Such was Christianity from Paul's point of view. A wider view of the gospel design, or a more intelligible view of its essence, modern religious philosophy has failed to shew. His discussions on justification by faith without the works of the law shew this true breadth of religious philosophy to have been his, if we read them in connection with the thoughts of his own time, and not with those of the times of Calvin. And if we regard the Epistle to the Hebrews as in any sense his, we admire the address with which this "Hebrew of the Hebrews" could make the spirit of Judaism give its attestation to the gospel, as the true counterpart of his demonstration that Christianity is the destined religion of mankind at large.

Digitized by Google

ON THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE APOCALYPSE.*

It is well known to all who have paid the slightest attention to biblical criticism, that the first *published*† edition of the Greek text of the New Testament, which was undertaken by the celebrated Erasmus at the request of the printer Froben of Basle, was executed in extreme haste, under the pressure of other engagements, and with the aid of a very few, and those altogether modern, MSS.; and that this text, notwithstanding its very unsatisfactory constitution, has become the basis, through the scarcely modified reprints of the Stephenses and Elzevirs, of our present *textus receptus*, represented to this day in the popular versions of Luther and King James's translators. It is further known that, for exhibiting the text of the Apocalypse, Erasmus was singularly destitute of critical aids, having only the use of a single MS., and that mutilated, which was lent him by Reuchlin, known to the learned world, after the fashion of those times, under the grecized name Capnio.‡ Erasmus was accused by some of his contemporaries of unduly exalting the age and character of his one MS., and even of putting into his text, on its authority, what it did not contain. He confessed, that to some extent he had done so, in some annotations appended to his first edition: *Quanquam nonnulla verba reperi apud nostros* (the Latin copies) *quæ aberant in Græcis exemplaribus, ea tamen ex Latinis adjecimus.* In Reuchlin's MS. the six last verses of the book were wanting. These Erasmus re-translated from the Vulgate into Greek. When charged by his adversaries, Stunica and Lee, with the fact, he was compelled to admit it, though he endeavoured to weaken its force by disingenuous extenuations. *Erant perpauca. Proinde nos, ne hiaret lacuna, ex nostris Latinis supplevimus Græca.— Deerat unus atque alter versus. Eos nos addidimus, secuti Latinos codices.* (Wetsten. Proleg. in N. T. p. 126.) Wetstein renewed the charge of critical dishonesty against Erasmus, and of the

---

* *Die Erasmischen Entstellungen des Textes der Apokalypse, nachgewiesen aus dem verloren geglaubten Codex Reuchlins.* (Erasmus's Disfigurements of the Text of the Apocalypse, brought to light from the Codex of Reuchlin supposed to be lost.) *Handschriftliche Funde. Erstes Heft.* von Franz Delitzsch, Ord. Prof. Theol. Erlangen. Leipzig. 1861.

† I say *published*, because the Complutensian edition had been *printed off* at Alcala, in Spain, before the Erasmian at Basle; although, owing to the delays occasioned by the death of its promoter, Cardinal Ximenes, its publication did not take place till after 1520, four or five years later than the work of Erasmus.

‡ Owing to the neglect of it in certain sections of the church, there are fewer MSS. of the Apocalypse than of any other part of the N. T. Wetstein, after enumerating those that were available in his own age, adds: "Ne sic quidem iis codicum copiis instructi sumus, qui vel numero vel antiquitate cum codicibus aliorum N. T. librorum comparari possint." (Prolegom. in Apocal.) To the three MSS. mentioned by him, *Cod. Alexandr.*, *Cod. Basilian.* and *Cod. Ephrem Syr.* (the two last more accurately edited within the last twenty years by Tischendorf), may now be added *Cod. Sinaiticus*, at present in course of publication, and described in this journal some time ago.

Digitized by Google

untruth implied in *perpauca* and *unus atque alter*, with such severity, that it involved him in a literary warfare (of which he has given a full account in his Prolegomena, pp. 127—141) with an anonymous defender of the reputation of Erasmus, who afterwards proved to be J. C. Iselius, a theological professor at Basle. Among all who really looked into the matter, there remained no doubt that Erasmus, in several passages where the MS. was defective, had interpolated his own Greek in the text of the Apocalypse; but as Reuchlin's Codex soon after disappeared, and was supposed to be lost, there was no means of judging to what extent he had been guilty of these critical infidelities, though the text which he had given, was found to differ widely from the older MSS. with which it was subsequently collated. It is curious that the very MS. which Erasmus used in editing the text of the Apocalypse, should have turned up to give evidence against him, more than three hundred years after his death. The discovery is due to the researches of Professor Delitzsch of Erlangen, who has given an account of it in a short monograph of which we have placed the title on the preceding page.*

In this MS. the text of the Apocalypse is embedded in the commentary of Andreas, a bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia towards the end of the fifth century. Before the text could be made use of by the printer, it had to be disengaged from this envelopment of commentary and written out in a continuous transcript. This labour Erasmus does not seem to have taken on himself, but to have entrusted to another; who it was, he nowhere says. It was no doubt one of the young cultivators of the *literæ humaniores* (called by the Germans *humanists*, to distinguish them from mere theologians) then living at Basle; Delitzsch thinks probably Glareanus, who was devoted to Erasmus, and delighted in the name of his Alcibiades.† The MS., as we have said, belonged to Reuchlin, at that time the *coryphæus* of the German humanists, who appears to have parted with it very unwillingly. *Ægre extorsimus* is Erasmus's own expression. It continued to be cited as *Cod. Reuchlini sive Capnionis*, at the head of the cursive MS. authorities for the text of the Apocalypse; though no editor of the N. T. after Erasmus had ever seen it. It was sought after, but could nowhere be found. *Quo devenerit, dudum latet*, says Tischendorf in his Prolegomena. *It is now wholly lost*, is the remark of Tregelles.

Professor Delitzsch has, however, recently discovered it in a library, which once formed part of the inheritance of the princely house of Oettingen, and is now deposited at Mayhingen, near Wallerstein, a village in Bavaria, on the road between Munich and

* It is part of a more comprehensive inquiry: *Die Entstehung des Erasmischen Textes des N. T.* (The Origin of the Erasmian Text of the N.T.)

† Delitzsch makes these statements on the authority of Vischer in his History of the University of Basle.

Digitized by Google

Nuremberg. It is in form a large octavo, strongly bound in wood, with brass clasps. On its leather cover fantastic figures are impressed. On the front side of its binding there is written in ink:

APOCALYPSIS
PRO $\overline{DM}$
IO. REVCHLIN
LL. DOCT.

On closer inspection, it appears that the name IO. REVCHLIN has been written over an earlier inscription still discernible, BASILIENSI; and DMNO or DNO seems to have been carefully effaced, so that only DM or DN, with the stroke over it, is any longer legible. It is known, that Cardinal Nicholas of Ragusa made a present of Greek MSS. to the Dominican monastery in Basle, and this Codex may have been among them. Or perhaps, as Delitzsch suggests, it may have been originally a present to the Bishop of Basle, whose title was *Dominus Basiliensis*. Reuchlin made great use of the Greek MSS. in Basle; and we learn from Wetstein (Prolegom. p. 43) that he detained more than thirty years a MS. of the Gospels, Acts and Epistles, which he had borrowed of the Dominicans (to whom it had been presented by the Cardinal Nicholas of Ragusa), so that it was not restored to them till after his death. This Codex of the Apocalypse, as appears from the inscription on its back, belonged to him; but after it had once passed into the hands of Erasmus and Froben, it never came back into his possession again. On the reverse of the first of two blank pages which have been bound up in front of the MS. occur these words:

1553
der frobenius zu basell hat mierfs geschenkt

from which it is evident, that the elder Froben, after Reuchlin's death in 1521, kept the book as having no longer any rightful owner, and that his son Jerome presented it to the unknown writer of the foregoing line. Reuchlin had bequeathed his library to the Foundation of St. Michael at Pforzheim.* During the wars it was conveyed for safety to Basle, and preserved in the residence of the Margrave of Baden-Durlach. In this library it was natural to suppose that the *Cod. Apocal.* would be found. But Wetstein and Bengel searched for it in vain both at Basle and at Pforzheim. We now know why it was that they could not discover it. It had found its way into another library. It was lying hid in the collections of the noble house of Oetting-Oettingen, which, on the extinction of that line in 1731, passed into the possession of the allied family of Oettingen-Wallerstein. Among their books it was found by Delitzsch.

The Codex is divided into sheets of eight leaves each, and these sheets are numbered at the top of their first page succes-

* In the Grand Duchy of Baden.

Digitized by Google

sively, α, β, &c.* The first eight sheets, comprising sixty-four leaves, are of parchment; the three following (ϑ, ι, ια), together with two leaves still preserved of the twelfth, are of cotton paper. Of this last sheet (the twelfth) only half remains; and of this half one leaf is wanting, and appears to have been so before the Codex was bound, while the last leaf has been supplied on linen paper by a younger hand. In this state the Codex must have lain before Erasmus and his transcriber. It appears to have been carefully used. No traces of their own pen are discernible in any part of it. Reuchlin, who parted with it so unwillingly, no doubt accompanied his loan with strict charges against its defacement or interpolation. The cursive character in which this MS. is written, bears clear traces, according to Delitzsch, of derivation from an older uncial character, and, after the mode of ancient writing, the words are often placed close together in a *scriptio continua* without any separation.† The older and more recent forms of letters, as Γ and γ, Δ and δ, C and σ, are used indiscriminately. The two breathings, and ι, ει, η, υ, are often interchanged, a result of the prevalent mode of pronunciation, which constantly occurs in all the Greek biblical MSS. of the middle ages. Indeed, the confounding of the vowel sounds just enumerated, what the grammarians call *itacismus*, is said to be found in the oldest uncial MSS.

On the front of the first parchment sheet of the Codex, is this Latin inscription: *Hippolyti Pont. Ro. in Divi Joannis Apocalypsim Commentarius.*‡ On the reverse is a free sketch with a pen of Hippolytus himself in his episcopal chair, holding the *diptychs* in his hand, and writing. The MS. commences on the second parchment leaf. Over an arabesque is the usual prayer for divine mercy; beneath it are the words, in Greek, "An Exegetical Commentary on the Apocalypse of John the Divine;" but between these two lines is inserted in red characters by another hand, a more enlarged title, also in Greek, ascribing the Commentary to Hippolytus, Pope of the Romans. On the third page, a hand anterior to Reuchlin's has marked, *hic citatur hypolitus;* and a more recent title in gilt letters fastened on the old binding, gives the

* This seems to have been a not unusual way of numbering the sheets of ancient codices. Delitzsch notices, that the Cod. Friderico-Augustanus, which was published by Tischendorf in a lithographed facsimile in 1846, and which has since proved to be a part of the Cod. Sinait. now publishing, is marked with successive ciphers on the right corner of the upper margin in the first page of each sheet of eight leaves.

† The similarity to the uncial character is perceptible in the facsimile which Delitzsch has given of the Cod. Reuchlin. The long ε is written ε, not ϱ. The *scriptio continua*, both Tischendorf and Delitzsch agree, is in itself no proof of antiquity, as it is often found arbitrarily introduced into the most recent MSS.

‡ After comparing this inscription with an autograph letter of Reuchlin to Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, Delitzsch cannot decide whether it was written by Reuchlin or not; though the same comparison fully satisfied him, that Reuchlin's name on the cover of the Codex, before mentioned, was from his own hand.

Digitized by Google

name "Hypolitus," and with reference to the supposed date of the MS., "Sæc. VIII." It seems probable, that both Reuchlin and Erasmus shared in this mistaken idea, and supposed themselves in possession of an exegetical work from the hand of Hippolytus at the end of the second century. There is, however, no doubt, that the work is a commentary, not by Andreas and Arethas conjoined (Cappadocian bishops of the end of the fifth century), as Wetstein and Mill supposed, but by Andreas alone, as Bengel had already acutely divined,—the same work which was first published in Greek by Sylburgius at the end of the sixteenth century, and appended as a supplementary volume to St. Chrysostom's Commentary on the Epistles of Paul. The commentary is not written in the form of an ordinary gloss on the margin of the text, but subjoined, within the margin, in successive sections to corresponding portions of the text; the commencement of text and commentary marked respectively in red on the margin, κείμενον (text), ἑρμηνέια (commentary). Had the MS. been used with sufficient attention, there need have been no difficulty in disengaging the text from the commentary. Erasmus, who had not attained to the conscientious exactitude of our modern criticism, and used his authorities with such superficial haste, that on one occasion in the words, Βουλγαρίας κυρίου Θεοφυλάκτου, he actually took Θεοφυλάκτου for an epithet, and turned Βουλγαρίας into the name of some unknown person, *Vulgarius**—was no doubt misled by the ascription of this *Cod. Apocal.* to Hippolytus, to assign to it an almost apostolic antiquity. Only on this supposition is his rhetorical assertion justifiable or even intelligible: *tantæ vetustatis erat, ut apostolorum ætate scriptum videri posset.* Had he looked with any care into the Codex, he would have found in it internal indications of a later age—allusions to Diocletian, Julian, the Arian controversy, and σκυθικὰ ἔθνη, ἅπερ καλοῦμεν οὐνικά, which last word a western reader has rendered on the margin by *hunica*, Huns, a reference which brings us down at once to the fourth or fifth century. Here are conspicuous enough what Tischendorf calls *vestigia summæ festinationis* in Erasmus. From later glosses on the margin, the MS. would appear to have been once in possession of a Greek Christian, who interpreted many passages in the Apocalypse of the incursions of the Moguls and the persecutions of the Turks—another proof, how every age and country has seen the reflection of its own particular calamities in this mysterious book. Delitzsch, from examination of the parchment, cotton paper and character of the writing, and comparison of them with two similar specimens given by Montfaucon, refers this MS. to the twelfth century, perhaps the eleventh; and Tischendorf, to whom he shewed the Codex at Leipzic, confirmed the probability of its derivation

* Wetsten. Prolegom. in N.T. p. 123.

Digitized by Google

from the twelfth century, though at the same time limiting his judgment with the remark, that the frequent use of the *scriptio continua*, and a general similarity in some characters to the uncial, is no certain proof of antiquity.

A collation of this Codex with the text given by Erasmus betrays a greater degree of carelessness and even recklessness in the use of his materials than had been suspected. The readings frequently inserted, for which there is no Greek authority, and which he has sometimes rendered back from the Vulgate, were supposed to have been a necessity forced on him by the mutilated condition of his MS., or to have originated in a confusion of the text with the commentary. But it now appears, that the MS., with the exception of a single leaf at the end, is entire throughout; and though the original scribe seems to have been both careless and ignorant, yet only in one passage towards the end has he confusedly mixed text and commentary together. Erasmus himself confesses, that where the MS. was wanting in the last verses of the book, from ὁ ἀντὴρ onwards, he had supplied the deficiency from the Vulgate; but it is now found, that he has had recourse to translation from the Latin in cases where no such justification could be pleaded. When the Complutensian edition appeared, he did not, as he might have done, withdraw his own Greek and substitute the original; and, owing probably to preoccupation of mind and the pressure of incompatible engagements, so confused a notion does he seem to have had of the relations of the whole affair, that in one of his subsequent editions he requested his friends to restore the wanting verses at the end of the Apocalypse from the Aldine edition, as though he had forgotten that the Aldine was a mere reprint of his own text.*

Delitzsch has substantiated these serious charges by a complete collation of the Erasmian text of the Apocalypse with the *Codex Reuchlini*. A minute account of this would exceed the just limits of a paper like the present. I shall only subjoin a few specimens, to shew what kind of text Erasmus has transmitted to us.

i. 4. *Erasm.* edit. prim. ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὃς ἦν, καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.
Cod. Reuchlin. ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος.

Erasmus has here been evidently tempted to alleviate the solecism of the original by the insertion of τοῦ and the conversion of ὁ into ὃς. The τοῦ which makes its appearance in the *printed texts* of Andreas, Arethas and the Catenæ, has flowed into them from the *textus vulgatus* of the N. T., which is the Erasmian. They bring to the reading, therefore, no authority whatever. This was one of the passages which gave some plausibility to Stunica's remark: *Erasmus nec apostolis parcit, emendaturus et illorum sermonem.* In his Annotations, Erasmus observed that

* *Cum Basileam mitterem recognitum exemplar, scripsi amicis, ut ex editione Aldinâ restituerent eum locum.* Apud Wetsten. Prolegom. p. 126.

Digitized by Google

ἀπὸ τῶν was omitted in the Complutensian edition, he could not tell whether accidentally or on purpose,—as if ignorant that it was his own interpolation or that of his transcriber. In his second edition, ὁ ἦν is printed; with the accompanying remark in the errata: *aliud exemplar habet* ὃς ἦν; overlooking that ὃς ἦν was his own correction.

ii. 3. *Erasm.* ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις καὶ διὰ τὸ ὀνομά μου, κεκοπίακας καὶ οὐ κέκμηκας.
Reuchlin. ὑπομονὴν ἔχεις διὰ τὸ ὀνομά μου· καὶ κεκοπίακας.

The Vulgate explains the origin of the three last words in the Erasmian text: *patientiam habes, et sustinuisti propter nomen meum, et non defecisti.* Erasmus inserted οὐ κέκμηκας as the equivalent of *non defecisti*, not perceiving that *non defecisti* was really a translation of οὐ κεκοπίακας, which is the true reading, and that *sustinuisti* corresponded to a preceding word, ἐβάστασας.

xvii. 8. *Erasm.* βλέποντες τὸ θηρίον ὅ, τι ἦν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστι, καίπερ ἔστιν.
Reuchlin. ,, ,, ,, καὶ πάρεστιν.

The Vulgate has omitted the rendering of these two last words, giving only *bestiam, quæ erat*, and *non est*. The origin of Erasmus's misreading is obvious; but it has passed into our own and Luther's and some other Protestant translations, where it is still retained, though the best authorities read πάρεσται.

Wetstein had remarked, long before the *Cod. Reuchlin* was brought to light, that Erasmus's frequent rendering from the Vulgate was betrayed by the character of his Greek—by his constant omission of the article where it should have been inserted, by his translating *contestor*, συμμαρτυρῶνμαι, though the original has simply μαρτυρῶνμαι, by his putting ὄρθρινος for πρώϊνος, ἔλθε for ἔρχου, ἐι for ἐὰν, ἀφαιρήσει for ἀφελεῖ; so that in the short section of scarcely six verses at the end of the Apocalypse, his readings differ in no less than thirty places from the genuine Greek; and that he has sometimes, out of compliance with the Vulgate, coined words that are not Greek, as, xvii. 4, ἀκαθάρτητος, Vulg. *abominatione*, instead of ἀκάθαρτα.*

Though the want of a firm, critical basis for the *textus receptus* is more conspicuous, for the reasons now stated, in the Apocalypse than in the other books of the N. T., yet the same haste and inaccuracy, only slightly counterbalanced by a somewhat ampler command of MS. materials, has affected their textual structure also; so that to the present day in the principal authorized versions of a book which is used with a *literal* scrupulousness, as their rule of faith and conduct, by myriads, we have a far more imperfect representation of the original text, than in any one of the great classical authors of Greece and Rome. Delitzsch says with extreme severity, but not wholly without reason: "The history of the N. T. text is a miserable tissue of

* Prolegom. in N. T. p. 126.

Digitized by Google

critical insufficiency, of charlatanism and printers' puffs." In 1602, an edition of the New Testament was got up expressly for the use of the Greek Church, in which the grammatical errors and textual intrusions of Erasmus at the close of the Apocalypse were faithfully preserved; and these are still retained in the Cambridge edition of 1847, which at this time is the most generally used in Greece.* So low is Delitzsch's estimate of the critical labours of Erasmus, that he thinks it would have been a happy thing for posterity, if the Complutensian rather than the Erasmian text had been made the basis of the later *textus receptus*.†

In their moral judgment of Erasmus, both Wetstein and Delitzsch seem to me unduly severe. He must not be tried by the modern standard of literary fidelity. In the handling of texts, something of the old patristical looseness hung about his decisions. He had to represent what was probably written, and transmit the sense of the original. That, he supposed, exhausted his critical duty. He was hardly initiated into the new and stricter feeling introduced into these matters by the Reformation. Even the *letter-worship* of the Protestant Church has had a not unwholesome effect in the development of a more exact and conscientious textual criticism. The editing of the Greek Testament was almost forced upon Erasmus by Froben, at a time when his mind was fully occupied by other engagements; and he was so hard worked with all these labours combined, that he had scarcely time, he tells us, for his meals. The text of the Apocalypse was probably extracted for him from the commentary of Arethas by one of his assistants; and there is reason to think, that he used this transcript immediately for the formation of the text, without ever comparing it with the original, and corrected it *currente calamo* from the Vulgate before him, wherever he thought it defective or erroneous. When this imposed task was discharged, he seems to have thrown it off his mind, and almost to have forgotten what he had done in it, excepting so far as was necessary to repel the attacks of his enemies. This does not altogether satisfy our idea of the obligations and responsibilities of a biblical critic. At the present day such a proceeding would seal a man's utter condemnation. Yet that Erasmus spared himself no trouble while the work was in hand, and executed it to the best of his knowledge and judgment and present materials, seems very evident from the account which Œcolampadius, one of his assistants, has given of his labours.‡ Perhaps, after all, we must admit, that he was more of a humanist than a theologian.

But whatever excuse may be made for Erasmus under his peculiar circumstances, there is none for those who, living in

* Delitzsch, *Entstehung des Erasmischen Textes*, &c. p. 58.

† Ibid. p. 5.

‡ *Non possum non testari infatigabilem hominis strenuitatem, vix credendam in tractando fidem*, &c. Apud Wetsten. Prolegom. p. 120.

Digitized by Google

clearer light and with ampler command of resources, still cling superstitiously to his defective text, and stupidly resist all attempts to improve it,—to enable people to read now, as far as it can be recovered, what evangelists and apostles actually wrote. An apprehension has been sometimes expressed, lest the present philosophical treatment of Christianity, and consequent aversion to the unreasoning *bibliolatry* of former generations, should induce a too great neglect of the critical studies, which must ever lie at the foundation of a solid scriptural theology. I do not, I confess, share in this apprehension. I cannot forget that the critical labours of Lachmann were specially encouraged by Schleiermacher, the boldest of philosophical Christians, to whose memory that eminent critic has dedicated his edition of the Greek Testament;* and that the most distinguished of the seven Essayists and Reviewers, Mr. Jowett, opens his work on the Epistles of Paul with a statement of reasons for laying aside the *textus receptus* of the New Testament, and adopting that of Lachmann in its stead. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that the two men who are now doing most to expose the deficiencies of the Erasmian text, and pleading most earnestly for the reconstruction of a better on the freest critical grounds, Dr. Tregelles and Professor Delitzsch, both belong to the high reactionary school of orthodoxy. On the whole, we may rejoice that they do, because on that account the results of their critical labours are more likely to obtain general acceptance in the religious world. Previous to any systematic attempt at an improved version, there must be agreement on a text; and perhaps the first step towards the accomplishment of the former object, would be the appointment of a commission of learned men of different Protestant communions, not confined to England, but embracing other countries as well, to prepare and recommend a sound Greek text, as the basis of a new authorized version for public use.†

T.

CHURCH CONSERVATISM BEGETS COWARDICE.

Bishop Hacket, in his Century of Sermons, says that he took the Pope to be an ill member of Christendom, yet would have no man desire the Devil should pull him down, viz. the Turk; or Goths and Vandals, viz. German Anabaptists and Socinians; for fear the change should be for the worse. Under the influence of a not unlike cowardice, Churchmen admit the defects of the Book of Common Prayer, yet oppose its reformation; do not deny the errors of the Authorized Translation of the Bible, yet denounce all who ask for a better translation.

---

* On Lachmann's relations with Schleiermacher in the preparation of this edition, see Præfat. Tom. I. p. xxxi.

† Such a suggestion does not of course imply any denial of the great importance of new private versions of particular books multiplied to any extent.

Digitized by Google

WILSON'S ESSAYS.*

THE title of this work suggests, and was intended to suggest, a comparison with the Religio Medici of Sir Thomas Browne. But the intention was never completely carried out: the essays which form the volume are but sketches and portions of the author's designed work. Nor do they appear now for the first time; they are, with one exception, reprints, such as are now so frequent, from Reviews or other previously published books; and it is therefore not surprising that we find here and there a want of the unity of conception and execution which belongs to the older work of the physician of Norwich, written when monthlies and quarterlies and their resuscitated articles were not usual forms of literature, and when the progress of physical science was not so rapid as to render the speculations of the previous lustrum imperfect or half obsolete in the succeeding one.

Of the essays composing this volume, three are scientific and three biographical, consisting of critical notices of the lives of Boyle, Wollaston and Dalton, representatives, as it were, of the chemistry of their respective periods. The seventh and last essay, now first published, is entitled, Thoughts on the Resurrection, an Address to Medical Students.

The first three essays seem to be the only ones strictly answering to the original design of the author. They are argumentative discussions, the object of which is to bring from the facts and laws of modern chemical science, proofs of the wisdom and goodness of God. They may be regarded as supplementary to such works as Paley's Natural Theology of the last century and the Bridgwater Treatises of our own; all of which, however, were written when chemistry, being, to say the least, considerably less matured than the other sciences, had not been to any extent drawn upon for the support of the grand argument from design.

There are two tendencies in writers on natural theology, as indeed in most advocates of scientific or moral theories, which must be considered as prejudicial to the force and trustworthiness of their conclusions. One is, that they attempt to prove too much, and to make out a case without a flaw; the other, that they attempt to support this case by evidence which further experience shews to be imperfect or misapprehended. The first of these tendencies is noticed by our author as observable in the Actonian Prize Essay of Dr. Fownes, who, he thinks, goes too far in laying it down as demonstrable that the benevolence of the Deity is not only unbounded, but unmixed. He enters at considerable length on the discussion of this point in his first essay. "It is a defect," he says, "in our recent publications on

* Religio Chemici. Essays by George Wilson, F.R.S.E., late Regius Professor of Technology in the University of Edinburgh.

Digitized by Google

natural theology, that due prominence is not given to the dark as well as to the bright side of nature." "We rejoice in having an opportunity of disavowing a practice so common, of slurring over the difficulties of natural theology."

That the Divine benevolence is not unmodified or unmixed is indeed obvious enough; and it cannot be either right or wise to conceal or explain away what observation forces on the notice of every man. Without insisting on the inevitable decay and mortality of the human body as derogating from the perfect benevolence of its Designer, how are we to regard the existence of disease and pain, visiting the most innocent and depriving them of physical enjoyment? How are we to regard the law by which whole races of animals become the prey of other races, and that by no painless process, but by one attended with the utmost violence, terror and agony to the victims? The very goodness of God to one species seems to necessitate cruelty to others. His goodness to the lion, the eagle or the shark, involves incalculable suffering to the innocent lamb and the birds and fishes doomed to satisfy the voracious appetite of their assailants. God is good to the spider; wonderful is the design and the benevolence by which it is enabled to spin its snares and secure its food; but the life and enjoyment of every individual spider involves the death and agony of hundreds of innocent flies. It certainly appears difficult to reconcile these things with unmixed benevolence, or even with the principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number of living creatures.

Without attempting to solve this mystery, which to our author seems indeed to be beyond the powers of physical science to unriddle, we will only say that we agree with him in believing that God's benevolence, though, for reasons now obscure to us, it be not unmixed, is yet, like his other attributes, infinite; and that some great purpose is served by the suffering even of the innocent.

The second tendency we have mentioned, that of adducing so-called facts without sufficient confirmation, is not complained of by our author. Nevertheless, it is frequently observable. Thus in the first essay, in which the constitution of the atmosphere is made to furnish proofs of elaborate design, Dr. Wilson gives as one of several reasons why the mass of the atmosphere should be considerable, this, that otherwise "the vicissitudes of temperature at the earth's surface would be much greater than they are, and, in truth, would be incompatible with life, if there were no atmosphere *to temper the extreme alternations of heat and cold* which occur on a naked globe." And he is supported in this assertion by very high authority; for even Sir J. Herschel says, speaking of the moon, "The climate of the moon must be very extraordinary; the alternation being that of unmitigated and burning sunshine, fiercer than an equatorial noon, continued for

Digitized by Google

a whole fortnight, and the keenest severity of frost, far exceeding that of our polar winters, for an equal time." Now at first sight this seems very likely. It is certain that the heat of the sun is veiled and modified to us by the clouds and vapours that float in the atmosphere; and it is natural to assume that the same softening and protecting influence is produced by the atmosphere itself. But is this assumption justified by fact? If there be extremes of heat which the atmosphere modifies and tempers, they must of course occur when the earth is turned directly towards the sun, i.e. at noon, and especially when there are no clouds to shade his direct rays from objects on the earth. But is it not found, on the contrary, that even under the equator, as we ascend from the level of the sea, the temperature, instead of becoming hotter as we rise through the protecting strata of the atmosphere, becomes colder; so that the tops of high mountains, even between the tropics, are covered with eternal snow, and that part is coldest that is least protected from the heat? When Mr. Glaisher, this very summer, had risen in his balloon to a height that left two-thirds of this protecting atmosphere below him, was he scorched by exposure to the unclouded blaze of the noon-day sun? On the contrary, we know that he was near perishing with cold, and a bottle of water which he took up with him for moistening his thermometer bulb, was frozen into one solid mass of ice. It would seem, then, that any arguments founded on this supposed power of the atmosphere in tempering extremes of heat, must be received with great distrust, and limited to the effects of winds, which are adduced in the essay under a distinct category. So far from the atmosphere diminishing the sensible heat of the sun's rays, their heat is more intense in direct proportion to the density of the atmosphere in which we are. And we may remark, in passing, how fallacious must be in all probability those statements of the comparative temperature of the planets which are grounded on their comparative distances from the source of heat. The supposed fierceness of solar heat on Mercury, for instance, which we are sometimes told would not admit of water in any other form than steam, may be compensated by rarity of atmosphere; and the scanty supply that reaches Uranus or Neptune may be intensified by corresponding density of air, so that living beings may exist there in nearly the same favourable or pleasant conditions as ourselves.

To a writer whose immediate object is to prove benevolent design, some particular phenomenon apparently differing from the majority of its class presents itself as a special exception, a proof of direct interference, as it were, and shewing, therefore, the care of the Creator for his creatures more vividly than unvarying obedience to general laws, however beneficent these might be in themselves. The error often made in using such phenomena is not so much in the conclusion as in the premises; not in the

Digitized by Google

conclusion that the Creator is benevolent, but in inviting us to rest our belief of his benevolence upon insufficiently confirmed exceptions. It has been very usual, for instance, to say, that the law by which water when frozen into ice is lighter than the same water when in a fluid state, is a proof of exceptional interference,—of a by-law, in fact, superseding for a special benevolent purpose the general law by which bodies contract, and therefore become heavier, by cold. That the law which regulates the specific gravity of ice and of water is a benevolent one and a proof of wise design, no one will probably deny; but it is a mistake to suppose it a singular exception to the general laws of nature. The same thing takes place with various other bodies that crystallize in cooling, because the symmetrical arrangement of their atoms takes up more space than the same atoms in unsymmetrical contact; much as soldiers arranged in rank and file would occupy a greater area than when crowded together in a close mass. It is a fact familiar to metal-founders, that if a piece of cast iron be thrown into a vessel of molten iron, or a piece of lead into one of molten lead, it will float, and even require to be forcibly pushed down to keep it below the surface. It is even maintained by Mr. James Nasmyth, the eminent engineer, in a paper read before the British Association at Dublin, that all bodies when in a solid state will float upon their respective fluids. If this be so, then water conforms to the general law; and the sinking, not the floating, of ice would be the exceptional phenomenon. Of course the argument for special design founded on the contrary assumption falls to the ground, or at any rate must be transferred to the general law for the solidification of fluids.

The drawback that diminishes the value of most reprints, that they no longer suit existing circumstances, attaches to scientific almost as much as to political reprints. Thus in the second essay of this volume, the very title, "Chemistry of the Stars," would lead a reader to anticipate a discussion embodying the latest results of the beautiful spectrum analysis of Bunsen and Kirchhoff. It is therefore with some disappointment that we find not a word upon the subject of this wonderful discovery, for the very sufficient reason that it had not been made when the essay was written. We have indeed a quotation from Sir David Brewster, in which the discovery may be said to be foreshadowed; but an indication of the chemical composition of the heavenly bodies is sought by Dr. Wilson from meteorolites alone; and the analysis of these relates not to the stars properly so called, but to the members of our own system. The speculations of the essay are curious and instructive; but there is no doubt that they would have taken a far completer form and wider scope had they been made now instead of three or four years ago.

We shall not attempt to follow in detail the arguments of the several essays and biographies before us. We have adverted to

Digitized by Google

a few defects that have struck us in perusing them; but we must at the same time observe that these defects are chargeable not so much to the author as to the circumstances of the publication at this time, which would equally affect any speculations on physical science. The volume is in almost every part interesting and instructive. It is the work of a mind thoughtful and well informed on the subject of which it speculates, and which is, moreover, thoroughly imbued with that pious reverence for the Great Author of nature, which raises and hallows all study of his works. The style is throughout perspicuous and elegant, and there are passages of great beauty, rising occasionally to the eloquence of poetry, with one of which we will conclude our notice. It is where, after having gone over, in his first essay, the ingredients of the atmosphere synthetically, and shewn the design that dictated the employment of each in the composition, he reviews the general properties of the vital fluid, and its beneficent functions in the economy of nature.

"We must now try to conceive of the atmosphere as a whole, and to realize clearly the idea of its unity. And what a whole! What a unity it is! It possesses properties so wonderful and so dissimilar, that we are slow to believe that they can exist together. It rises above us with its cathedral dome, arching towards that heaven of which it is the most familiar synonym and symbol. It floats around us like that grand object which the apostle John saw in his visions, 'a sea of glass like unto crystal.' So massive is it, that when it begins to stir, it tosses about great ships like playthings, and sweeps cities and forests, like snowflakes, to destruction before it. And yet it is so mobile, that we have lived years in it before we can be persuaded that it exists at all; and the great bulk of mankind never realize the truth that they are bathed in an ocean of air. Its weight is so enormous, that iron shivers before it like glass; yet a soap-bell sails through it with impunity, and the tiniest insect waves it aside with its wing.

"It ministers lavishly to all the senses. We touch it not, but it touches us. Its warm south winds bring back colour to the pale face of the invalid; its cool west winds refresh the fevered brow, and make the blood mantle on our cheeks; even its north blasts brace into new vigour the hardened children of our rugged clime. The eye is indebted to it for all the magnificence of sunrise, the full brightness of mid-day, the chastened radiance of the gloaming, and the 'clouds that cradle near the setting sun.' But for it, the rainbow would want its triumphal arch, and the winds would not send their fleecy messengers on errands round the heavens. The cold ether would not shed its snow-feathers on the earth, nor would drops of dew gather on the flowers. The kindly rain would never fall, nor hail-storm nor fog diversify the face of the sky. Our naked globe would turn its tanned and unshadowed forehead to the sun, and one dreary, monotonous blaze of light and heat dazzle and burn up all things.* Were there no atmosphere, the evening sun would in a moment set, and without warning plunge the earth in darkness. But

* It will of course be understood, from our remarks on p. 726, that we by no means admit this as a correct statement of the fact.

Digitized by Google

the air keeps in her hand a sheaf of his rays, and lets them slip but slowly through her fingers; so that the shadows of evening gather by degrees, and the flowers have time to bow their heads, and each creature space to find a place of rest, and to nestle to repose. In the morning the garish sun would at one bound burst from the bosom of night and blaze above the horizon; but the air watches for his coming, and sends at first but one little ray to announce his approach, and then another, and by and by a handful, and so gently draws aside the curtains of night, and slowly lets the light fall on the face of the sleeping earth, till her eyelids open, and, like man, she goeth forth to her labour until the evening.

"To the ear it brings all the sounds that pulsate through it. The grave eloquence of men, the sweet songs and happy laughter of women; the prayers and the praises which they utter to God; the joyous carols of birds; the hum of insect wings; the whisper of the winds when they breathe gently, and their laughter and wild choruses when they shriek in their wrath; the plashing of fountains; the murmur of rivers; the roaring of cataracts; the rustling of forests; the trumpet-note of the thunder; and the deep, solemn voice of the everlasting sea. Had there been no atmosphere, melody nor harmony would not have been, nor any music. The earth might have made signs to the eye, like one bereft of speech, and have muttered from her depths inarticulate sounds, but nature would have been voiceless, and we should have gazed only on shores 'where all was dumb.' To the last of the senses the air is not less bountiful than to the others. It gathers to itself all perfumes and fragrance; from bean-fields in flower, and meadows of new-mown hay; from hills covered with wild thyme, and gardens of roses. The breezes, those 'heavy-winged thieves,' waft them hither and thither, and the sweet south wind 'breathes upon banks of violets, stealing and giving odour.'

"Such is a faint outline of the atmosphere. The sea has been called the pathway of nations, but it is a barrier as well as a bond between them. It is only the girdling and encircling air, which flows above and around all, that makes the 'whole world kin.' The carbonic acid with which our breathing fills the air, to-morrow will be speeding north and south, and striving to make the tour of the world. The date-trees that grow round the fountains of the Nile will drink it in by their leaves; the cedars of Lebanon will take of it, to add to their stature; the cocoa-nuts of Tahiti will grow riper upon it, and the palms and bananas of Japan will change it into flowers. The earth is our mother, and bears us in her arms; but the air is our foster-mother, and nurses each one. Men of all kindreds and peoples, four-footed beasts and creeping things, fowls of the air and whales of the sea, old trees of the forest, mosses wreathed upon boughs, and lichens crumbling on stones, drink at the same perennial fount of life which flows freely for all. Nursed at the same breast, we are of one family—plants, animals and men; and God's tender mercies are over us all. Must we strive by rule of logic and absolute demonstration to shut up each reader into a corner, and compel him to acknowledge that the atmosphere was not self-created, but was made by Him 'who stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them as a tent to dwell in'? Is there any one who can help exclaiming, 'O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all'?"

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Psalm xxix. 1, 2:

"Give unto Jehovah, O ye sons of gods,
Give unto Jehovah glory and strength.
Give unto Jehovah the glory due unto his name.
Worship Jehovah in the beauty of holiness."

Thus the assembled Jews, or perhaps only the priests and Levites, are addressed as "Ye sons of gods." The Authorized Version has "Ye mighty," using words more suited to our modern theology, but concealing from us a peculiarity of the original Hebrew. But in Psalm lxxxii. the same persons are called "gods and sons of the Most High," which fully supports the above expression.

Psalm viii. 4, 5:

"What is man that thou art mindful of him,
Or son of Adam that thou visitest him?
Thou [Jehovah] hast made him little lower than God,
And hast crowned him with glory and honour."

Our translators here follow the Septuagint, and write, "little lower than the angels." But whatever difficulty we may have in explaining the opinion of the psalmist, we are not justified in altering his words. It is of the first importance to remark that the Old Testament, while never using the word Jehovah in any but the highest sense, often uses the word God in a lower sense. This may perhaps help us to understand the words of Thomas, who, in John xx. 28, seems to address Jesus as "my Lord and my God."

---

2 Kings xxiv. 34:

"And Pharaoh-Nechoh made Eliakim, the son of Josiah, king in the room of Josiah his father; and he changed his name to Jehoiakim; and Jehoahaz was taken away, and he came to Egypt, and died there."

The Authorized Version here leads us to understand that the Egyptian king required his Jewish vassal to change his name from "El is my strength" to "Jah is my strength." But the Hebrew is at least ambiguous, and it is far more probable that the king changed his own name as a matter of course on receiving the crown. In those days the name of Jah, or Jehovah, was thought more sacred than that of El, or God, and as such used by most of the anointed kings.

---

2 Kings xi. 15:

"Do ye make her go forth within the ranks; and let him that followeth after her kill her with the sword."

In this way the queen was to be led by the soldiers out of the temple and then murdered. The Authorized Version has, "Have her forth without the ranges."

Digitized by Google

Psalm ii. 12:

"Embrace purity, lest He [God] be angry."

The Septuagint has, "Receive instruction," or that which causes purity. This is nearly the same as our proposed reading; but the Authorized Version has, "Kiss the Son," thus applying these words to Christ.

Psalm xxii. 16:

"For dogs have surrounded me, the assembly of the wicked have enclosed me, like a lion my hands and my feet."

The Authorized Version, following the Septuagint, says, "They pierced my hands and my feet," and thus these words have been considered prophetic of the crucifixion. But though the above literal rendering makes a broken and ungrammatical sentence, yet the figure used of persecutors tearing the afflicted like a lion is so common among the Hebrew writers, that there is no necessity for our taking any liberty with the translation. Thus in the same Psalm, "They gaped upon me with their mouths as a ravening and roaring lion." In Psalm vii. 2, we read, "Lest he tear my soul like a lion." In Isaiah xxxviii. 13, "As a lion will he break all my bones." Psalm lvii. 4, says, "My soul is among lions." These instances might be multiplied many fold, but they are enough to justify us in keeping to the literal rendering, or with a slight insertion we may read, "Like a lion [they tear] my hands and my feet."

Psalm xxviii. 1:

"Unto thee will I cry, O Jehovah, my rock;
Be not thou deaf to me.
Lest if thou be silent to me
I become like them that go down into the pit."

The Authorized Version very unnecessarily says, "Be not thou silent to me," instead of "Be not thou deaf to me."

Psalm lxiii. 9:

"Those who seek my life to destroy it shall be thrown into pits of the earth; they shall be delivered over to the power of the sword; they shall be the portion of jackals."

Pits or dry caves were used as prisons. Joseph was imprisoned in one by his brethren; and as such they are here spoken of in this passage, and not as the grave or place of the dead. The enemies of the psalmist were first to be imprisoned, then to be put to death, then to be thrown to the jackals.

Psalm lx. 8, and Psalm cviii. 9:

"Moab is my wash-pot;
Over Edom will I empty my shoe."

This is said in contempt; the writer, speaking of the Almighty

Digitized by Google

as a human being, would consider the desert of Edom as the fit place for him to throw the sand which had got into his shoe, in the same way as he would use the better-watered land of Moab as his wash-pot. The shoes of the Israelites, if ever, were not always sandals. Thus in Ezekiel xvi. 10, we have shoes made of badger skin. And in 1 Kings ii. 5, blood is said to have been put into the shoes of a man who is slain. To justify our use of the word "empty," we remark that the verb in its root means "to cast out," but in the conjugation here used it means to "make the shoe cast out."

Genesis i. 2:

"And the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the breath of God moved upon the face of the waters."

That the writer meant to speak of the Almighty's creative influence under the name of his breath, is abundantly clear in the same figure of speech being made use of in other parts of the Hebrew writings. In chap. ii. 7, God is said to breathe into Adam's nostrils to give him life. And in Psalm xxxiii. 6, we read, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the breath of his mouth." It is important thus to shew that when the creation is described as being brought about by the help of God's word or command and his breath or life-giving influence, the writer of the first chapter of Genesis is using the same figure of speech as the writer of Psalm xxxiii., and gives no ground whatever to the popular opinion that a second and a third Divine Person were present at the creation.

S. S.

THE DISTRESS IN THE COTTON MANUFACTURING DISTRICTS.

The one subject of deepest interest at the present moment to Englishmen is the suffering condition of the operative class hitherto employed in our cotton manufactories. Information is anxiously sought by the public both as to the extent of the distress and the best mode of alleviating it. The newspapers do their best to supply from week to week and day to day facts and opinions on the cotton famine and its results. The principal journals now have their "Special Correspondents" deputed to visit the localities where the distress prevails, and to report, with such comments as their sagacity suggests, the condition of the artizans, the prospects of the trade, the plans adopted for the mitigation of want and suffering, and the demeanour of the sufferers. No series of papers that we have seen equals in interest and value those furnished by the Special Correspondent of the *Daily News*. The series of letters began on September 20,

Digitized by Google

and have been continued at short intervals from that time to the present. The writer has familiar acquaintance with the habits and peculiarities of the manufacturing class, both masters and men, and his sympathies are wide and honestly expressed. The literary merits of the articles are great: the style is lively; and while the descriptions are full of tender pathos, there is not wanting an occasional dash of humour. We hope that the whole series will be presented to the public in a separate form, for the articles possess an enduring value.

We propose to give a series of extracts from these letters, which will, we hope, be the means of making the views of their humane and judicious writer still more widely known, and of evoking further expressions of sympathy from those who have no personal knowledge of the districts and the people now struggling with this dreadful cotton famine.

In the first letter, the Correspondent checks the tendency in public writers to exaggerate the outward tokens of distress.

"Observers from a distance come prepared to see the nakedness of the land, and have seen it accordingly. Manchester, which is far less a manufacturing city than a market and emporium for the country which surrounds it, surges and swells with busy human life as usual. The same is the case, in various degrees, with the larger towns, which depend in part upon other forms of industry than that now paralyzed. There are, no doubt, more beggars in the streets, more brass bands, more troops of singers—all of whom are factory hands for the nonce, even though some of them may not know a shuttle from a spindle. But I must own, although my experience may be singular, that I have only once or twice been publicly asked for alms by those whom I could at once and unhesitatingly identify as belonging to the respectable working class. The cottages are, perhaps, cleaner than usual, and the gardens more trim; many a man tries to find in unaccustomed household work the occupation which long habit has made necessary to him. But especially in the smaller towns and villages the resident notes changes which would altogether escape the observant stranger. In ordinary times these unlovely places are, except at certain hours of the day, as sleepy as the quietest hamlet in Warwickshire; the streets are empty, the shopkeepers idle; and only the overhanging canopy of smoke, and the busy hum of wheels which falls upon the ear as you approach the mill, tell the tale of human industry. But then at a few minutes before six in the dewy morning, and again at twelve and one in the hot noon, and at six once more as the sun begins to decline to his rest, a deafening clatter of clogs is heard along the stones, and strong streams of life pour down all the main streets; and for a moment the wonder is not, as before, where was all the population to fill the long rows of cottages, but where even in the cottages so thick a population is to find its home. Now, when factories open for a few days in the week at eight and close at four, there is no such rush to and from work; there is time to lounge slowly down without losing the last moment of sleep, time to saunter slowly up without risking the last moment of daylight. Men hang about the street-corners and other well-known haunts, not noisily, but quietly, almost wearily,

Digitized by Google

as if it were always Saturday afternoon. Formerly shopkeepers did not begin work in earnest till seven o'clock at night; now, what little they have to do is spread over the day, and the streets have an unnatural look of business and activity. I have heard it said by those who live in the thick of the smoke, that in the great strike some years ago—known as the 'national holiday'—their fruit ripened naturally for the first time, and they were able to identify the produce of their trees. This autumn, too, apples redden, and plums blush in their proper hues; the chimneys smoke too feebly and too seldom to cover them with the accustomed coating of soot. Those who were not familiar with the excellent wardrobes of the better class of mill girls, would still remark the neatness of their Sunday's attire; keener observers noted that at Whitsuntide new bonnets were few and far between, and that freshened ribbons and turned frocks betokened many an anxious mother's care that her children should make a creditable appearance at the great northern holiday. The loaded shelves of the pawnbroker tell a mournful tale; there are warm clothes and blankets there which will be bitterly missed before spring comes round again, and the furniture-brokers will not buy, and cannot sell, any longer. Still there is a look (perhaps it may be no more than a fancy of mine, seeing the sign where I know the reality to be) of quiet, almost cheerful courage on many faces, as of men resolved to keep up a good heart, and to fight the fight to its end, however hard it may be. Certainly even such pressing evils as cold and hunger are better to bear in sight of streams and trees and green hills, than where the long dull lines of squalid street shut out all Nature, save the narrow strip of sky overhead. God help those who suffer in the depths of our huge, black towns; few need His help so much."

One of the great difficulties in the way of charity is the number of cases of fictitious and exaggerated distress which are always ready to obtrude themselves on the notice of the benevolent. After describing some of the class of persons less entitled to sympathy and help, the Correspondent proceeds in these striking words to portray the qualities of a better class:

"But after all these deductions there still remain the strength and flower of the people—men and women of the sturdy Lancashire, or Cheshire, or Yorkshire race, who speak the rough, kindly tongue, which to those who are born to it is as capable of humour and of pathos as Lowland Scotch upon the lips of Burns. To those who have come among them in their prosperous days they have appeared uncouth, rude, almost surly; the hand does not often fly to the cap; even the common titles of honour and respect are infrequent in their mouths; they turn their back upon well-meant patronage, and will not submit to even the most benevolent dictation; whosoever would work with them, even for their own good, must be content to descend to their level, and be only one among many. But only those who have lived with them, and have been so fortunate as to gain their esteem and affection, know how kind a heart is hidden beneath that halting courtesy, how genuine a self-respect masks itself with that rough independence; how cheerfully they accept the somewhat hard conditions of their lot; how completely they fill their humble place in the economy of the State. And I can conceive of no greater national misfortune than that, either by inadequate or ill-consi-

Digitized by Google

dered measures of relief, a people like this should be crushed down into that dull level of hopeless pauperism above which they have struggled so manfully to rise. For us, at least, it will be one of the most lamentable results of a most lamentable war if it leaves us in Lancashire with a working population indifferent to and unworthy of political emancipation."

In his next letter the Correspondent continues the subject, and elaborates more strikingly the portrait of the best class of suffering operatives.

"There is a class of working people—not perhaps so large as it might be, but still numerous—eminently distinguished by forethought and self-respect. Their houses are clean and well furnished; their clothing comfortable, and, to some extent, costly; while a cottage or two, or a little money out on mortgage, or an account at the savings' bank, testifies to their care for the future. They are as homely in the way of living as their fellows, and while bending all their energies to maintain a respectable position in their class, often shew no great anxiety to rise above it. Content to be working men, their aims are bounded by the ideas involved in that word, and because bounded are the more perfectly attained. Thanks to Sunday-schools, they are men (especially the younger portion) of some degree of education; pore over the penny paper, and are not without political opinions; sometimes even acquire some tincture of natural science; and nearly always maintain a more or less close connection with church or chapel. Many of them are as proudly independent as any gentleman in the land, and have always kept themselves, and rightly, out of the reach of any patronizing benevolence. What is their position now? Of what avail has been their thrift and forethought, except to enable them to fight a little longer than others a hopeless battle with want? They may not come to the relief committee so soon as their neighbours, but they must and do come at last: the battle is one which, in the very nature of things, they cannot win. A case of this kind came under my notice the other day. A skilled mechanic, who is a most favourable specimen of the class which I have tried to describe, was, I felt sure, in need of aid, and yet, I was equally sure, would never ask it. We were neighbours, and I did not choose to put the question to him face to face, but sent to him a friend of his own, with an intimation that if he really wanted help it was at his service, not through the medium of any board, but as an act of neighbourly kindness. He replied that his savings were exhausted, his wages very small, and that he accepted the offer in the spirit in which it was made. But the next morning he came to say that he had re-considered the matter, and had decided differently. He had received no help as yet, and was unwilling to begin: with an increased effort he could go on for a week or two more, and in the mean time something might turn up. And then he pleaded the case of a friend, who was more deserving, he said, and more in want than himself, and begged that whatever aid had been designed for him might be transferred to the other. It is very hard to think that a man like this, with so many of the elements of true nobleness in him, should at last be driven (as to all appearance must be the case) to the dependence which he hates so much; harder still that he should be exposed to the temptations to moral deterioration which

Digitized by Google

inevitably wait upon dependence; hardest of all, that he should lose his faith in the long effort of industry and self-control, which is the single hope of the working class, and yet which in this case seems, by a sad fate, to have done so little for them!"

Many true and some fine things have been said and written of late respecting the courage and patience of our countrymen in their present sharp trial. The remarks that follow, published in September last, will be recognized as the original source of some of them.

"I ought not to pass over, without a word of record, the wonderful quietness with which this misfortune has been borne. Not only have there been no breaches of the public peace, no clamorous meetings to demand redress of wrong, but the absence of private complaint has been even more striking. It is no secret that paid agitators have been at work to excite the suffering population to ask for a recognition of the Confederate States; yet, so far, utterly without result. Yet this is by no means a quiet population, crushed into hopeless silence by a long period of low wages and half work; but one which, as the annals of the last half century can testify, is quite apt enough not only to complain, but to take the law into its own hands, and to attempt wild measures of reform. I attribute this very remarkable fact, in the first place, to the general extension of education; and secondly, and in especial, to the influence of the cheap press. The penny weekly paper, the inner pages of which are printed in London for use in a score of different towns, while the outer pages receive the local news and advertisements of each, is a more powerful engine of civilization than the readers of more costly prints are aware. It carries the police news, the local controversy, the report of the vestry meeting, and the like, which every working man understands and likes to read, and with all this a respectable epitome of the week's intelligence, into thousands of hands where, till a few years ago, a newspaper was an infrequent luxury. And the reason why the working classes of Lancashire and Cheshire have been quiet and law-abiding during the sufferings of the last six months is simply that they understand the cause of their distress. They know that it is not their masters' fault, and that no forethought could have prevented it. They look upon it in the same light as they would look upon the failure of a crop which was grown at their own doors. I do not know that they follow the fortunes of either party in the war with a very hearty sympathy; the one object of their desire is naturally that the war should come to an end. But even so, they do not wish that the end should be accelerated by any English intervention, and are content to suffer and to wait, rather than see their country adopt for their sakes an unjust or a high-handed policy. Let it be once understood that this is neither the silence of ignorance nor the apathy of despair, and it must surely be recognized as one of the noblest facts even of a history like our own."

They who think that the giant evils of the present distress can only be met by a rate levied on the parish or drawn from an imperial source, do not perhaps realize the intensity of the dislike felt by our operatives to relief given them as paupers. Let the Correspondent speak on this point.

Digitized by Google

"Honest poverty has its indubitable claim upon the rates, which it need not be ashamed to urge; indigence may be, and in this case undoubtedly is, an unavoidable misfortune, and to encourage the dislike of parish relief at the present moment is to foster a foolish sentiment which will surely lead to hunger and nakedness. I have heard rich men say, and I believe sincerely, that they thought that they should not be unwilling, in case of unexpected necessity, to appeal to the parish, and to receive the help which, in more prosperous days, they had assisted in giving to others. Perhaps they might—if their feelings were duly consulted in the matter, and the relieving officer respectfully left at the doors, once a week, the offering of their fellow-citizens towards their wants. But if all their lives they had been very near the line which parts humble independence from pauperism, and seeing on the farther side of it the idle, the drunken, the dissolute, the criminal, had worked night and day to keep themselves and their children from such association; if so living they had felt that 'honest poverty' among paupers was not the rule but the exception; if they had had some near experience of the fact that Poor-law methods and officers were swift, and sharp, and suspicious, as need is for the work they commonly have to do; if in application for help they had to jostle amid a crowd of those whom they had known and despised for years, now not grieved to see them reduced to their own level; if they felt that in eating a parish loaf they had taken a step which could never be retrieved, contracted a debt which could never be repaid, I think perhaps that they might decide differently. I heard the other day of a working man who had got over all this, perhaps had not felt it very acutely. But the sting came when, taking to the roads with his gang, he was accosted by one who bore that and everything else very easily, 'What, Bill, hast thou come to the broom at last?' It may seem very absurd to philosophical minds, but the besom was that poor fellow's badge of degradation."

Of the plans adopted in different parts of Lancashire and Cheshire to relieve the distress, the Correspondent's letters contain very interesting and instructive sketches. At Preston, where it is supposed the suffering is very severe, and where the efforts of the resident capitalists are reported to bear little ratio to either their own wealth or their neighbours' need, we are introduced to one of the "visitors" engaged by the Relief Committee.

"Many of the Preston visitors are themselves working men of the better class, who are still able to make a successful struggle against want, a class than which, where it exists in sufficient numbers, none can be fitter for this work. One who was kind enough to allow me to accompany him in a part of his rounds was a fine specimen of his order—clear-headed, courteous, self-respectful, self-dependent, whose title to respect was not that he successfully aspired to rise out of his degree, but that he consciously made the best of its moral and social possibilities. He, too, was fighting the battle, had been long out of work, and knew only too well the measure of his humble resources; but meanwhile he was anxious to do what he could to mitigate the distress of his fellow-workmen. One such visitor as himself, he said, had succumbed, and was now working on the moor; but he had seen the incongruity of his

Digitized by Google

double position as a distributor and recipient of relief, and had quietly resigned his office into other hands. From what I saw in my rounds from house to house, and from what my companion told me, I gained a pretty clear idea of the Preston factory hands. There are many Irish, with their characteristic merits and failings: Lancashire has always been one of the most Catholic of English counties; and Preston, standing at the edge of a district which comprises several large Catholic estates, is to some extent a rallying-point of the Church. There is the usual percentage of native labour, dragged down by the temptations incident to poverty in large towns. But there remains a not small proportion of the honest, the patient, the independent population, upon whose attitude in this hour of difficulty England will always look back with pride. As I passed from house to house, it was impossible not to be struck, at once, with the simplicity and directness with which my guide, standing on the same level with those to whom he spoke, put his necessary questions, and with the uncomplaining and sometimes even cheerful straightforwardness of the answers. There was as little of the harsh and suspicious abruptness which often characterizes the inquiries of the paid visitor, as as of the air of hesitating condescension with which the voluntary visitor of higher rank often enters the poor man's house. Every woman had her tale to tell—not always without tears: of work gradually lessening, and at last taken away; of half-fed and half-naked children; of the husband on the moor or in the stone-yard; of thankfulness for the extra loaf, or the additional quart of soup. Here and there the story was sadder still: savings melted away; little speculations in building brought to a close in total loss; men who indulged the hope of ending their days in a house of their own, owing to another's forbearance the very roof over their heads. Nor did I find it difficult to believe my companion's statement, that he and others perpetually came upon cases of shame-faced poverty, where men and women shut themselves up with hunger and cold, rather than ask the help of which they so sorely stood in need, either from public or private charity."

While the Correspondent does not spare the selfish men to be found in most districts, who have evaded every duty to their workpeople and neighbours, his representations give no countenance to the censure so freely cast in some quarters on the cotton manufacturers as a class. It will surely shame those who have been most free in censure of this kind to read the descriptions of the judicious and costly efforts which some of the capitalists of Lancashire and Cheshire are making. The Correspondent, after visiting Stockport, speaks of the beneficence of the masters generally, and then continues thus:

"I hear, however, of two firms, each of which, in addition to other acts of benevolence, is furnishing employment for able-bodied men in the construction of new streets. Others are distributing soup, rice, bread, tea and other necessaries in various proportions. Another gives 1*s.* 6*d.* a week to every unemployed hand. Nearly all of those whose names do not appear upon some subscription list are working their mills three days a week. Only one or two of the whole number were mentioned to me as absolutely repudiating all obligations of liberality. At the same time, the following details of what is being done by one firm—and that not

Digitized by Google

among the wealthiest—may afford a favourable example of this form of kindly exertion. Of 542 persons dependent upon the 400 hands employed in the mill, 360 are actually in receipt of relief; the rest have either left the town, or think they can do better for themselves by a sole reliance upon the board of guardians, or have still some little savings on which to fall back. But no hand is lost sight of; any who do not apply at the mill are visited, and their case made the subject of special inquiry. In one week in the month of October, 697 pints of soup, 1023 pints of potato hash, 692 pints of rice milk, 2161 pints of porridge (with each pint 2 oz. of treacle), and 1500 lbs. of bread, were thus given away. In addition, 70 children are taught and provided with books at the expense of the firm, a substantial breakfast and dinner, eaten in a room fitted up for the purpose, being given to each. For the men, or indeed for the neighbours generally, there is a comfortable reading and amusement room, supplied with newspapers, dominos, draughts, and other means of whiling away the weary hours; and during the summer and autumn a skittle and quoiting ground has been very popular. The sending of children to the mill school is made a condition of receiving relief. All the arrangements are superintended by the manager, himself a near relative of the head of the firm, and are carried out with remarkable efficiency and civility by some of the unemployed workpeople. In two other mills in a different part of the county the same firm are meeting the difficulty in the same way, but they have not thought it necessary to subscribe, in addition to these efforts, to any fund which is advertised in the Manchester or London papers, and I suppose are included in the general verdict of condemnation passed against all millowners."

From the Correspondent's account of his visit to Blackburn, we select his description of the soup kitchen.

"A soup kitchen has been in operation since last January, where good soup is sold at 1*d.* a quart, its net cost being about 1½*d.* None is given away; every customer must bring a ticket or a penny. An approximation is here made to the principle of the successful cooking depôts in Glasgow, which are now beginning to be imitated, with good effect, in some of the distressed towns of Lancashire. At the Blackburn soup kitchen, an empty room in a mill, in which the idle shafting still hangs from the ceiling, has been fitted up with rude tables, where 400 to 500 people resort every morning for the cheapest and best breakfast which the town affords. Spoons and basins are provided, and I venture to suggest to the committee that forms (which they may buy, if they will, at the industrial school in Messrs. Yates's mill) do not cost much, and would greatly increase their customers' comfort. A successful speculation has been the issue of halfpenny tickets, good for a basin of soup or a halfpenny worth of bread. On Saturday, the 18th, £2. 17*s.* 3*d.* was taken at the door in actual coppers, representing, that is, 687 persons, who had come, not to receive a breakfast as a gift, but to buy it, at the vendor's price. From all that I have already seen of the distress, I am convinced that this method of relieving it is, in a much more developed form, destined to assume a far greater prominence than at present. By distributing the necessaries of life from a central store, the shopkeeper's profit is put into the hands of the people; this plan has the additional advantage of securing them against the waste occasioned by their own

Digitized by Google

ignorance of domestic economy. Whether the educational element of this project be of much practical value I doubt; cooking, to be done cheaply and well, must be on a large scale and must call in the aid of steam, so that rations for very many can be provided by the labour of a few. Where economy and efficiency are prime requisites, it will hardly do to employ unskilled labour. A boilerful of spoiled soup will write a line on the wrong side of the account-book; a kettle of burned porridge disgust a score of customers; and those who are personally interested in the success of the kitchen will unwillingly exchange instructed and competent servants for mill girls who have all to learn. But I believe that if cheap eating-houses can be provided, with such a degree of simple comfort and cleanliness as a working man may reasonably look for at home, with better cookery, and more economical though more palatable fare, and perhaps a paper to while away the half-hour after dinner, they will not only now attract a large part of the scanty resources of the poor, but after this distress has passed away will become permanent features in the social organization of our manufacturing towns."

What follows relates to Hyde.

"And the committee inform me that they are about to try, on a somewhat extensive scale, the plan of the Glasgow cooking depôts. A large hall, belonging to the Temperance Society, has been taken, and is now being fitted up with boilers, and all other appliances for cheap and good cookery. Nothing will be given away. Every customer must bring his penny or his ticket. To begin with, the committee propose as a penny breakfast or tea—tea, coffee, porridge, bread-and-butter; as a dinner, at the same price—soup, potato hash and bread. The variety of the provision will increase with the experience of the staff; by and by it is expected that the establishment will present to the working classes the attractions of an unprecedentedly cheap eating-house. Comfortable accommodation for men and women, in separate rooms, will be provided on the premises. Of the theoretical advantages of this plan there can be no doubt; it has yet to be decided whether it is possible to overcome the reluctance of the Lancashire operative to step out of the well-worn grooves of his ordinary life. At first the plan will be tried by giving single young men or women, who are applicants for relief, twelve tickets upon the kitchen instead of a shilling ticket upon the shops. In place of a shilling's worth of bread or meal, or other cheap food, necessary to sustain life, but unpalatable by itself, the applicant will find himself supplied with twelve nourishing and savoury meals. I cannot help hoping that the manifest benefits of the scheme will end in recommending it to the *mauvaise honte* even of mill hands; a feeling than which I know few stronger and more obstinate."

The *sick kitchen* is a new institution. The Correspondent finds it in operation only at Preston and Hyde,—at the latter place supported by the generous humanity of a millowner, whose name we will not mention because we believe the publicity would be distasteful to himself, but of whom it may truly be said there are few forms of wise and thoughtful charity of which at this crisis he has not set a munificent example.

"Last week 1498 dinners, all of them exquisitely cooked, and con-

Digitized by Google

sisting of roast and boiled meat, broths, puddings, arrowroot, &c.—in numerous cases accompanied by wine or porter—were distributed to as many invalids, and must have been instrumental in restoring the health, if not in saving the life, of many a poor helpless creature."

Side by side with this let us place the account of what one of the landed class is doing to relieve the distress of his neighbours.

"At Gawthorpe Hall, too, near Padiham, the residence of Sir J. P. Kay Shuttleworth, the able and indefatigable vice-chairman of the Manchester Central Committee, an interesting system of labour, on a plan similar to that adopted in the town, has been organized. Twenty-four women and girls meet in a sewing class, under the superintendence of the family, where they work eight hours a day, at the rate of 1*d.* an hour; receiving in addition a good mid-day meal. Twelve boys, each of whom earns 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, are painting hurdles, and doing other similar work on the estate. A gang of forty men, who work in two shifts, are making a new carriage road, under the superintendence of the gardener, each man earning his 3*d.* an hour, for four hours a day, but being permitted to work extra hours, under certain circumstances, in exchange for useful articles of clothing made in the sewing class. These men are all Padiham factory hands, and, like their comrades on the public road, work with the most satisfactory honesty and goodwill. The knowledge that they are fairly paid for what they do, that they are not required to perform a whole day's work for half a day's wages, takes away all sense of degradation from their unwonted occupation, and stimulates them to maintain upon the road the character for energy and faithfulness which they have earned in the mill. I trust that it may be found possible, by many owners of land in the neighbourhood of our distressed towns, to imitate the example set at Gawthorpe; and thus not only to supply the physical wants, but to help to preserve the self-respect, of some of their poorer neighbours."

No form of relief has been devised more admirable than the sewing schools. These institutions originated with the Hulme (township of Manchester) Institute. Mr. Birch, a young man employed in a merchant's office in Manchester, taking a warm interest in ragged schools, visiting a family in Salford, found seven daughters thrown out of work. The consideration of their case led to the plan of giving work in the Institute to young women desirous of employment in sewing.

"One hundred girls were soon gathered together; more and more applied for admittance every week; the public were not backward in the gift of money and material; till now ten such schools, in different parts of Manchester and Salford, containing 1740 girls, are in full operation. The city contains, of course, many more sewing schools than these; but the ten of which I have spoken are still in connection with the Hulme Institute and with one another, and are conducted on a uniform plan, under Mr. Birch's personal superintendence.

"These 1740 young women, for the most part between sixteen and thirty years of age, are all factory hands, and nearly all entirely out of work. Each is required to bring with her a recommendation from her employer. As far as possible, those who belong to the same mill are

Digitized by Google

associated in the same school, for the sake of a supposed advantage in maintaining discipline; though in some cases this is found to be impossible, and the girls go to the school-rooms nearest to their homes. The rooms in which they meet are all Sunday-schools belonging to different churches and chapels, the congregations of which supply lady committees for superintendence and teaching. The hours of work are in the morning from 9 to 12.30, in the afternoon from 1.30 to 5; and the wages paid for five such days' labour a week is 3*s.* 4*d.* Those who are a little more advanced than the rest are made into monitors, receiving 10*d.* a day; while orphans, in consideration of the fact that they have necessarily 1*s.* or 1*s.* 6*d.* a week to pay for lodging, are also remunerated at a slightly increased rate. These, too, benefit by a generous donation of bread and vegetables which Lady Willoughby de Broke sends every week from her country seat. Each school has a male superintendent taken from the class of unemployed overlookers, and a proportionate number of cutters-out, who earn 1*s.* a day. Every attempt is made to advance the schools in the direction of self-support; the produce of the girls' labour is sold to whoever will buy it. A certain part of their work is put by to be purchased by themselves at a very cheap rate, as it is supposed that they will set greater store on what they have not only made with their own hands, but have also paid a trifling price for. Up to the present time, the wages are supplied by public benevolence, aided by the proceeds of the work; none of the 1740 being, as far as it could be ascertained, in receipt of parish relief."

At Preston, "they have two large sewing schools, employing 725 girls, each of whom at present works 2½ days in the week, receiving three days' wages at 8*d.* a day. Arrangements are, however, at present in progress by which every girl will have four days' work of six hours each, at 6*d.* a day, and will be required to give one-fourth of her time to instruction in reading and writing. The establishment of an adult school for men is also contemplated."

At Wigan, "the sewing schools form one of its most important features. Of these there are four, containing 1800 women and girls. The hours of labour are four per diem for four days a week, half the time being spent in education. The girls are not paid any fixed wages, attendance upon the sewing school being required as an equivalent for the necessary amount of relief granted to their families. Up to the present time they have been chiefly occupied in clothing themselves; now some of them are engaged in working for a fund which has been raised to supply the labourers on the roads with a couple of shirts a-piece. I heard the old story over again, a story which in these depressing times and scenes it is difficult to hear too often, of the aptitude and willingness of the girls; of their orderly behaviour, their cheerful gratitude, their rapid progress."

Public attention has been drawn to the subject of the statistics of health in the manufacturing districts. On this topic the Correspondent offers a warning hint.

"The statistics now published by the Registrar-General are made up only to the 30th of September. It is a fact on which we cannot dwell with too great a satisfaction, that up to that time the death rate of Lancashire and Cheshire, as of England generally, was below the average;

Digitized by Google

and we need not go further than fresh air and absence of stimulants, and mothers compelled to nurse their own children, for the reason of it. But I am not aware that the health of the district was before that date a subject of apprehension even to the most fearful. Another month has since passed away—a month of rapidly widening and deepening distress; of increased privation; of insufficient food and covering at a season of the year when a more generous diet and warmer clothes become every day more necessary for the preservation of health. It is since the 30th of September that the tokens of fever, which are awakening alarm in almost every large cotton town, have shewn themselves. At a time like this, when changes come with every hour, it is the misfortune of the most accurate statistics to be always a little behindhand. And it would be a real misfortune if the heart and conscience of England should be deceived into the belief that because the unemployed workpeople were comparatively free from disease in the sunny days of September, they will need little or no additional help when, enfeebled by three months' struggle more, they have to encounter December's cutting winds, or the keen frosts of the new year."

We rejoice in the daily accumulating proofs of the fact that the attention and sympathy of the public are now effectually roused, and that funds for the relief of the distress, unprecedentedly enormous as it is, will not be wanting during the months of the coming winter. Every one that has anything to give must acknowledge the appeal to his charity, and without delay. By an universal and timely effort, this terrible crisis may be met without its entailing on a most deserving class of our people those awful consequences that must otherwise ensue. Without a combined effort of all in this country who are alive to the duties of humanity, the calamity will surpass in its extent and horrors anything hitherto recorded in our national annals.

ADDITIONAL NOTES ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Sir,

In the "Notes on the Old Testament" lately published in your pages,* there are many points on which, as I venture to think, further consideration will lead your correspondent to modify his opinions. In some of the less important of the "Notes," the criticisms of S. S. appear to be well founded, and the corrections suggested would, doubtless, be improvements upon the authorized version. In other cases, I fear, what he so confidently puts forward as corrections, would only be alterations for the worse. If you can afford me the space, I shall be glad to be allowed to offer a few additional notes on several of the passages in question. Your readers who are interested in these subjects will thus have the opportunity of seeing in your pages

* C. R. for October and November last, p. 601 and p. 684.

Digitized by Google

what can be said, either in defence of the common translation, or, at least, in illustration of that other side of the question which S. S. has, in most cases, left so entirely out of sight.

Jer. i. 19: "Jehovah hath said it." The words, "saith Jehovah," as correctly observed by S. S., have often a certain emphasis; but this he thinks "very badly expressed" by the rendering of the authorized version. I cannot congratulate him on having suggested any improvement, in the words, "Jehovah hath said it." I should fear this phrase would be anything but emphatic, if generally substituted for the old one. It is easy to test this. Take a passage, in Jer. iii. 12, 13, where the words referred to have as much of emphasis as they have anywhere else, and make the proposed change:

"Go and proclaim these words toward the north, and say,
Return, thou backsliding Israel, Jehovah hath said it;
I will not let my countenance frown upon you:
For I am merciful, Jehovah hath said it,
I will not retain *anger* for ever.
Only acknowledge thine iniquity,
That thou hast transgressed against Jehovah thy God,
And hast gone about among strangers,
Under every green tree;
And *that* ye have not obeyed my voice, Jehovah hath said it."

There are numberless instances where the effect would be just as objectionable as here; and so, I imagine, I need say no more on this point.

Isaiah xxx. 7, S. S. would translate: "Therefore have I named it the Boaster that sitteth still." He observes, "This nickname for Egypt is made use of by other Hebrew writers, who afterwards borrowed it from Isaiah." The word "Boaster" evidently suits the connection well enough. But a prudent translator will be on his guard against adopting meanings of words merely because they appear to *suit*. If such a liberty could be allowed, we might doubtless often improve the rendering of obscure passages. In the present case, is there any authority either from etymology or otherwise for the proposed change? I believe not. The word *rahab* is probably an old Egyptian word adopted by the Hebrew writers, written and used by them as if from a Hebrew root. We have no other means of determining its meaning but by referring to its use in Hebrew. If your correspondent has any other, he would have conferred a benefit on your readers by stating them; for a mere assertion can go for nothing in such a question. The word, then, according to its Hebrew derivation, is an abstract noun, denoting *boisterousness, violence, arrogance*. It seems to be used, however, as a name for some kind of animal—perhaps some mythological conception only, but taken as a symbol of Egypt: comp. Ezek. xxix. 3, 4. This creature, then, Jehovah

Digitized by Google

was said to have cut down and destroyed; as He did the Egyptians in the Red Sea. Hence the allusion, Ps. lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10; perhaps also Job ix. 13, xxvi. 12. Hence also the parallelism with רָהַב in Is. li. 9, whether by the latter the crocodile be denoted or not. The rendering "Boaster" appears to me to be particularly unsuitable to most of these places. At any rate, in our doubt as to the exact meaning of the word, it is well in some instances to retain it untranslated, as is done in the common version, and also in the Revised Translation of the Old Testament. So, too, some of the best modern authorities, Ewald, Hitzig, Noyes, De Wette. The rendering of Noyes in Is. xxx. 7, "blusterer," is probably nearer to the idea in the prophet's mind than is that proposed by S. S.

Jer. xlvi. 16: "sword of the *Greeks*." So S. S., following the Septuagint. But a translator of the Hebrew will naturally adhere to the Hebrew, unless he has some good reason for leaving it; or, at least, some opportunity of explanation. Hence our authorized version is perfectly justified in its rendering, "oppressing sword." The Hebrew word is not uncommon, and gives here a good and suitable sense. The Septuagint translator has very probably, in this case, as in many others, misunderstood or mistaken the word; nor ought that version, as the rule, to be preferred, except in very special cases.

But there are other reasons against the proposed alteration. In one of the two instances mentioned by S. S. (Jer. l. 16), Greek auxiliaries in the Egyptian or any other service cannot possibly be meant. The scene is at Babylon. The meaning evidently is this—that the people of the surrounding districts, who have been accustomed to go to Babylon and the neighbourhood for field work, shall now be prevented from doing so by the invading enemy; "they shall flee every one to his own land," before the oppressing or slaughtering sword of the northern conqueror, i. e. the *Medes and Persians*. Comp. Jer. li. 11, 27.

Exod. i. 8: "a new king over *Lower* Egypt." This correction, S. S. thinks, should be made in every passage in the Old Testament. Surely not! Hebrew writers, in common with other ancient authors, were often inaccurate in their geographical conceptions and expressions. It is highly improbable that they intended to distinguish thus carefully in every instance between Upper and Lower Egypt, if such a distinction were even in all cases *known* to them. Just as we speak popularly of England or the English government, not intending either to affirm or to deny anything of Scotland or Ireland, but yet really including these, so by the word *Mitzraim* the Hebrews may well have meant, in a loose, general way, the whole country of Egypt, including Pathros. In later times the distinction of *Pathros* makes its appearance, but in such a manner as to shew us that that region is thought of as a *part* of Mitzraim: so Jer. xliv. 1. In truth,

Digitized by Google

however, the word *Mitzraim*, being dual in form, is rightly regarded, by Gesenius and others, as including the *two* Egypts, Upper and Lower. The singular form properly corresponding to Pathros was not Mitzraim, but rather *Matzor:* Is. xix. 6, xxxvii. 25.

Jer. xliv. 15, should be translated in accordance with these remarks; *not* (as by S. S.) "all the people that dwelt in the land of Lower Egypt, and in Upper Egypt," but "in the land of Egypt, in Pathros." The Hebrew has no conjunction "and," as S. S. would seem to convey, so that Pathros is here again conceived of as a part of Egypt, as in ver. 1. Compare ver. 8 (and other verses in this chapter), where "the land of Mitzraim" again occurs, and where it is clear from the connection that the Pathros of ver. 1 is *included.* If we here (ver. 8) make the correction proposed by S. S., we shall translate, "the land of Lower Egypt whither ye have gone to dwell." But what then becomes of the Pathros of ver. 1 and ver. 15, the Jewish residents of which are addressed equally with those of Lower Egypt? The correction proposed would, in short, lead to endless inaccuracy and confusion.

Gen. xxxvii. 3: "And he made him a coat with long sleeves." Here S. S. does *not* follow the Septuagint. Nor, if we are to alter the authorized translation, does he give the full meaning of the word. The Hebrew expression is literally, "a tunic of extremities," explained as a tunic (an under garment) with sleeves, and reaching also to the ancles. So that we ought to render, "he made him a tunic with long sleeves and a long skirt." Is this endurable? The rendering of the Revised Translation of the Old Testament, in 2 Sam. xiii. 18, is, "a long-shaped garment," and this, though an awkward expression, is perhaps as near as we can come to the original, without the employment of many words.

Gen. xlix. 10: "until he come to Shiloh;" instead of the authorized, "until Shiloh come." No one familiar with the various plausible translations and explanations which have been and may be given in the case of these words, will be inclined to dogmatize about their meaning. The rendering will doubtless here be determined by the conclusion formed as to the age of the book, or section, in which the verse is found. If this part of Genesis were not written (as recent criticism tends to shew) until the reign of David or later, the rendering "to Shiloh" is inadmissible. A writer of that time, in the presence of the great and increasing power of David, could not have limited the period of Judah's sovereignty to a date long *past;* would not have said that it should continue only until the arrival at Shiloh. It is not at all clear (as S. S. alleges) that the preposition "to" is wanting in the Hebrew. How can this be shewn? It surely does not follow from the fact that such a correction is needed in another place (Ezek. xxix. 10). A translator will not do amiss, there-

Digitized by Google

fore, in this instance, who leaves the authorized version unaltered—until, at least, the question of the age of the book, or of its constituent documents, is more certainly determined; or perhaps I should only say, more generally acknowledged to have been determined. Especially may this be said where, as before observed, he has not the opportunity of explanation by means of accompanying annotations.

V.

LETTERS FROM CANADA.

SIR,

ON the 14th of August I stood with my wife on the quay at Liverpool, and watched the departure of a fine steamer, in which two of my sons (24 and 19 years of age) were embarked for Quebec, intending to make their way from that city into "the backwoods," and effect, if possible, a settlement in the forests of Canada. Of six children, three we have followed to the grave; and not without anguish, though with good hope in a merciful Providence, did we witness the departure of these. The state of trade in this quarter had compelled my sons (with no loss, I am glad to say, to any one but myself) to close their shop, in which they had been struggling for three years to establish themselves in business. With scarcely a possibility of obtaining situations at home, they determined to encounter the hardships of "the bush," and endeavour to win competency and independence in the "far west." Gratefully I acknowledge the kindness of several friends in Bristol and this neighbourhood, who, excited chiefly by the kind sympathy of my brother ministers, enabled me to gratify my sons' wishes. Their progress thus far may prove interesting to some of your readers, and serve to shew what a sphere of manly independence is open in Canada to those who have the strong arm and the desire to gain it. If you think the following extracts from their letters worthy a place in the Reformer, I submit them to your disposal.

——— ———.

South Lancashire, Nov. 18, 1862.

Severn Bridge, Orillia, Simcoe County, Canada West,
Sept. 17, 1862.

My dear Mother,—We landed at Point Levy on Tuesday, Aug. 26th, at five o'clock, and crossed over to Quebec at eleven o'clock. Spent the next and part of the following day in looking at the city and visiting the plains of Abraham and the falls of Montmorenci. On Thursday afternoon left by steamer, paying four dollars each for a deck-passage through to Toronto. Got to Montreal at five o'clock the next morning, and went for a walk through the city. It is a fine place, with some very good public buildings, especially the market-house, which is almost

Digitized by Google

larger than any I ever saw in England. One thing seemed strange to me both here and in Quebec—everything looks French. Sign-boards and public notices are mostly in French and English, others in French only. The inhabitants here are evidently not very friendly towards England. A monument erected to Nelson, briefly recounting his victories over the French, has been almost defaced, and one in Quebec to General Wolfe was some years ago totally destroyed. But another was erected in 1859, the centenary of his death, by the officers quartered in Canada, on the place where he fell. This is still sound, but has to be protected with a strong iron railing. We left Montreal, with a stock of bread and cheese for the journey, about nine a.m., and arrived at Kingston about five p.m., having passed through four or five canals and twenty-two locks to avoid rapids in the river. The country between Montreal and Kingston is flat, but the river is beautiful, especially for about forty miles below Kingston, being dotted with beautifully wooded islands from ten yards to two or three miles in length. Leaving this place we soon got fairly out on Lake Ontario, which looked much like the Atlantic, as we could see nothing but sky and water, the latter, however, being drinkable, which the Atlantic was not. Arrived at Toronto all well at eleven a.m. on Sunday morning, Aug. 31st. We took lodgings at a boarding-house near the railway station, and after dinner inquired for the Unitarian chapel, but were told there was no such thing in the place. In the evening, however, we went out to look for it; and, after walking about some time, inquired of a policeman (a scarce article here), and he managed to give us the desired information. It is a fine building of stone; many wealthy congregations in England would be proud of such a one. We returned to our quarters and went to bed, though not quite nine o'clock (people generally keep very early hours here). We slept on the ground-floor, and after I was in bed heard some ladies in an adjoining room, in an under tone, say, "I'm high game, you're low, Jack's not out." It was a French house we stopped at, but the inhabitants of Toronto generally appear to be of English origin. We left by rail the next morning at 7.20 for Bell Ewart, and on arrival found a steamer waiting at the same platform to take us on to Orillia. On board this we embarked, and had a pleasant trip up Lake Simcoe. The scenery is really beautiful—thickly wooded coast and islets, with here and there a clearing. At Orillia we went to the government agent for Muskoka road, and, after obtaining the requisite information, went on board a steamer again for the Muskoka settlement, a distance of twelve miles, which she took three hours to run. We walked about two miles to the Severn bridge, when we put up for the night.

After looking about for three days, we decided on purchasing a man's right to the first lot on the road, he wishing to sell, as his wife wanted to get home to her relations again. So, dear father and mother, here we are on a partially cleared farm, on which is a log-house, 24 feet by 16 inside, divided into two rooms downstairs, and one large one up. A cow-house and pigstye, a garden with a good many vegetables—four and a half acres planted with oats, potatoes, turnips, a large number of cabbages, and a patch of haricot beans. There are some two or three acres chopped as well. The potatoes are the best I ever saw, not a single bad one have I seen yet, and we have been here a fortnight. I bought of my predecessor a cooking-stove, with all its furniture, with

Digitized by Google

some domestic utensils. We are fourteen miles from Orillia, within a quarter of a mile of a post-office, and two and a half miles from a chapel, which is supplied by a Church of England, a Church of Scotland and a Methodist minister. A little brook runs through the lot, and a river, 70 yards wide and 20 feet deep, by one corner. There are a good many wild ducks in the place, a few deer, and I am told plenty of fish in the river. We have not yet commenced chopping, as we have been getting our house into trim for winter, by shingling the roof and chinking up the walls.

Last Tuesday week was our first day here by ourselves, and in the evening I read the first psalm and the prayer for the day in the little book (Travers Madge's); never before did I feel a prayer I read so much. It was appropriate. We have done so regularly since. Good-bye; God bless you all.

Severn Bridge, &c., Oct. 16, 1862.

My dear Brother,—You may find out the exact spot where we live by looking at the map; see where the Severn crosses the road; our lot is the first past the bridge, having a frontage of a quarter of a mile on the road, and extending five-eighths of a mile back into "the bush." The road frontage is a great rock, which, though of no use for farming, may come in for building some future day when we get a town springing up around us. About fifty yards behind this rock runs a brook of very beautiful water in dry weather, but rather muddy in wet. Cross a little bridge and follow a very rough sort of a pathway for about twenty yards and you come to our house, built of logs. When we came it had a plank roof, which kept off the rain nearly as well as an umbrella frame without a covering. Since that, however, we have shingled it, the shingles being on the ground before we took it. There is a patch of ground both front and back, railed off in the shape of gardens, in which are twenty-five young apple trees, and about a dozen currant trees, mostly black. There were some cucumbers and tomatoes, which we have picked and pickled, and last, not *least*, a fine crop of sunflowers, some 9 feet high and 18 inches across. We have had a good deal of rain since we came here, it being one of the rainy seasons of the year (the other being in the spring), and this year, every one says, has been much wetter than usual. From this cause we have not been able to do much work out of doors, but have done some inside. We have made a new door, the old one not being wind-proof, and on it put Mr. S——'s lock he gave us; the first of the kind, I believe, that has been seen in the settlement; made a table and well chinked the walls to make all snug for winter. On the whole, Canada is very much the sort of place I expected to find it, but in the people, I must confess, I am somewhat disappointed. They are not nearly so thrifty as they ought to be. There are also land-jobbers who take a "lot" of land, build the required shanty, and perhaps clear an acre or two; on this his family lives while he labours elsewhere, perhaps with the "lumbermen," or at anything he can make most money by. This he does for two or three years, when he sells out and profits merely by the advance in the value of the land. In this way thousands of acres are held, almost without improvement, whereas had the owner become an actual settler, he might have cleared ten times as much, and probably be employing a labourer or two besides himself. The people here, almost without exception, drink whisky;

Digitized by Google

some to an enormous amount, a quart a day being no uncommon allowance, and every one tells us that before we have been here twelve months we shall take it too. I think differently, but will not boast yet.

I dare say you would like to know how we spend Sunday. We do not go to chapel, and I don't think I could make myself comfortable in anything but a Unitarian place of worship. We generally take a trip on the river in a boat, and two or three times have been down to Sparrow Lake, a beautiful sheet of water about five miles down the river. Last Sunday we went to Grass Lake; it is half way to Sparrow Lake. It is entered by a narrow creek, and looks like an immense field, being only a few inches deep and overgrown with rushes. This, then, is the way we spend Sunday; go abroad and see God's wonderful works in all their native grandeur, which is more congenial with my taste than sitting under a ranting Methodist. I feel, however, the loss of chapel more than anything, and must do something on Sunday, or it will become a black day instead of a bright one, filled with gloomy thoughts.

I hope you will write me a long letter. Tell me how you get on with your lessons; work hard and long at them. If you should ever come out here, you will find a good education one of the greatest blessings you can possess; a cultivated mind being equal to company, and good company too, where all is solitude.

Dear Father and Mother,—When I last wrote I was waiting for tools, and had to wait a fortnight, but got them at last. In the mean time made our house comfortable, also exchanged three days' labour with one of my neighbours, he to give me the same when I require it. We have done some "underbrushing," and this week have been cutting our oats. Next week we propose to get up our potatoes and store them. We have made a root-house for them, instead of caving them. A root-house is made by putting double walls of logs about eighteen inches apart and filling the space with earth, the roof being covered by eighteen inches to two feet of sand. This we have put up close to one end of our house, and cut a hole in the wall so that we can get potatoes at any time without uncovering them. We have sold our oats, and shall probably do the same with our turnips, to some "lumberers" that are on our lots cutting the pines, for which they pay us 8.37 dollars per thousand, the same as they pay the government. I say *lots*, for we have taken a fifty-acre lot from government in addition to the one we took first. We are on the look-out now for a cow or steer to put on a little pasture for a few weeks, and then kill and salt it for winter. Many folks sell out or kill almost all their cattle at this time of the year, to save their feed in winter, which is expensive. Good beef may now be obtained for 2½*d.* per lb.; in spring and summer it is from 5*d.* to 6*d.* per lb.

I have a little adventure to tell of, which was a pleasant break in the state of our society. William and I went down to Sparrow Lake, and on a rocky point saw a little encampment. We pulled over to it and landed, and found that it was the encampment of three gentlemen out hunting,—one a Mr. —— from Bristol, the others from Toronto. They asked us to take dinner with them, which we did; and, finding they were going to camp near us for the night, offered them the shelter of our roof, which they accepted, and a very pleasant evening we spent.

Digitized by Google

It seemed like meeting old friends to hear Mr. —— speak of Clifton and the neighbourhood of Bristol. He had travelled much in England —been in Lancashire—seen the Liverpool water-works at Rivington, and several other places that we knew. They had breakfast with us in the morning, and left us with mutual invitations to pay one another a visit. The Toronto gentlemen promised to send us a paper sometimes; we have received two from them since, and Mr. —— has called to say he was going to Vernon Lake to trap this winter, so should not be at home; but when he came back should be glad to see us at any time that we were in Orillia, his head quarters. Sparrow Lake is a very beautiful one, about eight miles long and five wide.

The woods are now looking beautiful, having every colour from straw to crimson, and all shades of green. The pines are dark green; the hemlocks and cedars rather lighter; the oaks and maples, which in dry places have not changed, are still lighter, the maple being much more so than the oak. Then the beech and the birch trees are all shades of yellow and brown; the butternut is a bright yellow; the maples all shades of crimson and scarlet; the black ash is purple.

I had a visit the other day from the parson of the Episcopal church. He wished me to join the church. I told him I was a Unitarian. He hoped only from education, not conviction. I told him, both. He told me I was taking from Christ the honour due to him—resting my hopes of happiness in a future state on my conduct in this; and wished to know whether it was not more in accordance with justice that Christ should suffer to save me from the effects of sin, rather than I should be pardoned on repentance and amendment; whether it is not affecting to see God the Son dying to save men, &c. To which I replied, it might be said he was taking away the honour due to God by placing another on an equality with him; that I would sooner rest my happiness on my own conduct than on any one's else; that I did not see any justice at all in a good man dying in a bad man's place; and that I thought it more affecting to see Christ as a high-souled, pure-minded man, going about divinely commissioned, revealing God's will and ways, doing good, rebuking sin, and dying by the hands of his enemies in consequence, than in God clothing himself in a mortal form, revealing his own ways, then letting his creatures go through the farce of killing his body, and after that forgiving them all their sins because they had crowned them all by maltreating himself. This last is rather irreverent, but I could not help it. I think he thought me past praying for; so he left me, promising to call on his next visit to this place; but he has not done so.

A PERILOUS BAPTISM.

Toplady tells a strange story of the baptism by immersion, by John Wesley, of Lydia Sheppard. The ceremony was performed in a bathing-tub in a cellar at a cheesemonger's in Spitalfields. Wesley held her down under water so long, while he deliberately pronounced the words of the administration, that some of her friends screamed out, and she was lifted out just time enough to save her life, and almost insensible.

Digitized by Google

NOTES ON THE GOSPELS OF MATTHEW AND MARK.

[We have been favoured by a friend with the loan of a very remarkable unpublished volume, the posthumous work of a Fellow of St. John's College, an accomplished scholar and a fearless thinker on religious subjects. It is entitled, "The Gospels of Matthew and of Mark, newly rendered into English, with Notes on the Greek Text," &c. We give the substance of some of the notes.—Ed. C. R.]

Matthew iii. 6: *And they were baptized by him in the Jordan, confessing their sins.* Of the form and mode of this confession, nothing more is said by Matthew here; but other passages of scripture leave us no room to doubt of the nature of the confession which God requires. Thus, Luke xviii. 13, Jesus gives us a pattern of the confession which man ought to make: *God be merciful to me, a sinner!* In which words, it may be observed, is no particular mention of any individual delinquencies, but only a general acknowledgment of the debt and burthen of the sinner. And this is the only confession which can have any meaning with God. It is not the *fact* of our delinquencies, but the *guilt* of them, that God requires us to confess. This is obvious. For a confession to God that we did this thing or that thing, is only telling him what he knows already; but to acknowledge our sin, and to feel the burthen of it, is the beginning of repentance and conversion, and is the result of the work of God's Holy Spirit. But then our confession must be made to God and not to man. 1 John i. 9. If we humble ourselves before God and confess to him our sinfulness and entire dependence upon his mercy, then he will keep his promise and lift us up. James iv. 10. Nothing can be clearer than the testimony of scripture upon this point. But what God has made clear, man has endeavoured to adulterate. The Holy Catholic Church has taught her flock to *confess* to their priest, i.e. to tell their priest what they have done, in order that they may receive absolution from him; just as if the priest, who may be, and often is, of far worse character than the confessing penitent, had any power to forgive or to absolve the sinner. A more absurd, but at the same time a more abominable, wicked delusion cannot be imagined; but it is important to mention it, because in the service for the Ordering of Priests in the Reformed Church of England, the bishop professes to give to the priest a power to forgive sins, and to retain sins at his discretion,—a relic of Popery and barbarism which is contrary to the whole tenor of scripture. There is none that can forgive sin but Jehovah. It is true that among the mass of the British laity this passage in the Prayer-book is simply innocuous, being either unknown to them or known to be also but nonsense. Nor does the priest in common life attempt to exercise the powers which the bishop professes to confer upon him, and if he offered to do so, he would not be allowed..... But why is our Prayer-book allowed to

Digitized by Google

retain what every one knows to be contrary to scripture? This is a question worthy of the serious consideration of the British Legislature.

Matthew vii. 3: ***Besides, why dost thou look at the mote that is in thy brother's eye, and not perceive the beam that is in thine own eye?*** Jesus here addresses himself to a subject with which his hearers were familiar: the readiness of a man to overlook his own faults and to censure his neighbour's. He warns his hearers of the danger of this error; a readiness to censure the faults of others will certainly lead us to overlook our own faults of much greater magnitude. But although the wisdom of this precept is universally admitted as a speculative truth, it is not commonly acted upon by modern Churchmen when they speak or write of their own *Church.* They can see the errors of other sects, but they cannot or will not see anything erroneous in the Articles, the Liturgy or the Formularies of the *Holy Catholic Church.* On the contrary, they look upon their own *Church* as incapable of error; attributing to *man* a character which belongs to none but JEHOVAH. Nothing can be more absurd: no Church is free from error; and if the Holy Catholic Church wishes to become wise, her object will be gained not by assuming a character of infallibility, but by humbling herself before JEHOVAH. James iv. 10; Rev. iii. 17.

Matt. xvi. 18: .... *my church.* This is the first instance of the word Ἐκκλησία occurring in the N. T., and it is worth while to inquire what the word means. Nothing can be more dishonest than E. V. (the established version) in this particular. To render Ἐκκλησία by *Church,* is not a translation, but a fraud; it is in fact locking up the meaning of scripture in a hard word. The cause of this most dishonest rendering is to be seen in the *Regulations* imposed by K. James I. upon E. V., one of which was, "That the old *Ecclesiastical* words be kept, as *Church* not to be translated *Congregation.*" Just as if a right translation of scripture were to be made by Royal mandate. It is difficult to imagine a more absurd or more mischievous interference with a work that was intended to be good. If the written word of God is to be translated aright, the mind of the translator must be free to choose his own language. The word is an old Greek word, whose meaning was stamped upon it by usage long before the N. T. was written. Its original meaning is not an *assembly,* lawful or unlawful, but an *evocation* or *calling out* of the people to meet for the despatch of business, i. e. a *summons.* ..... Then by a very easy transition the word came to mean not only the summons, but also the people who attended the summons. Thus it means a *meeting, assembly* or *congregation* of the people, called out by legal summons, for the despatch of business, whether legislative, judicial or other. Thus it was a most apt denomination for an assembly or congregation of men called by God

Digitized by Google

out of a corrupt and heathen world to meet and join in the worship of JEHOVAH..... But the pure word of God was soon to be adulterated by man. The Church of ecclesiastical writers is a very different thing from the Church of scripture. The Churchman professes his belief in the *Holy Catholic Church;* but no such belief is inculcated by scripture; on the contrary, scripture pronounces a curse on every such believer. Cursed is the man who trusteth in man. Jerem. xvii. 5. The *Church* is merely a congregation of men. Again, the Churchman looks upon his Church as incapable of error; but scripture says expressly that no man is free from error. 1 Kings viii. 46. The Churchman often uses the word *Church* to denote the teachers of religion as distinct from the laity, whereas the *Church* of the New Testament means not the shepherds of the people, but the flock or congregation. Thus Paul tells the overseers to feed the church of God, Acts xx. 28. Other instances might be adduced to shew that the Church of the Churchman is a thing wholly different from the Ἐκκλησία of scripture. The translators of E. V. were under Royal mandate to translate *wrong*, and they did so. But the modern critic has an easy task, as well as a plain duty to point out this error and to correct it.

THE DISTRESS IN DUKINFIELD.

SIR,

I HAVE again to acknowledge, with much gratitude, handsome donations in money and parcels of clothing of a very valuable description. In money I have received £206. 6*s.* 6*d.*, and my cash account stands thus:

Boots for Sunday-school teachers, 50 pairs	£15	0	0
Clogs, 680 pairs	65	0	0
Calico and linsey	78	4	0
Wool for stockings, small-ware articles, knitted woollen jackets, cotton handkerchiefs, stockings	23	8	0
Ready-made boys' clothes, redeeming pledged bedding, small donations of money, &c.	19	10	0
	£201	2	0
Balance in hand	5	4	6
	£206	6	6

To estimate fully the amount of comfort resulting from the distribution of the above, it must be borne in mind that hitherto there has been no source from which our villagers could obtain clothing, except from Mr. Bass's fund and mine. Our public Relief Fund was distributed in food, and the only money the unemployed received was the dole of the guardians. Now that winter is upon us, we are beginning to receive clothing from the two Committees; but to have saved hundreds of families from two months' exposure without protection to our northern

Digitized by Google

blasts, is no small thing to have accomplished, and will be felt by our generous friends to be a sufficient answer to those writers who, generalizing from unfortunate and I believe exceptional experience, denounce the administration of relief by private persons. Relief boards can only work by established rules, which necessarily do not admit of individual exceptions, and consequently entail a certain amount of humiliation, rather than submit to which many of the most deserving poor would suffer want in silence. This will be more fully understood when I state, that in ordinary periods our population is in receipt of more than five shillings a-head, whereas now the income of those receiving relief is from all sources two shillings per head weekly. Threepence-halfpenny a-day to purchase food, soap and candles, is barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, and involves the absolute loss of little comforts which even in the poorest families are often afforded to the sick child and the delicate mother.

Since my last report, we have a diminution of the full-time workers of 50, and of short-timers of 85; and last week we had exactly one-half of our population on the relief books.

In my first letter I calculated that we should require £1500 a-week to feed our township, but now I find that we have already exceeded that amount by several hundreds. I am happy to say that our employers of labour are generally alive to their duties, and cheerfully devote their time to working on the various committees of the Relief Board. No contentions interrupt the work of charity, and harmonious relations are established with committees of the various churches and chapels. Each denominational body sends two lady delegates to attend a weekly committee under the presidency of Mr. Bass. Here their wants are discussed, and arrangements made for paying wages to the young women in the sewing classes and school-pence for the education of adults and young people. The adult school classes are becoming popular, and it is a curious sight to see grey-headed men industriously working at pothooks and spelling out their primers. Your old friend George Taylor (teetotaller), who looks after some classes in the Temperance Hall, tells me that the old men beat the young ones hollow in their progress. Our Relief Board makes a grant of half-a-crown weekly to every reading-room which requires newspapers. At present there are only three established, but I hope to see them largely increased. A few nights ago I visited one close to my house. The scene was an attic over a baker's shop. It would hold thirty persons with comfort, but I found more than a hundred there. They were listening with very evident satisfaction to a sentimental song from one of their members, and their applause at its conclusion would have satisfied the most exuberant vanity. The chairman, the village printer, explained that they commenced their evening with reading aloud the leading article of one of their papers, generally choosing a subject bearing upon the cotton famine. A discussion followed; and the rest of the evening was devoted to recitations and singing. I was requested to say a few words of encouragement; after which I was glad to escape into a less steaming atmosphere. No one can attend a meeting like this without being struck by the softened tone of working men's politics. A few years ago, the *Northern Star* was the primary intellectual want; now they anxiously inquired if I could help them to get the *Times*, which they

Digitized by Google

said they could "mak' out the sense on" better than any other paper. I promised to supply their wants. And here let me observe, that the present of a few daily papers when their owners have done with them, not very long after publication, would be a very acceptable donation, and would help to amuse the enforced leisure of many an honest fellow. If any of your readers will kindly further this plan, I shall be glad to give them the postal direction of our reading-rooms. Illustrated papers and periodicals would be highly esteemed.

We are anxious to establish a cooking class, and have made a small grant to make a start. We hope to have the assistance of an active and benevolent lady in this work; and the plan proposed is, to hire a cottage and begin with a class of half-a-dozen, taken for an hour or two from a sewing class. Cooking is a branch of domestic economy in which our young women are lamentably deficient. They will be taught to cook their dinner, and then purchase it at cost price or something less. At the Provident Society in Manchester I saw the following printed tariff: Dinners—pupils, 1*d.*; ladies, 2*d.*

I was gratified a few days ago by receiving the following hearty letter:

Sleaford, Nov. 12, 1862.

Dear Sir,—Stimulated by "A Cry for Help from Dukinfield," although a known Unitarian, and only a unit amongst the many professors of creeds by which I am surrounded, yet I hope I have succeeded by appealing to the feelings and rousing the energies of my neighbours to give and render assistance where assistance is so much needed.

By offering to become the medium of their bounty, and making my premises the depository of it, the vicar, churchwardens, overseers, &c., have formed themselves into a Committee here for receiving clothes, &c., from all the surrounding villages within the union (58 in number), and to the whole of those and others likely to assist have forwarded circulars, a copy of which is enclosed.

It is likewise proposed on Sunday next, to have an appropriate sermon preached in every place of worship in the town, and a house-to-house collection made during the following week.

Our town is small, not more than 4000, but it will do its duty, and I hope set an example to others with means more ample.

Whatever may be collected (as clothes, &c.) will be forwarded to Mr. Maclure, Manchester, and from thence to such places as we deem the most necessitous, of which number Dukinfield is one.

I am an old man, verging on my 80th year, but I thank God still have health and strength for exertion in a work of charity.

Wishing those by whom you are surrounded a speedy deliverance from their troubles, I remain, dear Sir, yours truly,

J. Smedley.

To-day I have a proof of the success of this appeal, indicating the honourable estimation of our friend and the benevolence of his neighbours, in the landing of nine valuable parcels of clothing at my door.

The lady at Stourbridge who so kindly undertook the charge of six destitute children, has sent for four more, to be at the charge of a relation of hers. They were despatched by train last Saturday, the youngest a pretty black-eyed girl of five years. They departed in high spirits, and I hear have settled comfortably. The plan is so satisfactory to their benefactress, that a hope is held out that other friends of hers may ask for more.

In conclusion, allow me to observe that the administration of the funds

Digitized by Google

entrusted to me, and the distribution of the clothing, have been, as far as details are concerned, under the superintendence of Mrs. Aspland, who has devoted most of her time to the work, continuing still to receive the valuable assistance of Serjeant Buckley. Recipients have been selected from amongst the most distressed, without reference to sect or party; but I need hardly say that the poorer members of the Dukinfield Old chapel have not been forgotten, and that the Clothing Committee of the Sunday-school have received supplies of materials and clothing.

I remain, yours obediently,

ALFRED ASPLAND.

Further Contributions in Money.

	£	s.	d.
Miss Preston, Clarendon Villas, Canonbury	£2	0	0
Mr. E. Roberts, Hackney	0	10	0
Mrs. Roberts, ditto	0	10	0
Mr. King, ditto	0	2	6
Miss S. E. Thornton, Birmingham	0	10	0
Miss Elizabeth Talbot, ditto	6	13	0
Miss Mary Escher, 26, Kensington Palace Gardens	10	0	0
Randal Wilbraham, Esq., Rode Hall, Cheshire	5	0	0
Samuel Sharpe, Esq., Highbury (2nd Don.)	10	0	0
Miss Mary Holland, Knutsford	5	0	0
G. R. Barnes, Esq., Paris	10	0	0
Anonymous	0	10	0
Mrs. Cooksey, Southsea, stamps to pay for parcels sent	0	3	0
Edward Ridge, Esq., Ichnield Square, Birmingham	5	0	0
Mr. Thomas Glaskin, Hackney	1	1	0
	£58	19	6
Previously announced ...	147	7	0
Total	£206	6	6

Further Contributions of Clothing and Materials.

Miss Bankart, Leicester, a large parcel containing new materials, shawls, &c., from herself, Miss Brewin, Miss Simpson, and others.

Mrs. Robberds, 58, High-Park Street, Liverpool, containing jackets, linsey gowns cut out, new materials of various kinds.

J. T. Hart, Esq., Commercial Street, London, a parcel of men's and women's clothing, carriage paid.

Anonymous, Edgbaston (the donor of 10s.), a parcel of clothing.

Miss Wood, 1, Edge Lane, Liverpool, a parcel of 13 varieties, old and new materials.

A few Friends in Edgbaston, two parcels of various clothing.

Mrs. James Heywood, Kensington Palace Gardens, a large parcel of clothing, old and new, a third and fourth contribution.

C. W. Potts, Esq., Chester, a hamper of clothing.

Mr. J. Smedley, Sleaford, 9 large bundles at railway station; further acknowledgment in next No.

R. Marshall, Esq., Temple Row, Leicester, a parcel sent off, not yet received.

Two Friends, Hackney, 3 parcels of clothing.

Mrs. Venning, Clapton.

Mr. Vincent Collier, ditto.

Mrs. Cooksey, Southsea, Hants, a basket and box of clothing.

Mr. Alfred Collier, Clapton.

Mrs. Pfungst, Canonbury-Park Square.

Mr. Spill, Victoria Park Works.

Mr. Thomas Briggs, Clapton.

Miss Stevens, Hackney.

Mrs. Morgan, Homerton.

Mrs. Sydney Aspland, Aberdeen Park.

Mr. James Yates, Highgate.

Miss Cogan, Dalston, a second parcel.

Digitized by Google

Mr. Ford, Clapton.
Miss Johnston, ditto.
Mrs. Beeton, Hackney, a second donation.
Mr. and Mrs. Doggett, Dalston.
Mrs. Tunstall, Hackney.
Mrs. M. Harris, ditto, a second donation.
The Hackney Friendly Society, 2 parcels of flannel, blankets and clothing.
Mrs. Janson, Upper Clapton.
Miss Frankland, Hackney.
Mr. Thomas Glaskin, ditto.
Mr. D. A. Gibbs, Upper Clapton.

MEMORANDA.

I was requested a week or two ago, by a lady whom I met accidentally in the street, to visit a poor family. On entering the room, I found a family sunk in the most appalling destitution. Each face bore an evident sign of starvation. The mother had a ghastly look; and in a feeble voice told me she had been unwell for some time, and that for weeks neither she nor her children had had half food, and she felt her strength failing rapidly. She soon diverted attention from herself to her oldest boy, who was lying on a miserable broken-down bed, with a dirty cotton sheet over him. This, and an equally crazy chair on which the poor mother sat, was the only furniture in the place. The boy was evidently suffering from want of nourishment. Standing near were two other children, a girl whose face was covered with a dirty eruption, common, unfortunately, in this district, and the result of improper food. The clothes of the whole family were mere rags. After relieving them I left, and on calling the next day I was shocked to find the room desolate and the bed occupied by the corpse of the mother. Some Irish neighbours had taken the poor children into their over-crowded cottage. My wife lost no time in securing the services of a respectable widow, who has taken charge of the children. They are now all comfortably clad and well looked after, and hardly look like the same children. Their new mother reports that they are very obedient and regularly attend school.

In visiting one of the courts here, I found a stricken family of four,—a father partially paralytic, a son just entering manhood, a daughter a year older, and a lodger, a female, who was rapidly losing one of her eyes from unheeded inflammation. The whole income of the four was six shillings a-week. The father and son had one patched pair of clogs between them. When the son wanted to go out, he borrowed them, and on his return restored them to his father, who complained of the cold of the stone floor. When I entered, the son was sitting with naked feet, without stockings. This desperate case of course was attended to.

Two or three doors further on, in a dark cellar, sat an old man, his sole property consisting of some ragged clothes, an old tub used as a seat, and a pair of spectacles. We found him, however, looking cheery, and reading by a very dim light a newspaper he had borrowed. His fire had gone out, and he said he had been looking out in vain for some wood to light it. He slept in a kind of coal-hole on some straw, with a sack to cover him. I asked him why he did not bring his bed, such as it was, into his sitting-room. He replied that he liked to look decent and tidy, and straw about his room wouldn't do. His income was two shillings a week, but he added with a smile that he could do with a little more, and I am happy to say he has been gratified.

Digitized by Google

OBITUARY.

Sept. 25, at Stoke Newington, aged 77 years, PISHEY THOMPSON, Esq.

The memoir that follows is taken from a Boston newspaper, a town in which Mr. Thompson long dwelt, and with which, as its topographer and historian, he has honourably associated his own name.

"Mr. Pishey Thompson was born at Frieston, near Boston, in the county of Lincoln, in a picturesque old manor-house, which still occupies a conspicuous position in the village, on the 18th of June, 1785. His father was agent for some large landed properties in the neighbourhood, and possessed a freehold estate of his own; but at his death, which took place very suddenly, this property became involved in litigation and passed out of the family. Mr. Thompson, who was an only son, had the misfortune to lose both his father and mother when quite a child, and was brought up principally by his maternal grand-parents, Evison. On their decease he went to live with his father's mother, who, being an heiress of the Pisheys or Peacheys, was styled Madam, in token of the station she held in society. Mr. Thompson was sent to the Boston Grammar-school in July, 1791, and for some years past has been the oldest entered scholar living. He was afterwards placed at Wragby School in the same county, on leaving which he received instruction from Mr. Adams, of Frieston, and afterwards assisted him in the education of his other pupils. At the age of 19, Mr. Thompson was engaged as a clerk in the large banking establishment of Messrs. Sheath and Sons, which failed in 1814 for the heavy sum of £600,000, and he was appointed one of the assignees to wind up the estate. He then accepted an offer of a first clerkship in the bank of Messrs. Garfit, Claypon and Co., with a liberal salary, and good prospects before him. In common, however, with a large section of the young men of the time, Mr. Thompson became strongly imbued with democratic opinions, and a high admiration for the republican government of the United States of America; he resigned his situation and emigrated to that country in 1819, and, with the exception of the time spent in two visits to Europe, he continued to reside there for a period of twenty-nine years. Prior to this, he had taken an active part in election contests for the representation of Boston, and was a stanch partizan of the Blue or Whig cause, in support of which he made a free use of his pen. He also contributed occasionally to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, to which publication he was a regular subscriber. Before leaving England, he completed arrangements for the publication of his first edition of the History of Boston, which came out in the following year, under the title of 'Collections for a Topographical and Historical Account of Boston and the Hundred of Skirbeck.' This formed the basis of his subsequent more important work. Soon after Mr. Thompson's arrival in America, he established a flourishing business as a bookseller and publisher at Washington, and his house became a place of constant meeting and resort to members of Congress and literary celebrities constituting the party then in power, with many of whom he was on the most intimate terms. A small work, published at New York in 1830, entitled 'Sketches of Public Characters,' after stating that Mr. P. Thompson's establishment is the most important of the kind in Washington, goes on to say, 'The proprietor is himself a gentleman of education, and is often an index and learned commentator on his most profound volumes, when the examiner wishes for and needs a guide, which is often the case in this country, where scholarship is not a profession, except with a few. The writer for one, among many, has to acknowledge his polite attention and valuable assistance in frequent examinations of matters out of the common path of literary intelligence.' For more than ten years he was a highly prosperous man, and did not withhold his hand in giving freely to those who required his assistance. Not long since he was told by his friend the great Mr. Peabody, whose wealth is only equalled by his benevolent munificence, that, during this time, he often thought to himself, 'If I could succeed as that man has done, how contented I should be.' Of a generous, social and very sanguine disposition, Mr. Thompson appears to have made but little provision for a change of fortune, which, on a turn of the wheel, placed his political opponents in power. Large purchases of books, stationery, and printing machinery, which he had made on a recent visit to England for the supply of the government offices, were left on his hands almost valueless, and, in 1833, he was under the necessity of making an assignment for the benefit of his creditors. In the next year he was appointed accountant to a Committee of the Senate of the United States, and subsequently he was elected cashier of the Patriotic Bank of Washington, and had the

Digitized by Google

credit of carrying it through a crisis of great commercial difficulty, to which nearly every other bank succumbed. In 1841, the bad state of his health induced him to relinquish the management of the bank, and he came to England with the intention of starting a newspaper in London for the advocacy of American interests; not finding sufficient support for this undertaking, nor meeting with any other suitable employment for his talents, he returned to Washington to meet with fresh disappointments. He remained in rather straitened circumstances during the remainder of his days, supporting himself principally by his literary exertions, notwitstanding which, it may be stated to his credit, that he managed to discharge some portion of his old liabilities. During his last-mentioned visit to England, at the request of his friend and fellow-townsman, Mr. Herbert Ingram, he wrote the leader for the first number of the *Illustrated London News*. In 1846, in consequence of a severe illness and great nervous debility, he crossed the Atlantic for the sixth and last time, and settled at Stoke Newington, with an office in the city, as American agent and London correspondent of the *National Intelligencer* (Washington newspaper), to which he sent regular contributions until within about a month of his death. These, of themselves, form several large volumes. He also contributed occasionally to the London journals and reviews, and in 1851 was commissioned by the American government to make a digest of the contents of the National Exhibition, when he spent forty-two days in the building collecting the necessary information. In this year he had the misfortune to lose his excellent wife, who had been his devoted companion through all the vicissitudes of his life, and being likewise possessed of considerable literary attainments, had become so much a part of his existence that it was long before he recovered the shock of the separation. During his last illness he was constantly reverting to her memory, and had her wedding-ring placed upon his finger the day before he died, that it might be buried with him.

"In 1854, Mr. Thompson formed the connecting link between the inhabitants of Boston, Massachusetts, and those of his native town, in doing honour to the memory of the Rev. John Cotton, who, after being vicar of Old Boston for twenty-one years, resigned his living for conscience' sake in 1633, emigrated to America shortly after, and founded the important city of Boston in the New World. Mr. Thompson was entrusted with about £700 for this purpose, subscribed in America, principally by the descendants of this venerated Pilgrim Father. He arranged with the authorities of his native town that this money should be employed in the revival and embellishment of a side chapel attached to the noble church of St. Botolph, and it now bears the name of the Cotton Chapel in consequence. An interchange of books also subsequently took place between the corporation of Old and New Boston, of which a handsomely-bound folio copy of 'Thompson's History of Boston' formed a part. Mr. Thompson appears to have had the compilation of a complete history of his native town in view during the greater part of his life, and he was constantly searching records and collecting facts which in any way bore upon the subject. He was thus enabled to produce the largest and most complete work of the kind ever published. Few towns can boast the possession of more ample materials for the formation of a history than Boston, and none have been so honoured by the diligent research of an historian. This work was published in 1856, by John Noble, Jun., Boston. The large paper copy forms a very handsome folio volume of 824 closely printed pages, embellished with 100 beautiful engravings on wood, by Bolton, Jerrett, Williams and others, from photographs taken for the purpose. During his long residence at Washington, few Englishmen became more generally known to educated Americans than Mr. Thompson, and he always entertained a grateful recollection of the many valuable friendships he formed there. His sympathies were in fact much divided between his native land and that in which he had passed the most prosperous days of his life. He was always prompt to defend American institutions, and would even express a qualified approval of negro slavery as a political necessity which could not be overcome. The unnatural conflict which now distracts that country greatly distressed his mind, and unfortunately deprived him of nearly his only source of income. This, as might be expected, had a prejudicial influence on his health, which had been declining for some years, and, after being confined to his bed for about a month, he quietly breathed his last at his residence in Stoke Newington, on the 25th of September, 1862, in the 78th year of his age.

"Mr. Thompson retained his intellect, hearing and eyesight almost unimpaired to the last. For some time before his death, although increased infirmity of body confined him almost entirely to the house, the natural cheerfulness of his disposition seldom failed him, and always revived when conversing with his friends, of whose kind attentions he was very sensible. His com-

Digitized by Google

pany was entertaining and instructive, his great knowledge of books enabled him to refer to the best authorities on almost all matters of literary interest, and his kindly disposition and great love of the society of children and young people made him feel as much pleasure in assisting them in their studies as in entering into the consideration of more important matters with their elders. He will long be greatly missed and affectionately remembered by many, both old and young, whom he had drawn around him, by the attractive sociability of his conversation and the pleasing readiness with which he disseminated the knowledge of a well-stored mind.

"Mr. Thompson had no family and has left no relative of his own name or of that of Pishey,—his nephew, Mr. Frank H. Hill, the talented editor of the *Belfast Northern Whig*, being his nearest male representative."

Mr. Thompson was brought up a member of the Church of England, but in a paper he wrote a few years since under an assumed name, referring to his views in early life, he says:

"He had become a Republican in his politics and an Unitarian in his creed. He had lately read more of Priestley than of Plato, and more of Price than of Paley; he had always read the Bible assiduously and carefully, and he hoped correctly. He had endeavoured to form his creed upon the teachings of *Jesus Christ*, and earnestly prayed that it might be based upon truth. He used the reason which *God* had given him to solve the momentous question, *What is truth?* and his reason led him to the adoption of the creed of Newton, Locke and Milton, in preference to that of Wickliffe, Calvin and Knox. He believes that his religion is that which *Christ* taught, and he, therefore, claims the title of *Christ*-ian. The Saviour of mankind taught no *theology;* Paul formed his creed from the teachings of nature, reason and conscience, and based it upon the dicta of scripture, so far as anything connected with a creed is therein alluded to."

Mr. Thompson was interred in the burial-ground of the Unitarian church at Hackney by his express desire.

Nov. 13, at Cleveland Terrace, Swansea, Louisa, fourth daughter of the late Rev. Richard Evans, of that town.

Prepared under the auspices of a fond father for educational pursuits, she for several years, in connection with her two sisters, conducted a school in Swansea for young ladies with signal results, alike honourable to herself and beneficial to all around her. To variety of intellectual attainments and mental powers of a high order, Miss Evans added the still rarer qualifications of a pure heart, perfect conscientiousness and the kindest affections.

Her religious feelings were deep, and characterized by comprehensiveness of views and catholicity of spirit. She bore a long illness silently and placidly, and the innocence and simplicity, calmness and forbearance, she displayed, excited the deep admiration of those who witnessed her exercise of these beautiful qualities. Though a lengthened sojourn here was not granted her, yet still the amiability and goodness which actuated all her conduct from childhood, has borne fruit already, and her virtues live in and hallow the minds of those who have been under her sweet influence.

Seldom has a more loving spirit passed from earth to the presence of the Great Father in whom she confided.

Oct. 3, at Waddon Lodge, Croydon, Surrey, Mrs. Waterall, of Bennett Street, Stamford Street, London, relict of the late Mr. George Waterall, formerly of Derby.

MARRIAGES.

Sept. 15, at Mahébourg church, Mauritius, by the Colonial Chaplain, Rev. P. Pennington, John J. Troup, Esq., 5th Fusiliers, son of John Troup, Esq., of Upper Clapton, London, to Caroline, second daughter of G. Cox, Esq., M.D., of Mahébourg.

Oct. 2, at the Great Meeting-house, Coventry, by Rev. Charles Berry, formerly of Leicester, the Rev. G. Heavisides, B.A., of Coventry, to Mary Ann Eliza, eldest daughter of Mr. Josiah Flecknoe, of Coventry.

Nov. 11, at the Unitarian chapel, Diss, Norfolk, by Rev. James Knapton, assisted by Rev. Henry Webb Ellis, Mr. Daniel Kemp, of Ashfield, Suffolk, to Miss Susannah Bond, of Diss.

Nov. 26, at the Church of the Messiah, Birmingham, by Rev. S. Bache, Joseph Henry Robinson, Esq., fourth son of William Fothergill Robinson, Esq., Holmfield, Aigburth, Liverpool, to Frances Clara, eldest daughter of Francis Hollins, Esq., of Olive Mount, near Liverpool.

Digitized by Google

GENERAL INDEX.

Academy, Nonconformist, at Rathmel, Natland, &c., 11, 93.
Adam, Rev. W., Wolff's account of, 76.
Aids to Faith, reviewed, 129, 193.
Ainsworth, the late Mr. Wm., of Preston, 314.
Albert, Prince, an obituary tribute, 60, 117.
Alcock, Mrs., obituary of, 320.
Alleine, Joseph, an ejected minister, 296, 336.
Alleine, Richard, of Batcombe, 299.
Allon's, Rev. Henry, Church Song, 637.
Altar at Home, 636.
America, the war in, 698.
American defects, 122.
Amsterdam, a sermon at, 687. Lines on, by Lady Bowring, 688.
Anabaptists in Kent, 1552, 467.
Anderson, Rev. Hugh, of Toxteth-Park chapel, 357.
Andrews, St., Auckland, 6, 9.
Angier, Mr. Samuel, of Toxteth Park, 355.
Apocalypse, textual criticism of, 715.
Aristotle illustrating passages in the N. T., 112.
Aspinwall, Edward, of Toxteth Park, 358.
Aspland's, Mr. Alfred, appeal in behalf of Dukinfield, 622, 689, 754.
Athanasian Creed, 46.
Atmosphere, phenomena of the, 728.

Bache's, Rev. Samuel, address to students of Manchester New College, 429.
Baldwin of Eccles, 354.
Bancroft, Bishop, 220.
Baptism, a perilous, 751.
Bartholomew-day, 1862, 638.
Bartholomew massacre, 1572, 603.
Baxter, Richard, 235. His meeting-house, 239. Lecture on, by Professor Tayler, 577.
Beard, Dr., on the Lord's Supper, 307.
Beard's, Rev. Charles, lecture, 513.
Becon, Dr. John, 468.
Belfast controversy, the, deprecated, 127.
Belfast Domestic Mission, 313.
Belfast Young Men's Association, 187.
Bicentenary celebrations, 253, 254, 429, 449, 571, 629, 638.
Bicknell, Mr. Elhanan, 55.
Birmingham Church of the Messiah opened, 126.
Birmingham District Unitarian Association, 189.
Blakely, Rev. Fletcher, 252.
Blunn, Mr. Thomas, obituary of, 640.
Bocher, Joan, of Kent, 418.
Bolton, Mr. Thomas, of Liverpool, obituary of, 318.
Bonner, Bishop, 466.
Bowring, Sir John, lines by, 32, 59, 247, 413.
Bowring, Lady, lines by, 688.
Brent, Mr. G. S., obituary of, 576.
Brettell, Rev. Jacob, obituary of, 128, 191.
Bridport social meeting, 127.
Briscoe, Mr. Michael, of Toxteth Park, 353.
British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 443.
Broad Oak, Philip Henry at, 663.
Broughton, Edward, minister of Woodchurch, 220.
Brown, Mr. Edwin, obituary of, 448.
Browne, Rev. E. H., on Inspiration, 204.
Buddha, morality of, 303. Creed, 413.
Bunhill Fields, 184.
Bunyan, monument to, 442.
Burton, Mrs., obituary of, 64.
Busby, Dr., and Westminster school, 643.

Calamy, Edmund, and General Monk, 235.
Calvin's letter to Somerset, 466.
Cambridge University, 1565, 469.
Canada, letters from, 747.
Canons of Church of England, 1640, 214.
Canterbury in 1640, 220.
Capel in Kent and its parson, 1640, 221.

Digitized by Google

Carlyle, Alexander, extract from the Autobiography of, 411.
Carmarthen College, 443.
Carpenter's, the late Rev. Benjamin, Presbyterianism in Nottingham, 308.
Carpenter, Herbert F., obituary of, 576.
Carter, Miss Abigail, obituary of, 128.
Carter, Mrs. J. Bonham, obituary of, 128.
Carter-Lane mission, 188.
Casaubon, Dr. Meric, and the parish of Minster, 219.
Casuistry of theologians, 323.
Channing, Dr. W. E., 76.
Charles II. and Mr. Frankland, 13.
Chester's Life of Rogers, the Proto-martyr, reviewed, 414.
Christ's College, Cambridge, 2.
Christianity from St. Paul's point of view, 705.
Christianity of Christ the Religion of the Unitarian, 635.
Church, the, that might be national, 285, 321.
Church, the, and her creeds, 384.
Church conservatism begets cowardice, 723.
Churchmen and Dissenters, Lectures on, 255.
Church-rates, abolition of, 190.
Clarke, Temple Sutton, obituary of, 448.
Clay, Rev. John, the Prison Chaplain, Memoir of, 539.
Clegg's, Dr. James, description of Mr. Frankland, 12, 13, 95.
Clergy Relief Bill, 254.
Clergy, training of the, 306.
Clerke, Gilbert, of Stamford, 479.
Coe's, Rev. C. C., Outlines of a Christian Faith, 440.
Colchester Nonconformists, 473.
Coligny, Admiral, 606, 610, 611.
Collins, Dr., of Braintree, 473.
Controversy, recent, among Unitarians, 189.
Conventicle Act, 524.
Conventicle at Newington, 1632, 472.
Conventicles in 1661-2, 476.
Conybeare and Howson's Life and Epistles of St. Paul, 705.
Cook, Mr., on Ideology and Subscription, 196.
Cosins, Bishop, 6, 8, 9, 10, 96.
Covetousness, a saying of South's, 672.
Cox, Mr. S. M., obituary of, 447.
Craig, Mrs., obituary of, 576.
Cranch's, Miss, Troublous Times, reviewed, 633.
Crellius, 479.
Criminals, our, 539.
Crompton, Mr. Thomas, of Toxteth-Park chapel, 353.
Cromwell, Dr., on Priestley and materialism, 33, 174. His personal reminiscences of Rev. T. H. Horne, 532.
Culmer, Richard, ejected from Minster in Kent, 220.
Cunningham's Church History, Scotland, extract from, 408.
Curtis, Mr. William, obituary of, 128.

Daily News, Correspondent of the, 732.
Dante, translation from, 247.
Daventry church, deliverance at, 241.
Davidson, Rev. Maxwell, memoir of, 141.
Davies, Rev. J. L., on the miracles, 113.
Davis, J. B., on the physical peculiarities of the Jews, 114.
Day-book of Dr. Henry Sampson, 163.
Dean, Mr. and Mrs., of Halifax, obituary of, 316.
Dean Row, Cheshire, new schools at, 127.
Deane's, Dr., defence of Dr. R. Williams, 100.
Delitzsch, Professor, monograph on the text of the Apocalypse, 716.
Deliverances in meeting-houses, instances of, 238.
Derby, ordination at, 253.
Dering, Sir Edward, 215.
Dingle, Herbert Gore, obituary of, 640.
Disraeli, Mr., on Established Church and free inquirers, 30.
Distress in the cotton manufacturing districts, 732.
Dobson, Eliza, epitaph of, 359.
Dukinfield and its distressed operatives, 622, 689, 691, 754.
Durham, university at, 6.
Dutch church in London, 1550, 467.

Ears of Corn, reviewed, 123.
Ebury's, Lord, Bill, 442, 573, 574.
Edinburgh Review, 119, 303, 698.
Education Minute, the new, 36.
Egypt the boaster, 601, 744. Notes on Egypt, 684.
Ejected ministers, 1, 80, 93, 154, 162, 220, 221, 235, 296, 337, 434, 449, 513, 572, 627, 635.
Ellicott, Professor, on Scripture and its Interpretation, 205.
Ellis, Mr. Thomas, obituary of, 128.
Ellis, Rev. John, and the mission in Staffordshire, 495.
Elston, Mr., a pupil of Frankland, 14.
Engagement, the, 156.
England, Church of, in 1640-1, 214. Picture of, 596.
Enrolment of chapel-deeds, 313.
Erasmus's New Testament, corrupt text of, 715.
Esquiros', Alphonse, Dutch at Home, reviewed, 175.
Essex Nonconformity, 473.
Evangelical Magazine, 312.
Evans, Miss, obituary of, 761.
Exeter, meeting at, 510.
Exeter, the Bishop of, in 1548, 466.

Digitized by Google

Farewell sermons of the ejected clergy, 520.
Favell, Miss, obituary of, 446.
Ferenz, Rev. Joseph, on the Kingdom of God, 170.
Ferguson, Robert, the plotter, 236.
Fisher, the late Alderman, of Sheffield, 61.
Fitzgerald, Dr., on the Evidences of Christianity, 193.
Flower, Mr. George, obituary of, 192.
Forced religion, 45.
Fox, George, at Durham, 7. Vindicated, 630.
Framlingham, Suffolk, 157.
Francis, Mr. Samuel, obituary of, 128.
Frankish, Mr. S. C., obituary of, 319.
Frankland, Mr. Richard, life of, 1, 80.
Freeman's, Mr. S. C., lay look on 1862, 693.
Freeston, Arthur James, obituary of, 64.
Frend, Mrs., obituary of, 447.
Frisian and English language, resemblance of, 257.
Fullagar, Rev. J., letter on Hackney Nonconformity, 692.

Gardiner, Bishop, 424, 465.
Gaskell's, Rev. William, sermon before Unitarian Association, 510.
Gaskell, Mrs., obituary of, 512.
Geneva, church at, 290.
Gibbs, Mary, obituary of, 640.
Giggleswick and its grammar-school, 2.
Glanville, rector of Bath, 342.
Goodness of God, difficulties respecting, 725.
Gordon's, Rev. J., letter on Dukinfield distress, 691.
Goudhurst and Mr. Edward Bright, its minister, 221.
Gouge, Dr. William, 472.
Gosnell, Mr. Frederick, obituary of, 448.
Grainger, Hannah, obituary of, 576.
Gregory, Pope, and the Huguenot massacres, 621.
Grew, Dr. Obadiah, 154.
Grew, Dr. Nehemiah, 155.
Groningen, an heretical University, 179.
Guardian, the, on Dr. R. Williams's case, 109.

Hackney, Nonconformity at, 626, 692.
Halbertsma's, Dr., account of Dr. Posthumus, 258.
Haldar, Rakhal das, on Rammohun Roy, 211.
Hales, Judge, and a story of vicissitudes, 244.
Hall's, Robert, advice to Wolff, 79.
Hampstead, new chapel at, 442, 567.
Harding, Mr. William, of Toxteth-Park chapel, 356.
Harris, Robert, of Mellis, recovered sermon of, 635.
Hatton, Sir Christopher, and Queen Elizabeth, 469.
Hazlerigg, Sir Arthur, 6.
Headcorn, report of deputation to, 496.
Heape, Mrs. B. T., obituary of, 704.
Heath, deprivation of Rev. D. J., 17, 128, 442.
Henry, John, father of Philip Henry, 641.
Henry, Philip, 296, 641.
Heywood, Oliver, 3, 16, 80, 85, 90, 296.
Hicks, Mr. John, an ejected minister, 633.
Hoath parish and its parson, Barnaby Knell, 221.
Hodgson's, Mr. Timothy, ordination, 88.
Holgate, Dr. Robert, Archbishop of York, 467.
Holland and religious liberty, 176. Religion in, 686.
Hollings, Mrs. J. F., obituary of, 447.
Home Missionary Board, 127, 187.
Horne, Rev. T. H., memoir of, 499, 532.
Houghton-le-Spring, 5.
Howe, John, 3, 4, 9, 160, 165.
Huggin, Mr., of Toxteth-Park chapel, 353.
Huguenots, massacre of the French, 603.
Humble, Mrs., obituary of, 702.
Hunter's, Rev. S., tribute to the character of Thomas Thornely, 369.
Husband's, the, Authority unvailed, 343.

Ierson's, Rev. Henry, lecture on Nonconformity, 449.
Ierson, Mrs., obituary of, 444.
Ilchester jail, Nonconformist prisoners in, 337.
Ireland, presbyteries in north of, 313.
Irenicum Irenicorum, by Zwicker, 479.
Irving, Rev. Edward, Life of, reviewed, 385.
Islington Unitarian congregation and church, 187, 575.
Isnot, Mr. John, 87, 94.

Japicx, Gysbert, a Frisian poet, 258.
Jeffreys, Judge, once merciful, 667.
"Jehovah hath said it," 601, 744.
Jellie, Rev. John, 189.
Jessey, Henry, 477.
Jewish faith, uniformity of, 78.
Jews in Holland, 178.
Johnston, Mrs. William, obituary of, 447.
Jollie, Timothy, a prisoner for Nonconformity, 16.

Kell's, Rev. Edmund, memoir of Rev. M. Davidson, 141.
Kent, proceedings in, in matters of religion, 1640. 214. Unitarian mission in, 495.
Kent and Sussex Unitarian Christian Association, 511.
Kentish four charities, 246.
Kenyon, John, of Toxteth-Park chapel, 356.

Digitized by Google

Kirkus's, Mr., Sermon on Religious Liberty, 626.
Knowles, Mr. John, 240, 478, 479, 480, 481.
Kriza, Bishop, speech of, 173.

Lame Gyles, the work of Mr. Prynne, 471.
Latimer and his licence to preach, 465.
Laud, Archbishop, 214, 223, 472.
Lawton, Mr., of Gateacre chapel, 347.
Layman's Christianity of Christ, 635.
Lee, Rev. George, of Kendal, memoir of, 405.
Leechman, Dr., of Glasgow, and the charge of heresy against him, 407.
Letter to the clergy on the Trinity, &c., 89.
Leyden university, 159.
Leysdown, Kent, and its parson, 1660, 221.
Liberty, religious, 629.
Liddel, Sir Thomas, of Ravensworth, 11.
Lister, Mr. I. S., obituary of, 447.
Little Walter, reviewed, 436.
Liturgy, revision of, and Lord Ebury, 254.
Liverpool Domestic mission, 313. North-End mission, 313.
Liverpool election, 1830 and 1832, 364, 368.
LL.D. on the Athanasian Creed, reviewed, 46.
Lloyd, Dr., Bishop of St. Asaph, 667.
London District Unitarian Society, 253, 448.
London Domestic Mission, 444.
Loughborough, an early Nonconformist meeting-house at, 239.
Lucas, Frederick, Riethmüller's Life of, 589.
Lupton, Herbert, obituary of, 128.
Lushington's, Dr., judgment in the Heath case, 24. And the Rowland Williams case, 99, 555. And the Wilson case, 233, 700.
Lydgate chapel, 313.
Lyon, Mrs., obituary of, 128.

Macaulay and George Fox, 630.
Macdonald, Rev. S. F., obituary of, 128. Memoir of, 167.
Maclellan's, Rev. R. E. B., lines on Christ, 116.
Madge's, Rev. Thomas, sermon on the Perpetuity of the Gospel, 181.
Madge, Mr. Robert, obituary of, 511.
Mallows, Mr. G. W., obituary of, 128.
Manchester District Unitarian Association, 253.
Manchester New College, annual meeting, 127.
Mansel, Professor, on Miracles, 130, 134, 140.
Mansion-House Relief Committee, 622.
Marden parish, Kent, and its parson, 1640, 219.
Mardon, Mr. William, obituary of, 640.
Marriages, 64, 128, 192, 320, 448, 541, 576, 640, 761.
Martin, Mrs. Edward, obituary of, 447.
Martineau's, Miss, letter respecting the manufacturing distress, 624.
Martineau's, Rev. James, inaugural address at Manchester New College, 673.
Master of the Rolls and the State Papers, 463.
Mather, Richard, 345. Journal of his Voyage, 481.
Mather, Mr. Daniel, 359.
Matthew and Mark, notes on the Gospels of, 752.
Maurice, Rev. F. D., on Mr. Heath's case, 21, 27.
M'Caul's, Dr., essay on Prophecy, 196. On the Mosaic record, 201.
Melbourne, Unitarianism at, 143.
Meteyard's, Miss, Hallowed Spots of Ancient London, 183.
Middleton, Mrs. Anna, obituary of, 317.
Miracle and the mind of Christ, 113. Miracle, evidence of, 130.
Monk, General, and Edmund Calamy, 235.
Mormonism, 120.

Nagy, Rev. Lewis, on progressive religion, 171.
National Church, a, 284.
National education, 287.
National Reviewer on Dr. Rowland Williams's case, 110.
Newbury church, deliverance at, 241.
New Education Minute, 189.
Newton, Mr. George, of Taunton, 299.
Newman, Francis, confuted by Goldwin Smith, 508.
Nonconformity and social progress, 309. Lecture on, by Rev. Chas. Beard, 513.
Noton, Mrs., obituary of, 319.
Nottingham, meeting at, 126, 575.

Oasland's, Henry, letter to Owen, 238.
Oldfield, Mr., of Coventry, 81.
Old Testament, notes on the, 537, 601, 684, 730. Additional, 743.
Ordination of Philip Henry, 652.
Oure, in Kent, and its felonious parson, 221.
Owen and Baxter, 235, 584.
Oxford, Philip Henry at, 648.

Papacy, the, and its coming fall, 509.
Parliament, meeting of, 189.
Paterson, Dr. Alexander, obituary of, 448.
Paterson, Isabel Laura, obituary of, 576.
Paul, illustrated by Aristotle, 112. Life and doctrine of, 715.
Pay, Mr. Albert, obituary of, 128.
Payne, Mr. Arthur, obituary of, 64.
Peake, Dr., parson of Tenterden, 1640, 222.

Digitized by Google

Pearson, Mrs., obituary of, 128.
Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 155.
Pentateuch, ancient copies of, 79.
Pepperhill, mission chapel at, 127.
Peter, character of the apostle, 273.
Phillimore, Dr., on the prosecution of Dr. R. Williams, 108—of Mr. Wilson, 232.
Pilkington's, Bishop of Durham, description of his diocese, 468.
Porter, Mrs. G. R., obituary of, 640.
Porter, Rev. J. N., leaves Carrickfergus, 313.
Posthumus, Dr. Rinse, minister of the Frisian Reformed Church, 257.
Powell, Mrs., obituary of, 640.
Prayer-book, revision of, 518.
Prayer, Ten Services for Common, reviewed, 310.
Presbyterian ministers and lay deputies at Williams's Library, 186.
Preston house of correction, 543.
Priestley, Dr., justice to, 33.
Prisons and prison discipline, 539.
Provincial Assembly, 444.

Quarterly Review, 117, 306, 571, 698.
Queen Catherine Parr and Seymour, 465.

Rabbinical tradition, a specimen of, 78.
Rammohun Roy on religious worship, 211.
Rawlinson, Professor, on the Pentateuch, 203.
Reflections, Frankland's, on a Letter on the Trinity, 89.
Reid, Mrs., obituary of, 63.
Reid, Mr. T. J., on materialism, &c., 115.
Religio Chemici, by George Wilson, 724.
Religion by indictment, 272.
Renan, M., 248.
Restoration of Charles II., 513.
Reuchlin's text of the Apocalypse, 715.
Revised Code, Bishop of Oxford on the, 252.
Revival at Rowel in the 17th century, 244.
Reynolds's Barons of the South, 632.
Richardson, Mr. Christopher, of Liverpool, 354.
Ridge, Mrs. Joseph, obituary of, 128.
Riethmüller's Life of Frederick Lucas, 589.
Robberds, Rev. J., and the history of Toxteth-Park chapel, 343. Tribute to the character of Thos. Thornely, Esq., 379.
Robertson's Scenes from the Life of St. Paul, 705.
Rogers, Mr., of Dedham, 240.
Rogers the Proto-martyr, Life of, reviewed, 414.
Rokeby, Sir Thomas, 85, 242.
Rowlinson, Mrs. John, obituary of, 640.
Rowntree's, Mr. J. S., vindication of Geo. Fox, 630.
Rumbold, Mr., of the Rye-house, 237.
Rushton, Rev. Adam, 313.
Ryland, Mr., on miracle and the mind of Christ, 113.

S. S., notes on the Old Testament, 537, 601, 684, 730.
Sadleir, Mrs., obituary of, 576.
Sadler, Dr., and the Hampstead congregation, 567.
Salisbury, persecuting Bishop of, 555.
Sallaway's, Major, death, 243.
Salvation by opinions, 291.
Sampson, Dr. Henry, account of, 154. His day-books, 235.
Sancroft's, Archbishop, epitaph, 245.
Saturday Review on Mr. Heath's case, 29.
Science and Christianity, 509.
Scotland, Unitarian mission in, 493.
Seaman, Dr. Lazarus, 160.
Sedgley, an early Nonconformist meeting-house at, 238.
Sewing-schools for the relief of the operatives, 624, 742.
Sharpe Prize at Carmarthen, questions, 497.
Sharwood, Mr. Samuel, obituary of, 128.
Sheffield, evangelical intolerance at, 253.
Sherfield, Henry, Recorder of Salisbury, 469.
Sherlock, Dr., satire upon, 245.
Shipman, Mr. Michael, obituary of, 64.
Shipman, Mrs., obituary of, 448.
Siddal, Mr. Benjamin, obituary of, 640.
Simplicity of gospel truth, 625.
Simpson, Mr. Edward, obituary of, 576.
Sins of ignorance, 538.
Smallfield, Mrs., obituary of, 448.
Smith's, Goldwin, Lectures on Modern History, 505.
Social Science Congress, 443.
Socinus, his books in England, 471.
Solomon's porch, 603.
"Sons of Adam" explained, 537.
Soup kitchens, 739.
Southern Unitarian Society, 575.
Sprint, John, of Hampstead, 567.
Staffordshire, Unitarian missions in, 494.
Stanley, Canon, 187.
Stansfeld, Mrs., obituary of, 320.
State Papers, Calendar of, 462.
Staunton, Dr., President of Corpus Christi, Oxon, 298.
Steinthal, Ludwig, obituary of, 64.
Stephen's, Mr. Fitzjames, defence of Dr. R. Williams, 102—of Mr. Wilson, 231.
Stevens, Mrs., obituary of, 320.
Stokes's Scattered Leaves, reviewed, 438.
Street, Rev. J. C., on Sunday-school teachers, 267.
Stretton, Mr. Richard, 160.
Strickland, Mr., of Salisbury, 240.
Subscription to articles of faith, 196, 305, 321.
Suffolk, religion in, 158.

Digitized by Google

Sunday-School Association, 448.
Supernatural, Edinburgh Review on the, 699.
Swindon, schools at, 253. Anniversary services at, 575.
Swithin, Saint, 701.
Sydenham, Dr., a Nonconformist worshiper, 239.
Székely's, Rev. Moses, speech, 171.

Talbot, Rev. Edward, and the Kent mission, 495.
Tayler, Mrs. J. J., obituary of, 192.
Tayler, Professor, on the textual criticism of the Apocalypse, 715.
Taylor, Eliza and Emma, obituary of, 512.
Taylor's, Mr. Henry, history of Toxteth-Park chapel, 343.
Taylor, Mr. James, obituary of, 320.
Taylor, Mrs. James, obituary of, 128.
Taylor, Mr. John Meadows, obituary of, 447.
Theology, the transient and permanent in, 676.
Thompson, Archbishop, on the death of Christ, 203.
Thompson, Mr. Pinkey, obituary of, 759.
Thornely, A. W., Esq., obituary of, 512.
Thornely, Mr. Alfred, obituary of, 576.
Thornely, Thomas, Esq., memoir of, 361.
Thornton, Miss Ada Elizabeth, obituary of, 447.
Tillotson, Archbishop, letter of, 82.
Tindal, William, 415.
Tingcombe, Mr. John, obituary of, 512.
Toleration Act, 81.
Toxteth-Park chapel, history of, 343.
Transylvanian Jews, appeal in behalf of, 44.
Transylvanian Unitarianism, 170.
Transylvanian Unitarians, address of, to Unitarian Association, 41.
Turner, Mrs. William, obituary of, 192.
Two Thousand confessors, the, 661.

Uniformity, Act of, 1662, 1, 326, 450, 474, 519, 673.
Uniformity, another name for intolerance, 303.
Unitarian missions proposed, 491.
University College, 593. Honours in, 683.
Ὑπο and διὰ, how distinguished, 113.
Upperthorpe chapel, Sheffield, 126.

V., additional notes on the Old Testament, 743.
Vaughan, Dr., and revision of Liturgy, 322.
Vaughan and Venables on the Nonconforming clergy of 1662, 637.
Voyage to America in 1635, Journal of, 481.

Wadsworth, Mrs., obituary of, 128.
Wakefield, meeting of ministers at, 85.
Warren, Miss, obituary of, 192.
Warwickshire Unitarian Tract Society, 510.
Waterall, Mrs., obituary of, 761.
Wells, Miss, of Brattleborough, obituary of, 447.
Wesley, John, ejected from Whitchurch, 302.
Wesselus, John, some account of, 180.
Westcull, Mrs., obituary of, 318.
Whately, Archbishop, on the Rise, Progress and Corruptions of Christianity, 333.
Whitaker, Thomas, a prisoner for Nonconformity, 16.
Whitchcot's, Dr., jest, 244.
Wicksteed, Rev. C., at Toxteth-Park chapel, 358. Lecture on Philip Henry, 641. Funeral Sermon for Mr. Thornely, 381.
Williams, Dr. Daniel, 86, 243. His library, 312.
Williams, Dr. Rowland, in the Court of Arches, 96, 556.
Wilson, Rev. H. B., in the Court of Arches, 224.
Wilson's Essays on the Religion of Chemistry, reviewed, 724.
Winterburn, ancient meeting-house at, 80.
Wishart, Principal, 408.
Wolff, Dr. Joseph, Travels and Adventures of, reviewed, 65.
Wolverhampton, election at, 1835, 368.
Woodcock, Mr., of Hackney, 243.
Woodcock, Mr., of Hampstead, 567.
Worthenbury and Philip Henry, 651.
Wright, Miss Eliza, obituary of, 128.

Yates, Mr. James, on a passage in Aristotle, 112.
Yates, Richard Vaughan, epitaph of, 360.

Digitized by Google

SCRIPTURE PASSAGES REFERRED TO OR ILLUSTRATED.

Genesis i. 2, 732; vi. 538; x. 7, 11, 497; xxxvii. 3, 684, 746; xliii. 11, 684; xlix. 10, 684, 746.
Exodus i. 8, 684, 745; xiv. 7, 498, 684; xxxiv. 6, 7, 685.
Numbers xxiii. 19, 537; xxiv. 21, 497, 686; xxxiii. 7, 8, 686; xxxiv. 5, 685.
Deuteronomy vi. 4, 686; xxxii. 8, 537, 538.
1 Kings ii. 5, 732; vii. 6—8, x. 22, 602.
2 Kings xi. 15, xxiv. 34, 730.
Psalms ii. 12, 731; viii. 4, 5, 730; xi. 4, xii. 8, 537; xix. 1—6, 114; xix. 12, 538; xxii. 16, xxviii. 1, 731; xxix. 1, 2, 730; xlv., 497; xlix. 1, 537; lx. 8, 731; lxii. 9, 537; lxiii. 9, 731; lxxii. 497; lxxxvii. 4, lxxxix. 10, 602, 745; cviii. 9, 731.
Isaiah xxx. 7, 601, 744; li. 9, 609, 745.
Jeremiah i., 498, 601; i. 19, iii. 12, 13, 744; vii. 22, 498; xliv. 15, 746; xlvi. 11, 16, 602, 745.
Ezekiel, 538; xxix. 10, 685, 746; xxxii. 14, 602.
Matthew ii. 23, 497; iii. 6, 752; vii. 3, 753; xiv., xvi. 15—19, 275; xvi. 18, 753; xx. 31, 206; xxiv., 206; xxviii. 17, 440.
Mark ii. 7, 335; xii. 24, 206; xvi. 9, 440.
Luke xiii. 16, 161; xx. 37, 206; xxiv. 15, 16, 440, 441, 498.
John ii., 274; v. 18, x. 33, 335; xiii. 35, 170; xiv. 23, 335; xx. 19, 440; xxi. 15—22, 278.
Acts i. 7, 8, 280; i. 16, 498; v. 38—42, x. 34, 35, 281; xii. 5, 498; xv. 10, 449; xvii. 24, 112.
1 Corinthians viii. 5, 112; xi. 10, 205; xv. 29, 417.
Galatians ii. 10, 498; ii. 11—14, 281.
Ephesians iv. 8, 206.
Colossians i. 15, 209.
2 Thessalonians, 209.
1 Timothy i. 7, 432.
2 Timothy iv. 5, 173.
Hebrews ix. 7, 538; ix. 14, 539; x. 34, 166; xi. 38, 577.
1 John, 209.
Jude 11, 498.
Revelation ii. 14, 498.

C. Green & Son, Printers, Hackney.

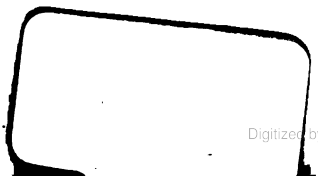
Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google


Digitized by Google